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INTRODUCTION
TO
THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE STUDY OF HISTORY:

Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary.

BY W. B. BOYCE.

LONDON:

Published for the Author by

THEOPHILUS WOOLMER,

2, CASTLE STREET, CITY ROAD, & 66, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1884.

WYMAN AND SONS, PRINTERS,
GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS,
LONDON, W.C.



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TO
SIR GEORGE WIGRAM ALLEN, K.C.M.G.

Toxteth Park, Sydney, New South Wales,

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS OWN AND HIS FATHER'S FRIEND,

WILLIAM B. BOYCE.

PREFACE.

THE links between the most remote past and the present are comparatively few. They are to be found in the histories of the ISRAELITES, the GREEKS, the ROMANS, and in that of one's own country, be it England, or France, or Germany. The ISRAELITISH history (that of the Bible) introduces us to that of BABYLON, ASSYRIA, EGYPT, and PERSIA. GREEK history brings us to the very beginning of European civilisation, and of free democratical governments. ROMAN history is the history of struggles for a mixed free constitutional government, with encouraging success, which failed only through the wars of conquest that led to the necessary establishment of the Empire. The history of our own country, or that of France or Germany, is more or less connected with that of the civilised world. In the excellent Students' Manuals published by Murray there is a complete historical library compiled by writers of eminence, and well adapted for the present use or future reference of the reader, as introductory to the study of our great historians.

2. In the present work an attempt is made to exhibit the leading events in the history of the world contemporaneously (as far as is possible with due regard to chronological order). For the convenience of the student, the narrative is arranged in thirteen periods. At the conclusion of each of these periods there is a brief retrospective review of the position and relative importance of the leading political organisations and of the then state of the world. The *first* period closes with the tenth century B.C. ; the *second* with the foundation of the Persian Empire by Cyrus, 539 B.C. ; the *third* with the empire of Alexander the Great, 330 B.C. ; the *fourth* with the Roman Empire under Augustus, and the Christian era ; the *fifth* with the final division of the Roman Empire, 395 A.D. ; the *sixth* to the revival of the Empire of the West by Charlemagne, 800 A.D. ;

the *seventh* to the Crusades, 1096 A.D. ; the *eighth* closes with the reign of Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273 A.D. ; the *ninth* with the age of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, 1520 A.D. ; the *tenth* with the English Revolution of 1688 A.D. ; the *eleventh* with the French Revolution of 1788 A.D. ; the *twelfth* with the Peace of Paris, in 1815 A.D. ; the *thirteenth* with the present year, 1884 A.D. A brief reference to *Literary History* follows each period ; and, from the Christian era, an equally brief notice of the *History of the Christian Church*. These additional notices are not histories, but mere reminders, that the student may not be so absorbed in secular history as to ignore altogether the existence of a LITERATURE and of a CHURCH. All this, however, is no more than a mere epitome,—the skeleton, not the body, of the history. Nothing less than the patient study and mastery of the works of our great historians can convey a correct notion of the history of the past. The perusal of such writers as GROTE, THIRLWALL, ARNOLD, GUIZOT, BRYCE, FREEMAN, MAHAFFY, and FYFFE, is, in fact, an education of itself, and one of the most likely means of inspiring and developing the intellectual life of the student.

3. In order to maintain a connexion of subjects, as well as the order of time, it is desirable for the student to group the histories according to their affinities, and to take in order—(1) the Oriental nations ; (2) the Greeks ; (3) Rome ; (4) the rise of the European nationalities ; (5) the Middle Ages ; (6) the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Religious Wars up to 1648 A.D. ; (7) the wasteful and unnecessary wars of Louis XIV., his contemporaries and their successors up to the French Revolution of 1788 A.D. ; (8) the French Revolution, and thence to the present year 1884. A list of books, some of them absolutely necessary, and others particularly useful as references, is appended. Let it be, however, clearly understood that the STUDY of history is no trifling matter. If taken up as the mere amusement of leisure moments, in which exciting incidents are chiefly regarded, the reader is simply wasting his time over unconnected scraps of the romance of history. A large amount of hard, dry reading, and, in addition, the habit of comparing the statements and opinions of our great historians, is the condition of success in this study. Perseverance is rewarded by the

power to look back on the events of the past with such an interest as enables us for a time to forget the present, and to place ourselves in the standpoint of the great men, the makers of history. We thus live again retrospectively as contemporaries of all the generations of the past four thousand years, and yet enjoy more thoroughly the present age. The panorama of the past is not, however, a pleasing one to the thoughtful observer. There is much to gratify in the ever-changing exhibition of the several stages in the rise and progress of our complex civilisation, in the rapid transition, and the alternate predominance and decline of the series of conquering races, and in the marvellous, and oft-recurring, revolutions of political power. But, with all this, how painful is the record of war, bloodshed, and wholesale murder; and, what is even worse than war and murder, the *chronic misery, ignorance, and degradation of the major part of the human family*. History is to us little more than an old almanack, registering details the most painful and disgusting, unless we can recognise at the same time the unmistakable tokens of moral government and of Divine discipline and retribution. If nations be amenable to moral law, they must be dealt with "according to their works," while existing as nations. Believing in God's moral government of the world, and in the justice, wisdom, and mercy of the divine administration of the world's affairs, we find rest in the faith of the Psalmist: "*Clouds and darkness are round about Him: righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne*" (Psalm xcvi. 2).

The list of books, some to be read, others to be occasionally consulted, is now given, arranged according to the order recommended.

4. *Books of reference*, useful to those engaged in the study of history:—

(1) *Chronological Tables*:—

NICOLAS (Sir H.), *Chronology of History*, 12mo. 1839.

Blair, *Chronological Tables*, 12mo. (Bohn).

CLINTON (H. F.), *Fasti Hellenici*, 3 vols. 4to. and 12mo.

— *Fasti Romani*, 2 vols. 4to. and 12mo.

Hales (W.), *New Analysis of Chronology, &c.*, 4 vols. 8vo. 1830.

OXFORD CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, folio.

Le Sage, *Historical Atlas*, folio (many editions).

(2) Geography :—

- Bunbury, History of Ancient Geography, 2 vols. 8vo. 1884.
 MURRAY (SMITH), Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography,
 2 vols. 8vo.
 FREEMAN (E. A.), Historical Geography of Europe, 2 vols.
 1881.
 Kœppen (Louis), The World in the Middle Ages, 2 vols.
 8vo. with atlas. (Appleton, New York, 1856.)
 VON SPRUNER MINKE, Historical Geography Atlas, 4to.
 1880.
 MURRAY, Ancient Atlas, 4to.

(3) Introductions to History :—

- Priestley (Dr. J.), Lectures on History (Rutt), 8vo. 1839.
 Bolingbroke (Lord), Letters on the Study and Use of History, 8vo. 1770.
 Bossuet, Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle, 12mo.
 PLOETZ, Epitome of History, post 8vo. 1884. Very valuable,
 and handy for reference.
 Bigland, Letters on History, 12mo. 1840.
 Keightley, Outlines of History, 12mo.
 Stoddart (Sir John), Introduction to Universal History, crown
 8vo. 1850.

(4) Dictionaries :—

- Haydn, Dictionary of Dates, 17th edition, 8vo.
 MURRAY (SMITH), Dictionary of the Bible, 3 vols. 8vo.
 ——— Dictionary of Classical Biography, 3 vols. 8vo.
 ——— Greek and Roman Antiquities, 1 vol. 8vo.
 WOODWARD and CATES, Encyclopædia of Chronology, 8vo.
 1872, is invaluable.

(5) Historical Origins :—

- MAINE (H. S.), Ancient Law, Early Law and Customs,
 Village Communities, 3 vols. 8vo.

N.B.—In the following lists of books there is no reference to the original historical documents existing in print or in MS. in the archives of the European nations, from which our original historians drew the materials of their great works. The lists given are purely for the English reader who desires to master the results of the labours of these historians. The references to the Greek and Latin classics are to English translations, as there are few non-professional persons who can read Latin and Greek with the same ease and pleasure as their own tongue. Guizot's remarks on the

study of the Greek and Latin classics, apply, to some extent, to the study of good translations. "I approve highly of those few years passed in familiar intercourse with antiquity, for if one knows nothing of it one is never anything but an upstart in knowledge. Greece and Rome are the good society of the human mind" ("Guizot in Private Life," 8vo., p. 136). The majority of readers must be content to enjoy this good society through the medium of an interpreter.

I.—ORIENTAL HISTORY.

(1) *Books referring to Oriental History in general:—*

- LENORMANT, Ancient History of the East, 2 vols. 12mo.; also in 3 vols. 4to. (French).
- HEEREN, Historical Works, 6 vols. 8vo.
- DUNCKER (MAX), History of Antiquity, 6 vols. 8vo.
- Smith (Philip), Ancient History, 3 vols. 8vo.
- Bunsen, Egypt's Place in the World's History, 5 vols. 8vo.
- Lewis (Sir G. Cornwall), Astronomy of the Ancients, 8vo.
- MAHAFFY, Prolegomena of Ancient History, 8vo. 1869.
- RAWLINSON, Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World, 6 vols. 8vo.
- Niebuhr, Lectures on Ancient History and Geography, 3 vols. 8vo.
- Lectures on Ethnography, 2 vols. 8vo.
- Baldwin, Præhistoric Nations, 12mo. 1869.
- Eadie, Early Oriental History, 12mo.
- Keary (C. F.), Dawn of History, 12mo. 1878.
- Primæval State of Europe, 12mo. 1864.
- De Coulanges, Aryan Civilisation, 12mo. 1871.

(2) *Books on Babylonia, Chaldea, and Assyria:—*

- LAYARD, Exploration of Nineveh, &c. 3 vols. 8vo.
- MAHAFFY, Twelve Lectures on Primitive Civilisation, 8vo. 1869.
- Smith (George), Ancient History from the Monuments, 12mo. (Tract Society).
- The Assyrian Eponym Canon, 8vo. 1875.
- Wright, History of the Empire of the Hittites, post 8vo. 1884.
- SAYCE (A. H.), The Empires of the East, 12mo. 1884.
- Babylonian Literature, 8vo.
- Fresh Lights from the Monuments, post 8vo. (Tract Society).
- HACKNESS, Assyrian Life and History, 12mo. (Tract Society).
- Babylonian Life and History, 12mo (Tract Society).

(3) *Egypt*:—

- WILKINSON (Sir J. G.), *Egypt*, 3 vols. 8vo.
 RAWLINSON (HENRY), *Egypt*, 2 vols. 8vo.
 BRUGSCH BEY, *History of Egypt*, 2 vols. 8vo.
 SHARPE, *History of Egypt*, 2 vols. 12mo.

(4) *Biblical History*:—

- MILMAN (Dean), *History of the Jews*, 3 vols. 8vo ; 12mo. also.
 STANLEY (Dean), *History of the Jewish Church*, 3 vols. 8vo.
 STRACHEY (Sir EDWARD), *Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib*, 8vo. 1874.
 RUSSELL, *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*, 3 vols. 8vo.
 PRIDEAUX, *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*, 3 vols. 8vo. (various editions).
 EWALD, *History of the Israelites*, 6 vols. 8vo.
 COOKE (Canon), *Origins of Religion and Language*, 1 vol. 8vo.
 KENRICK, *Phœnicia*, 8vo.

Add to these the *historical* books of the Old Testament and the *prophetical* writings, together with the history of HERODOTUS (either in Rawlinson's or Bohn's edition), leaving out, *for the present*, the very useful but rather perplexing dissertations. W. ROBERTSON SMITH on the Hebrew prophets (12mo.) may be read with advantage.

From the above list the student will wisely first select MAHAFFY'S "Prolegomena" and "Twelve Lectures on Primitive Civilisation," SAYCE'S "Empires of the East," Canon COOKE'S "Origins of Religion and Language," and Deans Milman and Stanley's "Jewish Histories," with Sir EDWARD STRACHEY'S "Jewish History and Politics, &c." The interesting fact of a remote connexion between the AKKADS of Babylonia and the first foundation of the CHINESE civilisation, first discovered by M. Terrien de la Couperie, may lead to yet more important discoveries.

II.—THE GREEKS.

(1) *Histories*:—

- MITFORD, *History of Greece*, 8 vols. 8vo. or 12mo.
 GROTE, *History of Greece*, 12 vols. 8vo. or 12mo.
 THIRLWALL, *History of Greece*, 8 vols. 8vo. or 12mo.
 CURTIUS, *History of Greece*, 5 vols. 8vo.
 POCOCK (J.), *Early History of Greece*, 12mo. 1850.
 — (E), *India in Greece*, 12mo. 1852.
 COX, *Athenian Empire*, small (Longman & Co.).
 — *Greeks and Persians*, small (Longman & Co.).
 SANKEY, *Spartan and Theban Supremacy*, small (Longman & Co.).

Ranke, Universal History (chiefly devoted to Greece), 8vo. 1884.

(2) *Literary History* :—

Mure, History of the Language and Literature of Greece, 5 vols. 8vo. 1850–1857.

MAHAFFY, History of Classical Greek Literature, 2 vols. 8vo.

(3) *Important References to Greek History* :—

MAHAFFY, Social Life in Greece, post 8vo. 1874.

— Rambles and Studies in Greece, post 8vo. 1876.

GLADSTONE, Juventus Mundi, post 8vo. 1869.

— Studies in Homer, 3 vols. 8vo. 1858.

FREEMAN (A. E.), Essays, *First Series*: Ancient Greece (Homer), History of Athens, The Athenian Demos, Alexander the Great, Greece under Macedonia. Essays, *Third Series*: First Impression of Athens.

The student should compare GROTE and THIRLWALL in their respective views of the Heroic Age, the beginning of free republican institutions, the working of the democracies, the real character of the sophists, and the causes which led to the domination of Macedonia. Great light is thrown on these important matters by CURTIUS, MAHAFFY, and A. E. FREEMAN. MAHAFFY has courageously dared to give a sober and just estimate of the moral character of the ancient Greeks, and FREEMAN has thrown light upon the *Demos*, and, in fact, on every question which he discusses. We seem to know the old Greeks much better since MAHAFFY and FREEMAN supplemented THIRLWALL and GROTE. For the Heroic Ages CURTIUS, GLADSTONE, and MAHAFFY are wise guides, avoiding the scepticism of Grote and the occasional credulity of J. & E. Pocock and Eadie. But no one can understand the Greeks except he peruse HOMER, HESIOD, HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Œconomics*, PLUTARCH'S "Lives of Eminent Greeks," ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, EURIPIDES, ARISTOPHANES, DEMOSTHENES'S "Select Orations," and ARISTOTLE'S "Ethics and Politics," with portions of PLATO. He is thus brought in contact with the Greek mind. This may appear to be a serious task, but all real historical study is a branch of mental callisthenics requiring real work, rather than a lounge on a playground, in which mere amusement or recreation is out of the question.

III.—ROMAN HISTORY.

(1) *Histories* :—

- Niebuhr, Lectures on the History of Rome, 3 vols. 8vo.
 — History of Rome, 3 vols. 8vo.
 ARNOLD (Dr.), History of Rome, 3 vols. 8vo.
 MOMMSEN, History of Rome, 5 vols. 12mo.
 Duruy, History of Rome, 3 vols. 4to.
 Ihne, History of Rome, 5 vols. 8vo.
 Liddell, History of Rome, 12mo.
 Keightley, History of Rome, 12mo.
 Cox, History of Rome, 12mo.
 MERIVALE, History of Rome, 12mo.
 Cabinet Encyclopædia, History of Rome, 2 vols. 12mo.

(2) *Portions of Roman History* :—

- Dyer, History of the Kings of Rome, 8vo. 1868.
 — Roma Regalis, 8vo. 1878.
 Ihne, Rome to its Capture by the Gauls, small (Longman & Co.).
 Seeley (J. R.), Livy's History, with Introduction, 1871.
 Newman (F. W.), Regal Rome, 8vo.
 LONG (GEORGE), Decline of the Roman Republic, 5 vols. 8vo.
 — Plutarch's Lives of Romans, 2 vols. 24mo.
 Merivale, Fall of the Roman Republic, post 8vo.
 — Roman Triumvirate, small (Longman & Co.).
 Beesley, Gracchi—Marius—Sylla, small (Longman & Co.).
 Trollope, Cæsar (Ancient Classics).
 Forsyth, Life of Cicero, 8vo.
 Middleton, Life of Cicero, 8vo.
 Smith (Boswell), Rome and Carthage, small (Longman & Co.).

(3) *The Empire* :—

- Capes, Early Roman Empire, small (Longman & Co.).
 — Age of the Antonines, small (Longman & Co.).
 Merivale, History of the Empire, 7 vols. 8vo.
 Arnold (W. T.), Roman Provisional Administration, 12mo. 1879.

(4) *Roman Law* :—

- Harris, Pandects of Justinian, 4to.
 Sundry chapters in Gibbon's Roman Empire.
 Savigny's works on Roman Law (in German).

(5) *Discussions* :—

- Lewis (Sir G. C.) on the Credibility of the Early History of Rome, 2 vols. 8vo.

(6) *Sundry Essays* :—

FREEMAN (E. A.), *Essays, Second Series* : Primitive Archæology of Rome, Mommsen's History of Rome, L. S. Sulla, The Flavian Cæsars. *Essays, Third Series* : First Impressions of Rome.

ARNOLD with MERIVALE should first be mastered. DURUY's history, now publishing in English, will be improved by the editorship of MAHAFFY, who might have been more usefully employed in giving us students' histories of Greece and Rome. The controversy on the early ages of Roman history will be found in Sir G. C. LEWIS, in DYER and SEELEY. All FREEMAN'S *Essays* must be studied. LONG's history gives the clearest impressions of the gradual decline of the Republic, but it is an instructive rather than an exciting work ; his edition of PLUTARCH'S "Lives of the Romans," with notes, is very valuable. FORSYTH'S and MIDDLETON'S lives of Cicero may be read and compared with advantage, including the letters of Cicero. The little work in Lardner's "Cabinet Encyclopædia" on the "HISTORY OF ROME" (2 vols. 12mo.) is admirable. POLYBIUS, though a Greek, should be read carefully ; so also portions of LIVY (the Roman Hume), with SALLUST and TACITUS. PLINY and STRABO should be consulted ; together they form an encyclopædia of Roman learning and science. CICERO'S Offices, *i.e.*, moral duties ; his orations against Catiline and Verres, with the Meditations of the EMPEROR MARCUS AURELIUS and the Morals of EPICETUS, should be read. They give us the opinions of sober, thinking men, who, in an age of singular corruption, were seekers after God, willing to be led by "*the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*" (John i. 9).

IV.—THE RISE AND FALL OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONALITIES.

GIBBON, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 8 or 12 vols. 8vo. (Guizot and Milman).

GIBBON, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 8 or 7 vols. 12mo (Bohn).

SISMONDI, Fall of the Roman Empire, 2 vols. 12mo.

GUIZOT, Civilisation in Europe and in France, 4 vols. 12mo.

HODGKIN, Italy and her Invaders, 2 vols. 8vo.

SHEPPARD (J. G.), the Fall of Rome and the New Nationalities, 12mo.

SMYTH (W.), Lectures on Modern History, 2 vols. 8vo.

MUIR, History of the early Khalifate, 8vo.

FREEMAN (E. A.), Essays, *first* series, Holy Roman Empire ; The French and the Gauls. Essays, *third* series : The Illyrian Empire ; Augusta Treverorum ; Goths at Ravenna ; The Byzantine Empire.

BRYCE (J.), Holy Roman Empire, post 80. (many editions).

Robertson, State of Europe (preface to his Life of Charles V.).

THIERRY (AMÉDÉE), Histoire d'Attila.

— Récits de l'Histoire Romaine au Vme Siècle.

— Nouveau Récit de l'Histoire Romaine, IVme et Vme Siècles.

— (AUGUSTE), Narrative of the Merovingian Era, and Ten Years' Historical Studies, 8vo.

JAMES (G. P. R.), History of Charlemagne, 2 vols.

Perry (W. C.), The Franks, 8vo. 1867.

FINLAY, Greece, from the Romans to our Time, 5 vols. 8vo.

After the chapters in GIBBON relating to the invasion of the empire read the work of SHEPPARD (J. G.) ; the "Fall of Rome and the Rise of new Nationalities," with GUIZOT'S "Civilisation in Europe and in France," 4 vols. 12mo. The Essay in ROBERTSON on the State of Europe after the Fall of the Roman Empire will have to be checked by a comparison with HALLAM'S "Middle Ages." BRYCE (J.), "The Holy Roman Empire" must be read by all who desire to understand the influence of a body of beliefs and traditions respecting Rome upon Mediæval history. The reverence of our barbarian ancestors for Roman civilisation and law, and for Rome as the seat of imperial power, is a singular fact, having also an important and beneficent bearing on the events of that unsettled period. This fact is shown by BRYCE to be the link which connects the history of antiquity through the Middle Ages with the present times. HODGKIN'S "Italy and her Invaders," 2 vols. 8vo., with SMYTH'S (W.), "Lectures on Modern History," 2 vols. 8vo., will naturally follow. MUIR'S "History of the Early KHALIFATE," will prepare the reader to understand FREEMAN'S splendid Essay, and powerful vindication of the character of the Eastern Byzantine Greek Empire, so shamefully libelled by Gibbon and others ; all his Essays will enliven and deepen the impression which we may have already received of the character of this period of history. JAMES (G. P. R.), and PERRY (W. C.), with the writings of the two

THIERRY'S, and SISMONDI'S, "Fall of the Roman Empire," 2 vols., carry the history of Europe through the Middle Ages.

V.—THE MIDDLE AGES.

- HALLAM, Middle Ages, 3 vols. 8vo. or 12mo.
 DUNHAM, Middle Ages, 3 vols. 12mo.
 ——— Germany, 3 vols. 12mo. (Encyclopædia, Lardner).
 SISMONDI, History of France, in 8vo. volumes (not translated).
 ——— Italian Republics, 12mo. (Encyclopædia, Lardner).
 Michelet, History of France (the 1st vol. translated).
 KOHLRAUSCH, History of Germany, 8vo.
 MENZEL, History of Germany, 3 vols. 8vo.
 STEPHENS (Sir J.), Lectures on the History of France, 2 vols. 8vo.
 Palgrave, History of Normandy, 4 vols. 8vo.
 Napier, History of Florence, 9 vols. 12mo.
 MACHIAVELLI, History of Florence, 12mo.
 Michaud, History of the Crusades, 3 vols. 12mo.
 Von Sybel, History of the Literature of the Crusades, 12mo.
 DE COMINES (P.), History of Louis XI., 12mo.
 KIRK (John F.), History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 3 vols. 8vo.
 FROISSART and MONSTRELET, Chronicles of, 4 vols. 8vo.
 PEARSON (Charles), England in the Middle Ages, 2 vols. 8vo.
 LONGMAN (W.), Lectures on the History of England, 8vo.
 ——— History of the Life and Times of Edward III., 2 vols. 8vo.
 Palgrave, Merchant and Friar, and Lord and Vassal, 2 vols. 12mo.
 BUSK (Mrs.), Mediæval Popes, Emperors, and Kings, from 1125–1268, 4 vols. 8vo.
 CHURCH, Beginning of the Middle Ages, }
 JOHNSON, Normans in Europe, } small (Longman & Co.).
 COX, History of the Crusades, }
 STUBBS, Early Plantagenets, }
 WARBURTON, Edward III., }
 FREEMAN, (E. A.), Essays, *first series*: Early Sieges of Paris; Frederick I., King of Italy; Frederick II.; Charles the Bold. *Second series*: Mediæval Greece and North Italy. *Third series*: Mediæval and Modern Greece; The Southern Slaves; Sicilian Cycles; Normans at Palermo.
 Graham, Archers on the Steppe, 12mo.
 Rambach, History of Russia, 2 vols. 8vo.
 Ralston, Early Russian History, 12mo.
 Thomson, Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, 12mo.
 Dante (Life by Mrs. Oliphant), 12mo.
 ——— Church's Translation of De Monarchia, post 8vo.

The history of this period is one which will require the student,

as the readiest way of arriving at a clear conception of the leading facts, to compile tables for himself, presenting the contemporary events in all the leading European states. The *Oxford Tables*, or any other, will help in the formation of a plan. HALLAM is the safest guide generally; portions of the above list, *i.e.* some of the books, and of these the particular chapters which refer to the Middle Ages, should be read. The *Chronicles and Memoirs referring to the History of France* were collected by GUIZOT and published in 31 vols. 8vo. (in French): they belonged to the time from Clovis to the thirteenth century. The *Chronicles of England* have been published in a cheap form by Bohn.

VI.—THE RENAISSANCE, THE REFORMATION UP TO THE END OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS, 1648 A.D.

- SYMONDS (J. A.), *History of the Renaissance in Italy*, 3 vols. 8vo.
 HALLAM, *Introduction to the Literary History of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, 3 vols. 8vo.
 ROSCOE, *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, 2 vols. 8vo. and 12mo.
 ——— *Leo X.*, 7 vols. 8vo. and 12mo.
 MAJOR, *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, and its Results*, 8vo.
 ROBERTSON, *History of the Discovery of America*, 3 vols.
 ——— *History of Charles V.*, 3 vols.
 IRVING (Washington), *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, 4 vols. 8vo.
 ——— *Companions of Columbus*, 12mo.
 FROUDE, *History of England*, 12 vols. post 8vo.
 HELPS, *The Spanish Conquest of America*, 4 vols. 8vo.
 N.B.—Reprinted in a series of Biographies of the Spanish conquerors, Cortez, Pizarro, &c.
 BAIRD, *Rise of the Huguenots*, 2 vols. crown 8vo.
 GARDINER (S. R.), *Puritan Revolution*, small (Longman & Co.)
 ——— *Thirty Years' War*, small (Longman & Co.)
 ——— *History of England from James I. to the Civil War, 1603–1642*, 10 vols. post 8vo.
 MITCHELL, *Life of Wallenstein*, 8vo.
 HART, *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, 2 vols. 8vo.
 HOLLING, *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, 12mo.
 PRESCOTT, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, 3 vols. 8vo.
 ——— *Conquest of Mexico and Peru*, 6 vols. 8vo.
 ——— *History of Philip II.*, 3 vols. 8vo.
 RANKE, *History of the Reformation*, 3 vols. 8vo.
 ——— *Civil Wars of France*, 2 vols. 12mo.
 ——— *Ottoman and Spanish Empires in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 8vo.

D'AUBIGNÉ, History of the Reformation, 5 vols. 8vo.
 Worsley (Henry) Life of Martin Luther, 2 vols. 8vo.
 Michelet, Memoir of Luther, 8vo.
 HARE (Archdeacon), Vindication of Luther, 8vo.
 MOTLEY, Rise of the Dutch Republic, 3 vols.
 — History of the United Netherlands, 4 vols.
 — Life of Barneveldt, 2 vols.
 SARPI (Paul), History of the Council of Trent, folio.
 SULLY, Memoirs, 5 vols. 8vo.
 Retz (Cardinal), Memoirs, 4 vols. 12mo.
 James, Life and Times of Henry IV. of France, 4 vols. 8vo.
 Macaulay, Essays: Lord Bacon, Van Ranke, Machiavelli, Burleigh,
 and Hallam.
 HUME, History of England from Charles I.
 LINGARD, History of England.

We know more of the secret history of this period than of any preceding, owing to the access now open to the State archives, letters, memoirs, &c., of the parties who made the history of their age. Such a revelation of insincerity, falsehood, treachery, and cruelty, associated with the cause of religion, has never before or since been exhibited to the world. "Everybody wore a mask. . . . No portion of history is more bewildering, difficult, and unsatisfactory." The only *great* political event, after the reign of Charles V., was the resistance of the Seven United Provinces to Spain and the consequent overthrow of the Austro-Spanish Confederacy against European liberty. The most interesting facts are connected with the Portuguese and Spanish discoveries eastward and westward. MAJOR'S "Life of Prince Henry of Portugal," and WASHINGTON IRVING and HELPS'S Lives of Columbus and his followers, are our best authorities. Add to these PRESCOTT and MOTLEY. The clearest and most impartial account of the beginning of the Thirty Years' War is found in GARDINER'S "History of the Thirty Years' War" (small) and his "History of James I. and Charles I. up to 1642," 10 vols. 12mo. There is a history in German, by VON ANTON GINDELY, of the Thirty Years' War, which is said to be the best, but it is not yet translated into English. The "History of the Reformation," by RANKE, and by D'AUBIGNÉ, are from very different points of view. ROBERTSON and ROSCÖE write as if the interests of literature and art were far more important than

those of religious liberty and political freedom. HALLAM is considered by Archdeacon HARE to have misunderstood the views of the great Reformer, Martin Luther, and the Archdeacon has replied in his able vindication of Luther, 8vo.

VII.—THE WASTEFUL AND UNNECESSARY WARS OF LOUIS XIV.,
HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND THEIR SUCCESSORS, FROM 1648 TO
THE REVOLUTION OF 1788 A.D.

DYER, History of Europe from the Fall of Constantinople, 5 vols. 8vo.
SCHLOSSER, History of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,
8 vols. 8vo.

HEEREN, Manual of the History of the Political Systems of Europe
and its Colonies from the Fifteenth Century, 2 vols. 8vo.

VOLTAIRE, Lives of Louis XIV. and XV. (*various editions*).

James, Life of Louis XIV., 4 vols. 8vo.

RANKE, History of England principally in the Seventeenth Century,
6 vols. 8vo.

RANKE, History of the House of Brandenburg, Seventeenth and
Eighteenth Centuries, 3 vols. 8vo.

ST. SIMON, Memoirs, by Bayle St. John, 3 vols. 8vo.

PEPYS, Diary, 4 vols. 12mo.

Evelyn, Diary, 4 vols. 12mo.

Burnett, History of his own Times, 6 vols. 8vo.

Clarendon, History of the Civil Wars, 6 vols. 8vo.

HUTCHINSON (LUCY), Memoirs of her Husband, 8vo.

Nugent (Lord), Memoirs of Hampden, 8vo.

MACAULAY, Essays: Sir W. Temple, Hampden, Sir W. Mackintosh
(History), Addison, War of Succession in Spain, Horace Walpole,
William Pitt the Elder (Lord Chatham), William Pitt, Lord Clive,
Warren Hastings, Madame d'Arblay, Frederick the Great.

MACAULAY, History of England, 5 vols. 8vo.

BANCROFT, History of the United States, 7 vols. 12mo.

LECKY, History of England from 1700, 4 vols. 8vo.

Pictorial History of England from Charles I. to George III.

Knight, History of England from Charles I. to Victoria.

Wraxall, History of France, 1574-1610, 6 vols. 8vo.

CARLYLE, Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell, 3 vols. 8vo.

CARLYLE, Life of Frederick II. (the Great) of Prussia, 7 vols. 8vo.

D'AUBIGNÉ, Life of Oliver Cromwell, 8vo.

VAUGHAN (Dr. R.), Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, 2 vols. 8vo.

Panton, Oliver Cromwell, 8vo.

COXE, House of Austria, 3 vols. 12mo. (Bohn).

— Kings of Spain (Bourbon), 5 vols. 8vo.

— Life of the Duke of Marlborough, 3 vols. 12mo. (Bohn).

— Life of Sir Robert Walpole, 4 vols. 8vo.

MACKNIGHT's Life of Bolingbroke, 8vo.
 SWIFT, Life of, by Foster and Craik, 2 vols. 8vo.
 Crowe, History of France, 5 vols. 8vo.
 HUME, History of the Stuarts; BRODIE's Reply to Hume, 2 vols. 8vo.
 STANHOPE (Earl), History of Europe from Queen Anne to 1748,
 7 vols. 12mo.
 BURTON (J. H.), Reign of Queen Anne, 3 vols. 8vo.
 MORRIS, Age of Queen Anne (Epochs, Longman).
 HALE, Fall of the Stuarts (Epochs, Longman).
 Yonge, History of the Bourbons, 4 vols. 8vo.

N.B.—There are also numerous memoirs in the French language, all of which throw light on the manners and morals of French society. Horace Walpole's Letters, &c., and the numerous Memoirs, Diaries, &c., since published refer mainly to English society.

Ludlow, History of the War of American Independence, small (Epochs, Longman).
 MACKNIGHT, Life of Edmund Burke, 3 vols. 8vo.
 BURKE, Reflections on the French Revolution, 12mo.; Reply by Mackintosh.

DYER and SCHLOSSER and HEEREN, with Earl STANHOPE, are useful guides in helping the reader to classify and state, after his own fashion, the leading events of this period. MACAULAY's Histories and Essays will, of course, be read. LECKY's History of England from 1700 should be carefully studied. The ENGLISH REVOLUTIONS of 1640–1688 should be thoroughly canvassed. CLARENDON, BURNETT, CARLYLE, VAUGHAN, and PANTON for that of 1640, and by old RAPIN, MACAULAY, HUME, BRODIE, HALE, MORRIS, BURTON, and MACKNIGHT's Bolingbroke for that of 1688. The history of the *resistance of Europe to the attempts of Louis XIV.* to domineer over Europe will always interest, while the *rise of Prussia* and the reign of *Frederick the Great*, conterminous with the *increase of the political influence of Russia* over Western Europe, are facts the results of which, partly beneficial, are seen in the present political condition of Europe. In the admiration of the bravery and skill of the generals we must not forget the peculiar senselessness and wickedness of most of the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The misery of Belgium, Germany, Poland, North Italy, and Spain, in which these wars were carried on, should be kept in mind, and the authors of these wars should be exhibited in their true colours as the enemies of humanity. The stupidity and mischievous help-

lessness of most of the Kings of Spain and of the Emperors of Austria, the unprincipledness of the petty rulers of the German and Italian principalities, require to be laid open in detail. Two men who desired peace are to be held up to the admiration of posterity, Sir ROBERT WALPOLE and CARDINAL FLEURY, however blamable in other respects.

The *independence of the United States*, and the spirit of reform which led the leading statesmen of Europe to initiate (after a fashion) important changes in their domestic government, are the only pleasurable records of the eighteenth century.

VIII.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1788, 1789, TO THE YEAR 1884 A.D.

Thiers, History of the French Revolution, 5 vols. 8vo.

—— History of the Consulate and the Empire, 5 vols. 8vo.

ALISON, History of Europe from 1789–1815, 10 vols. 8vo.

—— History of Europe from 1815–1850, 8 vols. 8vo.

VON SYBEL, History of the French Revolution, 4 vols. 8vo.

FYFFE, History of Europe, 1788–1815, 1 vol. 8vo. (The second and third vols., to the present time, in the press.)

LANFREY, History of Napoleon, 4 vols. 8vo.

SCOTT (Sir W.), Life of Napoleon.

[The *Memoirs* of Las Casas, Bourrienne, Junot, and others, some of them of very questionable accuracy.]

TAINE, Ancient Régime, 8vo.

—— the Revolution, 8vo.

—— the Jacobin Conquest, 8vo.

NAPIER (Sir W. F. P.), History of the Peninsular War, 6 vols. 8vo.

Mignet, History of the French Revolution, 8vo.

Michelet, Historic View of the French Revolution, 12mo.

LECKY, History of Germany from 1700, 4 vols. 8vo.

Smyth (W.), Lectures, French Revolution, 3 vols. 8vo.

CARLYLE, the French Revolution, 3 vols. 8vo.

Massey, History of England under George III., 3 vols. 12mo.

STANHOPE, Life of William Pitt, 4 vols. 12mo.

MARTINEAU (Miss), History of the Peace following 1815, with Introduction, 5 vols. 12mo.

MOLESWORTH, History of England, from 1830–1867, 3 vols. 12mo.

WALPOLE (SPENCER), History of England, 1815–1841, 3 vols. 8vo.

MACAULAY, Essays: Lord Holland.

Cassell, History of England from the Reign of George III., vols. 5–9.

KNIGHT (C.), History of England, George III. to Queen Victoria.

Pictorial History of England from Charles I. to the end.

WADE, *History of England*, 8vo.

GREEN (J. R.), *Short History of the English People*, 12mo.

—— *History*, 4 vols. 8vo.

—— *Making of England*, 8vo.

—— *Conquest of England*, 8vo.

MACARTHY (JUSTIN), *History of Our Own Times*, 4 vols. 12mo.

IRVING, *Annals of the Reign of Queen Victoria, 1837–1878*, 3 vols.

The books devoted to the history of the FRENCH REVOLUTION and its wars up to 1815 are THIERS, ALISON, VON SYBEL, FYFFE, and CARLYLE. The *Lives of Napoleon* by Sir WALTER SCOTT and LANFREY will help to form a just opinion of that remarkable man. For the Revolution itself SMYTH may be read with advantage, but TAINE is the great authority. Thiers, and the other French historians, are more or less apologists for the leading actors in that great convulsion, and either minify or conceal the calamities endured by the French people in its progress up to the period of the Directory. Of FYFFE'S *History*, reference has been made in page 487. NAPIER'S "*History of the Peninsular War*," though far from complimentary to the English Ministry, does justice to the character and ability of the Iron Duke. The history since 1815 may be read in Miss MARTINEAU, 5 vols. ; MOLESWORTH, 3 vols. ; and SPENCER WALPOLE, 3 vols. 8vo. ; and also in CASSELL'S "*History of England under George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria*," up to the present time, which is a very readable and fair compilation of our recent history. JUSTIN McCARTHY has written a very lively "*History of Our Own Times*" (from the accession of Victoria). GREEN'S *Histories* in 12mo. and in 4 vols. 8vo., need no recommendation. They contain some valuable and impartial statements respecting England and its conduct in connexion with the French revolutionary proceedings ; and the "*Pictorial History of England*" for that period is full and reasonable. There are dozens of volumes relating to France, Germany, and Italy, and Spain, Russia, and Poland, and Turkey, and their political changes since 1815, some of them very valuable, but they belong rather to the local histories than to the general history of the world. So far as England is concerned, the *Lives of* PITT, BURKE, Lord LIVERPOOL, CANNING, Sir ROBERT PEEL, Lord PALMERSTON, Lord MACAULAY, CHARLES J. FOX (by

Lord Russell), Lord MELBOURNE, Lord BROUGHAM, SYDNEY SMITH, Croker, and Lord Malmesbury, &c., may be read with advantage. For our Indian history, the Lives of CLIVE, WARREN HASTINGS, ELLENBOROUGH, DALHOUSIE, and other Governors-General should be read. The two great histories of India are by Mill and Thornton; the narrative of the Sepoy Mutiny has been written by KAYE and MALLESON, and by HOLMES and others. Every month some work of history or biography appeals to the public judgment in favour of new views, or some qualification of old ones, respecting the events of the past century,—a century perhaps the most eventful and the most important in its influence upon the future of any since the world began. The political summaries month by month in some of the magazines, especially in the *Fortnightly*, *Contemporary*, and *Macmillan*, are not only useful summaries, but suggestive and valuable to the reader.

Much, however, as we may insist upon the study of *political history*, without fear of dissent, there is another branch of universal history which must be studied in connexion with secular history. The great fact of all facts, the most extraordinary and influential in the history of the world, *i.e.*, the *incarnation, life, and death*, and the *teachings of our Lord and of his Apostles*, together with the *history of the Churches formed by them*; these are the topics which form what is called *Ecclesiastical History*. In our day it has been written by men of the highest literary ability and of wide and genial sympathies, strangers to the *odium theologicum* too often manifested by ecclesiastical writers. No man can claim the position of an educated man who has paid no attention to this important branch of historical knowledge.

5. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY may be first studied in Murray's Compendiums of General and English Church History; then in MILMAN, 9 vols., and ROBERTSON, 8 vols. But, to do full justice to this branch of history, there are THREE works which must be carefully read and often referred to. J. C. GEISLER, 5 vols. 8vo.; Thomas GREENWOOD's "Cathedra Petri," 6 vols. 8vo., of all histories one of the most trustworthy and impartial, and well fitted to guide towards right conclusions; NEANDER, 9 vols. 8vo.; MOSHEIM is valuable, especially in his "Affairs of the Christians before Con-

stantine." His other work, in six volumes, serves as an index to most of the great questions in the history of the Church up to the seventeenth century. MILNER gives the history of the genuine Christianity found in the Churches before the Reformation. He was the first to do justice to the piety of the Middle Ages, and to the reality of the religion experienced by men whose creed fell short of Scriptural truth. The vehement, unmeasured abuse poured out upon his history by some of the High Church party, and the affected contempt occasionally shown by the *extreme* Liberals of the Broad Church party, may be to the sober reader a warrant for its independent religious character. It should be referred to for information as to the real Christianity existing in the past ages, even the darkest, of the Church. Of the history of the ENGLISH CHURCH (Episcopalian) we have ABBEY and OVERTON'S "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," 2 vols. 8vo.; PERRY'S "History of the Church of England," 3 vols. 8vo.; DR. HOOK'S "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury up to James" (very genial and fair from a High Churchman's standpoint); HORE (A. H.), "Eighteen Centuries of the Church in England," 8vo., 1881; MOLESWORTH (W. N.), "History of the Church of England from 1660," post 8vo., 1882. LECKY'S remarks on ecclesiastical affairs are valuable from his philosophical standpoint. The ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH History of England, by DODD, from 1500 to 1688 (with Tierney's continuation), 5 vols. 8vo., gives the Romanist view, and ought to be carefully read, in common with Archdeacon REYNOLDS'S Reply, 8vo. A work, which, for its impartiality, appears as if written by a most Liberal Episcopalian, or by a kindly Nonconformist, of which DR. J. STOUGHTON, the Congregationalist, is the author, gives a peculiar interest to the history of the English Churches,—Episcopalian, Nonconformist, and Presbyterian,—since 1640 A.D. No one can read the eight volumes of this history without learning much that will modify and correct his prejudices. There is not a fairer or more genial work in our language. Its title is, "*The History of Religion in England.*" The author enjoyed the friendship and esteem of the late Bishop SELWYN, and of the late Archbishop TAIT.

I have not thought it necessary to notice the disputes respecting

the character and judgment of the Fathers of the Anti-Nicean Church and the century following. In DONALDSON'S "History of Christian Literature and Doctrine during the First Three Centuries," 3 vols. 8vo. ; in D'AILLÉ, on "The Use of the Fathers," 8vo., with BLUNT'S work in reply, 8vo. ; in ISAAC TAYLOR'S (Senior) "Ancient Christianity," 2 vols. 8vo., most readers will find as much as they care to know. REEVES (W.), has also, in his translation of Justin Martyr, &c., treated on the right use of the Fathers, 2 vols. 8vo. Bishop KAYE'S three works on Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and the Council of Nice ; STANLEY, on the Eastern Church and the Council of Nice, may be read with advantage. Bishop LIGHTFOOT'S Dissertations, prefaced to his "St. Clement of Rome," and to the Epistles to the Galatians, Philippians, and Colossians, are very valuable. For the general history of the old Church literature, before the Reformation especially, the most impartial of the Romanists are Fleury and Du-Pin. Dr. Smith's Dictionaries of CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES and CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY, 6 vols., royal 8vo. (Murray), are invaluable. Many of the biographies are most interesting reading, and are the most satisfactory records of the great ecclesiastics of the Early and Mediæval Church. BINGHAM'S "Origines Ecclesiasticæ" is the great work on ecclesiastical antiquities. RIDDLE'S (J. E.) work in one thick volume, 8vo., 1839, is more convenient for the general reader.

The LITERARY HISTORY is little more than an index of names, but will serve to remind the student of the existence of a literature, Biblical, Egyptian, Oriental, Greek, and Roman, from the most remote period. In the very brief sketches of the Schools of Philosophy, the distinctive peculiarities of each school have been exhibited. The histories of Greek and Roman literature, and the histories of philosophy referred to in this volume are my main authorities for the subjects to which they refer. *Hallam's* "Introduction to the Literary History of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries"; *Sismondi's* "Literature of the South of Europe"; *Berrington's* "Literary History of the Middle Ages," with various histories of American, French, Italian, German, and Slavonic literature, will assist the student in his researches in this department. *English literary* history has recently been a favourite study in our

schools of learning. CRAIK's unpretending "Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England," 6 vols. 18mo., 1844, is one of the best introductory works for English literature, as GOSTWICK and HARRISON'S is for German literature. A general history of European literature from the seventeenth century is a desideratum which will no doubt in due time be supplied.

6. Beyond the remarks in pp. 45-47, I have not discussed the controversial question of the "Origin of Religion." No additional light has been thrown on the subject by the learned "HIBBERT Lecturers." To Theists the problem presents no difficulties. "The existence of a Being from whom our own being has been derived involves, at least, the possibility of some communication direct or indirect. Yet the impossibility, or the improbability, of any such communication is another of the assumptions continually involved in current theories about the origin of religion. Now it is quite certain that no such assumption can be reasonably made. The perceptions of the human mind are accessible to the intimations of external truth through many avenues of approach. In its very structure it is made to be responsive to some of these intimations by immediate apprehension. Man has that within him by which the invisible can be seen, and the inaudible can be heard, and the intangible can be felt. Not as the result of any reasoning, but by the same power by which it sees and feels the postulates on which all reasoning rests, the human mind may, from the very first, have felt that it was in contact with a mind which was the fountain of its own."¹ This is the fact, in accordance with the revelations contained in the early chapters of the Book of Genesis. With Canon COOKE we are compelled to believe that "all truths which affect the relations between man and God were made known by Divine revelation," and that the facts resulting from the most diligent inquiries into the origins of religious beliefs "are absolutely irreconcilable with the theory which regards all spiritual and soul-elevating religions as evolved by a natural process from a primitive naturalistic polytheism."² In the same spirit Guizot remarks, "When my intellectual transformation took place, when my

¹ Duke of Argyll on the "Unity of Nations," pp. 451, 452.

² "Origin of Religion and Language," 8vo.

opinions became settled, I turned my thoughts chiefly towards the order of the universe, the destiny of man, the course, the laws, and the aim of the Divine development. It was while considering these subjects that the conviction of the Divine intervention flashed upon me, and I recognised clearly and irresistibly the supreme Mind and Will. They manifest themselves to me in the history of the world as clearly as in the movements of the stars. God shows himself to me in the laws which regulate human progress as evidently—much more evidently, as I think—than in those which direct the rising and setting of the sun” (“Guizot in Private Life,” p. 114).

ERRATA.

- Page 22, line 2, *read* Semiramis *for* Semiramus.
 “ 94, “ 27, “ were *for* was.
 “ 155, “ 2, “ John *for* James.
 “ 156, “ 9, “ vindicating *for* vindicated.
 “ 163, “ 36, “ Damasus *for* Damascus.
 “ 172, “ 25, “ raised *for* tripled.
 “ 189, “ 2, “ submitted *after* A.D.
 “ 244, “ 34, “ their *for* thier.
 “ 265, “ 13, “ Magnus IV. *for* Magnus III.
 “ 270, “ 16, *omit* time.
 “ 304, “ 4, *read* decided *for* divided.
 “ 311, “ 31, “ da Romano *for* di Romeno.
 “ 336, “ 40, “ 1700 *for* 1706.
 “ 350, “ 34, “ Verden *for* Verdun.
 “ 394, “ 23, *insert* led *before* vague.
 “ 442, “ 6, *read* Horsley *for* Horseley.
 “ 444, in the note “ Literary *for* Library.
 “ 445, line 36, “ given birth *for* gone back.

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PRELIMINARY NOTES.

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| I. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS. | IV. THE DISPERSION OF THE EARLY FAMILIES OF THE HUMAN RACE. |
| II. THE ORIGINAL SEAT OF THE HUMAN RACE. | V. LANGUAGE, AND THE VARIE- TIES OF LANGUAGE. |
| III. THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE. | VI. SUNDRY SPECULATIONS ON THE ORIGIN AND FORMER CON- DITION OF MAN. |

I.—The Chronology of the Ancient Nations.

I. To understand the order, the times, and dates of events, so as to be able to arrange the facts of the histories in regular succession and in correct relation to each other, is most important. Unfortunately we have no chronological system upon which we can depend before the tenth century previous to the Christian era. All earlier dates referring to a remote antiquity are mere guesses, generally shrewd, and approximately correct, but having no claim to certainty. The ancient nations had no common era or epoch. In the book of Genesis there are found fragments relating to the creation, the flood, the genealogies of the fathers of the human race, which probably have been handed down through the leading families of the race of Shem, and finally incorporated with the religious history of the Abrahamic family. Unfortunately the numbers of the years attached to the genealogies differ in the Hebrew, and in the Septuagint and Samaritan versions, all of them having been either incorrectly copied or purposely modified by way of correction by sundry editors. The true Biblical chronology is lost ; that which is found in our English Bibles is the work of Archbishop Usher, who follows the last recension of the Hebrew Bible, made about 600 A.D. by the Jewish Rabbins of Tiberias. This chronology is inconsistent with the early civilisation of Egypt in the time of Abraham as exhibited to us in the book of Genesis. Between these numbers and those of the Greek version (the Septuagint), made from a far more ancient text of the Hebrew, 250 B.C., there are great

differences, but the extension of time given in this system does not meet the requirements of the well-attested histories of either Egypt or Chaldea. The Hebrew gives 1,616 years between the creation and the flood; the Septuagint, according to Hales, confirmed by Josephus, 2,262 years. Between the flood and the call of Abram, the Hebrew gives 292 years; Hales, from the Septuagint, 1,072 years; the Samaritan, 972 years. Among the inconsistencies and impossibilities of Usher's system may be noticed, that it makes Noah and Abram contemporaries, the former living up to the fifty-eighth year of the latter, and Shem living up to the hundred and tenth year of Isaac and the fiftieth of Jacob, so that, according to these systems of chronology, the building of Babel and the general spread of idolatry took place in the time of Noah.¹ The system of Hales, corrected by Dr. Russell,² appears to come nearest to the truth. Recently F. R. and C. R. Conder have thrown much light upon the chronology of the Israelitish history.³ The variations of the chronological systems will be seen in the following table:—

| | B.C. Usher. | B.C. Hales. | B.C. Bunsen. | B.C. Bunsen, Jr. | B.C. Conder. |
|--|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| The Creation..... | 4,004 ... | 5,441 ... | 20,000 ... | 10,500 ... | ... |
| The Flood..... | 2,348 ... | 3,155 ... | 10,000 ... | 2,360 ... | ... |
| The Call of Abram... | 1,961 ... | 2,078 ... | 2,870 ... | 1,993 ... | 1,186 |
| The Exode from Egypt..... | 1,491 ... | 1,648 ... | 1,320 ... | 1,563 ... | 1,541 |
| The Building of Solo- mon's Temple..... | 1,012 ... | 1,027 ... | 1,040 ... | 971 ... | 1,007 |

These great differences are of little importance practically, as they are the largest in reference to pre-historic times, which are almost unknown to us; after the tenth century B.C., the chronologists in the main agree; our information respecting the early history of the world until the sixth century B.C. is mainly drawn from the books of the Old Testament. The earliest Greek historian extant is Herodotus, who lived so late as 400 B.C., while Moses lived 1500 to 1600 B.C. Within the last generation, the discoveries in Egypt and in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris have opened out to us a new revelation of the past history of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and the East. In the course of another generation we may confidently expect still further discoveries, through the labours of our learned Egyptologists and Assyriologists.

¹ Hales' "Analysis of Ancient Chronology," 4 vols. 8vo.

² Russell's "Connexion of Sacred and Profane History," 3 vols. 8vo.

³ Conder's "Hand-book to the Bible," crown 8vo.

What the Greeks thought of their past history, as to their antiquity, is to be seen in the Arundelian marbles, which profess to give the exact dates of the most remote events in their legendary history (B.C. 300–200). The Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions give us their estimate of the past history of their races. We take these as probable guides, not as infallible ones.

2. The extraordinary claims to antiquity on the part of certain Eastern nations and Egypt are common to all ancient races, with the marked exception of the Israelitish people. We may safely set aside the periods of hundreds of thousands of years in which gods and mythical personages figure in the annals of Egypt and Babylon, for instance; these chronological systems, no doubt, originated in the calculation of astronomical cycles, just as we can calculate the past appearance of the comets. The Egyptian basis for their chronology was the Sothic period of 1,461 years, in which the rising of the Dog-star again coincided with the beginning of their civic year, 20th July; the priests comprised the whole duration of the world in 251 Sothic periods equal to 36,525 years, during which period they thought that the sun had twice risen in the west, and had twice set in the east. Manetho, the Egyptian priest (whose work is lost, extracts only having been preserved, the dates being evidently altered and amended to suit chronological theories), has given us lists of kings and dynasties; the monuments of Egypt and the papyri of Turin confirm the accuracy of the names of the kings and of the dynasties as given by Manetho, and, to some extent, the order of their succession. "The very thorough investigation to which learned experts have subjected the succession of the Pharaohs, and the chronological order of the dynasties, have shown the absolute necessity of supposing in the lists of Manetho contemporary and collateral dynasties, and thus of diminishing considerably the total duration of the dynasties. From the nature of the calculations, based on the exact determination of the regnal years of the kings, every number which is rectified necessarily changes the results of the whole series of numbers. It is only from the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty (666 B.C.) that the chronology is founded on data which leave little to be desired as to their certitude."¹ Another eminent Egyptologist, Mariette Bey, tells us "that the greatest of all the obstacles in the way of establishing a regular Egyptian chronology is the fact that the Egyptians themselves never had any chronology at all; the use of a fixed era was unknown, and it has not

¹ Brugsch-Bey, "History of Egypt," vol. i. pp. 31, 32.

yet been proved that they had any other reckoning than the years of the reigning monarch."¹ If we compare the lists of Manetho with those found on the Turin papyri, and in the tablets of Abydos and Sakkara, the conviction is forced upon us that all these are mere attempts to reduce a chronological chaos of disconnected dates into a form acceptable to priestly and royal vanity. The impossibility of arriving at satisfactory results in the absence of satisfactory data is obvious, when we notice the contradictions in the systems of the learned Egyptologists, in which between the highest and the lowest date of the reign of Menes (the first king of Egypt) there is a difference of 3,000 years!

| | B. C. | | B. C. |
|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|
| Boekh | 5,702 | Lauth..... | 4,157 |
| Unger..... | 5,613 | Lepsius..... | 3,892 |
| Mariette and Lenormant..... | 5,004 | Bunsen (his early opinion) | 3,673 |
| Brugsch-Bey..... | 4,455 | „ (his later date) | 3,059 |
| R. S. Poole | 2,717 | Wilkinson..... | 2,691 |

The Babylonish chronology of Berosus, setting aside the mythical period, is comparatively sober and rational. Baron Bunsen in his speculations has convinced himself that a Turanian dynasty was reigning in Babylon 7,000 to 8,000 years before our era, of which there is not a shadow of proof. Recent discoveries in Babylonia of a Sargon who lived 3,800 B.C. are less improbable, though not yet proved. We may exhibit the uncertainty of Egyptian chronology by a reference to the difference in the dates given for the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings and for their expulsion; in the one case 213 years, in the latter 183 years.

The Invasion of the Hyksos.

| | B. C. |
|------------------------------|-------|
| Lenormant and Mariette | 2,214 |
| Brugsch | 2,233 |
| Lepsius | 2,101 |
| Bunsen | 2,070 |
| Poole..... | 2,080 |
| Wilkinson..... | 2,020 |

The Expulsion of the Hyksos and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

| | B. C. |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Lenormant and Mariette..... | 1,703 |
| Brugsch..... | 1,700 |
| Lepsius..... | 1,591 |
| Bunsen..... | 1,633 |
| Poole..... | 1,525 |
| Wilkinson..... | 1,520 |

We have no reasonable grounds for placing the civilisation of Egypt higher than that of the Babylonians and Chaldeans. To suppose that Egypt existed as a powerful kingdom for 3,000 or 4,000 years before the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, and that during that long period her rulers had confined themselves to the

¹ Lenormant, "Manual of Ancient History," vol. i. p. 198.

occupancy of the peninsula of Sinai and the conquest of some petty tribes on the south, and that North Africa remained unmolested, and that the rivalry with the states in the valley of the Euphrates had not, until before 1300 or 1400 B.C. commenced, is not probable. We do notice a change in the kings of the eighteenth dynasty from 1700 B.C. It is most probable that all the dynasties, or most of them before the arrival of the Hyksos, were contemporary, and that Menes began his reign 2700 B.C., 3,000 years later than the period assigned by Boekh. Suppose that the kings of the heptarchy in England had been arranged as consecutive successors of Hengist and Horsa instead of being arranged as contemporaries, the Egbert of our history (827 A.D.) might be made to rule over a monarchy of 2,000 or 3,000 years instead of 400 years.

II.—The Original Seat of the Human Race after the Flood.

1. It is reasonable to suppose that, under providential guidance, this locality would be one in which the conditions of soil, climate, vegetable productions, and fitness for animal life existed. No region in the world combines all these recommendations so fully as the table-land bordering on the central range of Ararat, extending from Armenia to the Hindu Kosh, a plateau raised above the lacustrine impurities and morasses of the slowly-draining plains as left by the deluge. All tradition points to this district. On the supposition that mankind spread from this position, we may harmonise every linguistic phenomenon, and explain every ethnographical fact, and the farther we depart in any direction the greater are the difficulties in which we find ourselves entangled. As for those who contend that man was created independently in different parts of the globe, it is sufficient to say that such an hypothesis is unnecessary, since the spread of population can be accounted for in a very satisfactory manner without the assumption of more than one starting-point, and the differences of race observable in different parts of the globe are not differences of species inconsistent with one common origin. Such an hypothesis would leave unexplained and inexplicable the proofs of an original identity of language, to which philology is daily making additions of the greatest weight and importance. These views, expressed by Dr. Donaldson,¹ are valuable as coming from a learned rationalistic divine, with no special prejudice in favour of orthodoxy whether in theology or criticism. On this table-land mankind remained and multiplied for some centuries,

¹ "New Cratylus," second ed., p. 99.

retaining, and possibly adding to, the arts and civilisation inherited from the antediluvian world, and enjoying the comforts and conveniences of agricultural life. The great mountain-range "Ararat" afforded many localities from which, at different points, the leading branches of the human family may have begun their occupancy of the face of the earth either southward, westward, eastward, or northward, each branch of adventurous explorers retaining for generations the remembrance of the primitive home; and so it is that many of the western Asiatics point to the ranges of Armenia, while the Hindu races point to the Hindu Kosh as the home of the patriarchs of their race. As these migrations consisted of men who had retained the knowledge of the useful arts and of the civilisation of the old world, we can better account for the early advancement of society in Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt, &c.

2. It is possible for us to form some notion of the condition of society among the Indo-European races on the table-land, before their dispersion, by the help of philology applied principally to the language of these races of the stock of Japhet. "We find in the Aryan, Greek, Italic, Letto-Sclavonic, Germanic, and Keltic languages words the roots of which must be considered as a common possession acquired before the separation, from which we can discover their *then* stage of life. Here are common terms for members of the family—father, mother, son, and daughter (the milker); for house, yard, garden, citadel; common words for horses, cattle, dogs, swine, sheep, goats, mice, geese, ducks; common roots for wool, hemp, flax, corn (wheat, spelt, or barley); for ploughing, grinding, and weaving; for certain metals, copper or iron; for some weapons and tools; for wagon, boat, and rudder; for the elementary numbers and the divisions of the year according to the moon: all these words imply a civilisation of the Indo-European races adapted to their agricultural and pastoral life."¹ There are other words also, such as king, law, temple, palaces, shops, carriages, high-roads, bridges, which belong to an after-period in the Aryan culture after the removal from the table-land (Max Müller, "Lectures," p. 34). Thus it is evident that civilised life is the original normal condition of man, while barbarism is the loss (by disuse) of the original culture and arts of the race, by irregular offshoots, the wanderers, the backwoodsmen of the primitive civilised centres. The remains of these outcasts have been recognised, and inferences drawn that the primitive man was a savage, existing as the Samoeids of Asia

¹ Max-Duncker, "Hist. of Antiquity," vol. iv. pp. 2, 3.

and the Esquimaux of America; but this generalisation from exceptional premises is most unsatisfactory. "We may also dismiss the fanciful speculations respecting a stone period, and a bronze period, and an iron period, as applied to a theory of the progress of the human race from barbarism to civilisation. So far as the oldest records tell us, the human family, in its earliest stages of progress, possessed the use of the metals necessary for building, for hunting, and for agriculture; and the fact of the existence of isolated communities in the degradation of savage life is no proof of the general uncivilised condition of the parent stock."¹ It is amusing to read such remarks as the following, founded on an assumption of the barbarous condition of the first human families: "Men must even have made considerable progress towards civilisation before they acquired the idea of property, and ascertain it so perfectly as to be acquainted with the most simple of all contracts, that of exchanging by barter one rude commodity for another."² Wherever were men found who did not know the difference between *mine* and *thine*, and were unable to make exchanges?

3. Physical causes probably contributed to delay the general separation of the human race for some centuries. In the opinion of some geologists, the inland seas of Aral, the Caspian, and the Euxine, with the Sea of Azoph, formed originally one vast expanse of water, spreading over the plains of northern Asia and eastern Europe to the Baltic Sea and its gulfs. Gradually, through the elevation of these plains and by the breaking open of a passage for these waters through the narrow channel of the Hellespont into the Mediterranean, these inland seas were restrained within their present limits, and thus the plains of eastern Europe to the Baltic, and those of Asia to the Arctic Ocean, became dry land. This change may be referred to as the event which signalled the life of Peleg (2754 B.C., Genesis x. 25). It is all but certain that central and northern Europe were not occupied until long after the valleys of the Euphrates and Nile and the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. With some few exceptions, as in Chaldea and Egypt, the migrating tribes, gradually dispersed, continued for ages to live a nomad life, not altogether neglecting agriculture, a mode of life most natural and agreeable to a sparse population with the whole earth open for pasturage. Even in our day, in all Asia west of the Indus, the open plains north of the Caspian, and the plateau of Persia, and the

¹ Donaldson, "New Cratylus," p. 99.

² Robertson, "Hist. of America," vol. i. p. 3.

plains of Asiatic Turkey are occupied by shepherd tribes, while the banks of rivers have become the seats of a settled agricultural population. We need not wonder that collisions between tribes coveting the richer and best-watered pasturages, or envying the wealth and comfort of the agricultural communities, would frequently occur. Various stages of civilisation *then*, as *now*, existed in the same territory, as the Hunter State, the Shepherd State, the rude beginnings of cultivation on partially cleared lands, and the more perfect tillage of the experienced agriculturalist. In these migrations the pure Theistical faith of the Patriarchal families became corrupted, and by degrees was lost, superseded by Polytheistic notions, combined with Atheistic and Pantheistic speculations. Much, too, of the civilisation of the Patriarchal age was forgotten, through disuse, in the transition state from settled to nomad life; here and there were small offshoots of the human family sinking into absolute barbarism by their disconnexion with the main stock. But barbarism is not (as has been assumed by some) the original state of the human race. All our researches point to an early simple civilisation, improved by some races and neglected by others, according to the differing circumstances in which they were placed in the course of their migrations. So also with respect to religion. Ebrard and others have proved that, "if we pursue the religious history of the civilised nations of antiquity, we find . . . in proportion as we ascend into the past, a greater approximation to the knowledge of the one living holy God, in conjunction with a more vivid ethical consciousness of the difference between good and evil."¹ Lenormant recognises "in the annals of humanity the development of a providential plan running through all ages and all vicissitudes of society . . . thus, above all, it is that I am almost invincibly attached to the doctrine of the constant and unlimited progress of humanity, a doctrine unknown to Paganism, a doctrine born of Christianity."²

III.—The Unity of the Human Race.

1. Place together a specimen of the most perfect of the Caucasian races and a specimen of the most degraded races, the Bosjeman of South Africa or the aborigines of Australia, and it will then appear difficult to admit the usual interpretation of the text, Acts xvii. 26, in which St. Paul affirms that God "*made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.*" But, on the other hand,

¹ "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," vol. xxix. p. 50.

² Lenormant, vol. i. p. 16.

arrange in one line specimens of all the races beginning with the highest down to the very lowest, the transition is so gradual, and, in some cases, so imperceptible, that no one can reasonably doubt the relation of each specimen to its predecessors and its successors in the line, and the fact of the *oneness*, the unity of the race. "It is not possible to establish a well-defined separation between the separate races of men which graduate insensibly one into the other."¹ Physiologists generally agree in the opinion that the structural differences which are found in the separate races of mankind coincide with similar varieties in the animal world, in the case of certain domestic animals, as the dog, the swine, the horse, horned cattle, sheep, goats, of each of which races there are a great number of varieties, but all traceable to an original stock. Some of these varieties have arisen within a brief period. For instance, the swine taken to America by the Spaniards in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, have produced varieties widely differing from the parent stock and from each other. In respect also to colour there is a perfect analogy in the changes which take place in domestic animals and men. There is no organic difference between the skin of the European and that of other races (the negro) such as would lead us to imagine a diversity of species in mankind.² In the negro the darkened colour of the skin and the excessive development of the black mucous secretion (pigment) which forms under the epidermis, is unquestionably an effect of a burning climate and of a sun-power operating for ages on successive generations (Lenormant), though other causes may have also been in operation.

2. The theory of the evolution of all species from one original, probable enough within certain limits, is thoroughly opposed to the once popular theory of generic differences of the races of mankind, and of separate creations of each race.

3. To those that believe in the divine providential guidance of the human race, it will not be difficult to suppose that the variations in the physique of the different races of men have gradually grown, according to a mercifully-designed natural law, to fit them to enjoy life in the climates in which we find them existing. In the black races in Africa, and elsewhere, there is a large variety of types, some scarcely distinguishable from the southern European of Spain or Italy, and others widely removed from the highest type.

4. "It is true that there are great outward bodily differences

¹ Lenormant, "Manual of Ancient History," vol. i. p. 49.

² Prichard's "Natural History of Man."

between the different races of men, and that there have been found some advocates for materialism who ignore the spiritual indications of unity, and deny the claim of the inhabitants of Africa to rank with Europeans as the same animal. But a more enlightened research has triumphed over all these difficulties, and it is now seen that the physical differences of the races spread over the earth's surface are explicable from secondary causes, on the hypothesis of a primeval identity of origin, and a subsequent dispersion of emigrants from the home of their family; and that we may account in the same manner for those differences in intellectual development which correspond to the physical differences of nations."¹

IV.—The Dispersion.

1. We know nothing of the time when the dispersion of the human family began, or of the circumstances under which it was conducted. In all probability it was orderly and in accordance with the existing patriarchal organisations, "according to their generations in their nations" (Gen. x.). The family had grown into a tribe, and the ordinary step towards the formation of the nation was by an amalgamation of tribes. Before the general dispersion, there had no doubt been many isolated departures of individuals and families, who, thus separated from the civilised parent stock, soon lost the habits and arts of civilised life and relapsed into savageism; the remains of some of the exceptional specimens of the race have led some of the learned to form theories founded on the original low, savage, and brutal condition of the first men; theories opposed by all the facts of accredited history.

2. Certain races which ethnologists term *Turanian* defy classification; the name is derived from the word Turan ("land of darkness"), applied to the lands north of the Caucasus and the Oxus. These races, however, were (some of them at least) farther advanced in the arts of civilised life than their contemporaries; their language may have been the original speech of the human family, that which was "confounded" at Shinar (Gen. xi. 9), and thus broken into a large number of dialects, varying in their vocabulary, but all distinguished by the principle of agglutination which pervades their grammatical structure. In the earliest periods of the history of the human family, this form of speech seems to have prevailed over Asia, from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean, and from the

¹ Donaldson, "New Cratylus," p. 70.

Mediterranean to the mouth of the Ganges and to Cape Comorin. The first settlers in Europe, the Laps, Fins, Esths, Tshudes, Basques, spoke dialects of this type. So also the Cushites of Arabia and eastern Africa, and the original Mizraim in Egypt. We may infer with some reason that these Turanians formed the advance of the emigration in the general dispersion, and that they belonged chiefly to the Hamite and Japetan branches of the human family. Some philologists regard the Shemitish and Indo-European class of languages as developments from this original Turanian. In the course of time Shemitish and Indo-European languages largely supplanted the Turanian.

3. The SHEMITISH tribes appeared to have followed long after the Turanians, and to have been to a large extent intermingled with them in Chaldea, Mesopotamia, and Syria. The bulk of the JAPETAN tribes appear to have been restrained, for some ages, by physical difficulties already noticed; possibly the fathers of the Tartar, Mongolian races had departed north-eastward long before the other families of this race had begun their migration. We may infer six distinct migrating movements. The *first*, that of the KELTIC races; the *second*, that of the TEUTONIC (German) races; the *third* (it may be in point of time the second), that of the PELASCIC races, the fathers and predecessors of the Italic, Hellenic, Illyrian and Thracian people. Some suppose this migration to have passed through Asia Minor, and to have left the Ionians on the Egean before they crossed the Hellespont into Europe, while others favour the passage by the north of the Black Sea. The *fourth* was the settlement of the ARYANS in PERSIA and Central Asia, about 2000 B.C.; the *fifth* was the movement of the EASTERN ARYANS into the Punjaub (INDIA), and their subsequent occupation of all India north of the Dekkan; the *sixth*, the SCLAVONIC races. This sketch is in accordance with facts at present known to us, but in the changes which follow these migrations, in which the law of the strongest set aside the claims of the first comers, many exceptions difficult to reconcile with this scheme, or, in fact, with any scheme, may be noticed by historians. The settlement of the Mizraim and others of the family of HAM in Egypt and Africa, is by some of the learned connected with the Turanian migration, with which the Hamites were largely identified.

In the opinion of Dr. Donaldson; founded purely on philological considerations, the intermingling of some Sclavonic and Germanic tribes produced the Lithuanians and the Pelasgi. While one branch of the Germans (the low) took possession of Scandinavia, the other branch (the high) were the progenitors of the Hellenes or Dorians,

who settled on the highlands to the north of Greece. The Pelasgi first followed and superseded the Keltic races in Italy and Greece. In Italy there followed a Lithuanian settlement, and in Greece that of the Hellenes. Our great historian, E. A. Freeman, regards the Basques, Iberians, Ligurians, and Sikanians, and possibly the Etruscans, as fragments of a vast pre-Aryan race, perhaps of BERBER (African) origin. The Hellenic and Italic races, with the races akin to them, Sikels, Thracians, Epirots, Illyrians, were the first of the ARYAN migrations into Europe known to history. Coëval with these the KELTS were pressing their way through the solid central Europe; they were the vanguard of the Aryan migration, within their own range, and the first swarm which made its way to the Atlantic, exterminating or absorbing their Iberian and other predecessors (generally called Turanians by ethnologists). After these came the TEUTONS, the *Germanic* races, who pressed on the Kelts from the east, and in their wake the SCLAVONIANS. The LITHUANIANS, generally regarded as Slavonians, are remarkable as a people whose tongue comes nearest of any to the Aryan model.

All these are speculations to be respectfully received as coming from men of undoubted learning and research. The first volume of "Herodotus," translated by Rawlinson, fourth edition, 1880, pp. 668-702; the two great works of Donaldson, the "New Cratylus" and "Varronianus," and the invaluable work of Freeman, on the "Historic Geography of Europe," are the safest guides to the ethnologist.

V.—Language and the Varieties of Language.

1. Some of the learned regard language as of purely human invention. Languages no doubt grow and enlarge with the human mind; but language itself is the distinctive gift of God to the human race, exercised by the first man in giving names to external things, and in the expression of thought and feeling. "The most profound and highly gifted of these philosophers (William von Humboldt), who have devoted themselves to this study, have inferred that language is the necessary and spontaneous result of man's constitution, that human speech and human nature are inseparable, and consequently that language was originally one."¹ "If any one thing more than another can show the absurdity of those who speak of an invented language, it is simply this fact, that the oldest languages are always the richest in materials, the most perfect in analogy, the most uniform in etymological organisation. Philology, too, instructs us

¹ Donaldson, "New Cratylus," p. 79.

that those very words which the believer in an invented language regards as the most difficult to invent, and, therefore, as the last introduced are in fact the basis of all languages; for instance, the pronouns and numerals, which Adam Smith considers of recent introduction, are known to have been the very oldest part of every tongue, for it is just these words which retain their identity in languages which have been longest separate, and have therefore become most unlike in other particulars."¹ With the *Shemitic* and *Indo-European* class of languages philologists are familiar. With the *Turanian* our acquaintance is limited.² Some suppose that all these diverse languages originated at once in Shinar after the building of Babel, in the first confusion of tongues (Gen. xi. 7-9), and that the regularly-formed tongue of Shem and Japhet were exempted from this change; others would trace all these and other varieties of human speech to a gradual modification of the Turanian, the original language which began at Shinar. These views are not necessarily contradictory.

2. There are some popular theories advocated in our serial literature bearing on the languages and ethnology of the early nations, which, though plausible, have never retained their position in public opinion. One theory is that of a pre-Adamite race; another is that of limiting the action of the deluge to the race of Seth. Lenormant, McCausland, and R. S. Poole, all of them believers in revelation, favour these theories, and consider them capable of scriptural proof. In the opinion of the majority of our archæologists these hypotheses create more difficulties than they remove.

3. The learned philologists of Europe have, in the present century, overcome the apparently impossible task of deciphering and translating the *hieroglyphical* inscriptions of Egypt, and the cuneiform arrow-headed characters of Assyria and Babylonia. The Rosetta stone, a monument in honour of Ptolemy V., 200 B.C., was discovered by the French in Rosetta, 1798; it was captured by the British troops in 1801, and presented by George III. to the British Museum. This stone, having three inscriptions, one hieroglyphical, another Demotic, and

¹ Donaldson, "New Cratylus," p. 80.

² Of one of these languages, the Kaffir (South Africa), I can speak with some confidence, having, fifty years ago, formed the first grammar ("The Kaffir Language," 4to, 1834); this was followed by enlarged and improved editions by W. J. Davis, and at length followed by the exhaustive grammar of J. W. Appleyard (8vo.). In the composition of this first grammar I had the benefit of the help of a clever youth, since known as Sir Theophilus Shepstone, to whom the Kaffir language was as familiar as his mother-tongue.

the third Greek, afforded material for the commencement of a scientific study, which resulted in the successful interpretation of the Egyptian inscriptions. By Dr. Young in 1818, and by Champollion in 1822-1830, the foundations of the science of Egyptology were laid. Since then Bunsen, De Rouge, Mariette, Lepsius, Bird, Poole, Lenormant, and others have laboured diligently in these investigations. The *cuneiform*, arrow-headed, wedge-like characters, first invented by the Sumir Akkads of Chaldea first attracted the notice of Grotefend in Germany some eighty years ago. Longperier and De Saulcy, influenced by the excavations of Botta and Layard at Nineveh, took up the inquiry. Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Jules Oppert devoted themselves to the investigation of the inscriptions on the stone in Behistan, made by order of Darius Hystaspes. The three languages, Assyrian, Persian, and Akkadian were deciphered and translated to the satisfaction of the learned. The process by which these wonderful results have been accomplished is fully explained in Mahaffy's "*Prolegomena to Ancient History*,"¹ and by Heeren, Rawlinson, and others. The Coptic dialect of the old Egyptian, the Zend (old Persian), and the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic languages were available for the explanation of the meanings of the words when deciphered.

VI.—Sundry Speculations on the Origin and former Condition of Man.

1. Believing in the revelation given to our race, recorded in the book of Genesis, the writer of this work attaches no importance to recent speculations by which that revelation has been ignored or contradicted, but the fact of sundry theories, opposed to the Biblical account, and the discussion of these theories, require to be noticed. As far as possible, the following is a classification of the leading works on the subjects:—(a.) ON THE ORIGIN AND EARLY CONDITION OF THE RACE.—Geological Evidence of the Antiquity of Man, 4th edition, 8vo., 1873 (Sir Chas. Lyell). Primæval Man, 12mo., 1869 (Duke of Argyll). Evidences as to Man's Place in Nature, 8vo., 1868 (T. H. Huxley). The Descent of Man, 2 vols., 8vo., 1871 (E. Darwin). The Recent Origin of Man, 8vo., 1875 (J. C. Southall). Pre-historic Times, 8vo., 1878; Origin of Civilisation and Primitive Condition of Man, 8vo., 1870 (Sir J. Lubbock). The Age of Man, Geologically considered, 18mo., 1866 (John Kirk).

¹ "*Prolegom. to Ancient History*," 8vo., 1870, pp. 96-112.

Archaia, 8vo., 1860; Origin of the World, 8vo., 1877; Life Dawn on Earth, 8vo., 1875; Fossil Men, 8vo., 1875 (J. W. Dawson). (b.) ON THE DIFFERENCE OF THE RACES OF MANKIND.—Natural History of Man, 2 vols., royal 8vo., 1855; Physical History of Mankind, 5 vols., 8vo., 1841-47 (J. R. Prichard). Genesis of the Earth and Man, 8vo., 1863 (R. S. Poole). Adam and the Adamites, 12mo., 1864; Builders of Babel, 12mo., 1871 (D. McCausland). Natural History of the Varieties of Mankind, 8vo., 1850; Descriptive Ethnology, 2 vols., 1859; Man and his Migrations, 12mo., 1851 (R. G. Latham).

2. The speculations on the ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE, the VARIETIES of human speech, their differences, and their affinities have created an extensive literature, from which the following may be selected:—Hermes, 8vo., (J. Harris). Diversions of Purley, 2 vols., 8vo., 1829 (J. Horne Tooke). Language and the Study of Language, 8vo., 1868 (W. D. Whitney). Elements of Comparative Philology, 8vo., 1862 (R. G. Latham). Philosophy of Life and Language, 12mo., 1847 (F. von Schlegel). Varronianus, and the New Cratylus, 1844-50 (J. W. Donaldson). Lectures on the Science of Language, 2 vols., 8vo., 1871; On the Stratification of Language, 8vo., 1868; Chips from a German Workshop, 3 vols., 8vo., 1867-8 (Max-Müller). Principles of Comparative Philology, 8vo., 1874 (A. H. Sayce).

3. These lists are but a small selection from a large body of valuable works; they are, however, sufficient to exhibit the various opinions held by the learned on the subjects to which they refer, and with respect to which it is desirable for educated men to have some acquaintance.

FIRST PERIOD.

The Earliest Nations up to 1000 B.C.

1. BEFORE the discoveries of the last half-century, our knowledge of the early history of Egypt and of Western Asia was confined to very valuable but fragmentary notices in the Old Testament, and in the remains of Berossus and Manetho. The writings of Herodotus, Ctesias, Diodorus and others tended rather to mislead than to inform the historical inquirer. Now, by the persevering labours of our learned archæological experts, in connexion with our laborious excavators, the monumental remains of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria have been opened to the investigation of the philologists of Europe, by whose patient industry and critical acumen we are placed in a position to understand more definitely the state of the ancient world. The history of Egypt is becoming a reality; the fables of Ctesias are no longer quoted as resting upon traditional or national records; while the actual condition of Babylonia, Chaldea, and Assyria can be read in the brick tablets found in the mounds on the Euphrates and Tigris. What has been taught us from these sources may be with confidence regarded as substantially true, after making some allowance for the influence of national vanity, and of party feeling, the existence of which was as evidently manifested in the most remote antiquity as in our day. "It is one thing to decipher inscriptions and hieroglyphs, but quite another thing to determine their exact value when deciphered" (see the *Spectator*, Dec. 22, 1883). Monumental statements are by no means decisive as to facts, but must be tested by other evidences.

2. While, however, these discoveries refer mainly to nations

located between the east and south-east of the Mediterranean and the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, which flow into the Persian Gulf, we must not lose sight of the fact that the Mediterranean Sea is the real centre of the ancient world. Mommsen truly remarks, "The Mediterranean Sea . . . at once separates and connects the three divisions of the old world. The shores of this inland sea were in ancient times peopled by various nations, belonging, in an ethnographical and philological point of view, to different races, but constituting in their historical aspect one whole. This historic whole has been usually, but not very appropriately entitled, the history of the ancient world. It is, in reality, the history of civilisation among the Mediterranean nations; and, as it passes before us in its successive stages, it presents four great phases of development,—the history of the Coptic or Egyptian stock dwelling on the southern shore; the history of the Aramean or Syrian nation, which occupied the east coast, and extended into the interior of Asia, as far as the Euphrates and Tigris; and the histories of the twin peoples, the Hellenes and Italians, who received as their heritage the countries bordering on its European shores. . . . So far, therefore, as cycles of culture admit of demarcation at all, we may record that cycle as an unity which has its culminating points, denoted by the names *Thebes*, *Carthage*, *Athens*, and *Rome*."¹ We may add to these "culminating points," so closely connected with the Mediterranean, the additional names of *Babylon*, *Nineveh*, *Phœnicia*, and *Israel* (Tyre and Jerusalem). These nations in due course finished their work, after which, "new peoples who hitherto had only laved the territories of the states of the Mediterranean overflowed both its shores, severed the history of its south coast from that of the north, and transferred the centre of civilisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean. The distinction between *ancient* and *modern* history, therefore, is no mere accident, nor yet a mere matter of chronological convenience. What is called *modern* history is, in reality, the formation of a new cycle of culture, connected at several epochs of its development with the perishing or perished civilisation of the Mediterranean states, as that was connected with the primitive civilisation of the Indo-Germanic stock, but destined, like that earlier cycle, to traverse an orbit of its own."²

3. The earliest seats of civilisation are admitted to be the valleys and rich alluvial deposits of the rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, which empty themselves into the Persian Gulf, and the valley of

¹ Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

² Ibid. p. 4.

the Nile. This latter river, conveying in its floods the fertile soils from the plains and mountains of Central Africa, has created the narrow strip of cultivatable land, hemmed in by the sandy desert for two or three miles on each side of the river, and then widening into a Delta formed by the various channels through which the mighty and once mysterious river reaches the Mediterranean: thus was formed the land of Egypt. So also are the Euphrates and Tigris; cultivation is mainly confined to their banks. The vast plain bordering on these banks, and which extends between these rivers to the Persian Gulf, forms a rich pasturage for cattle. One immense desert, beginning with the Saharan waste, which touches the Atlantic Ocean, and then eastward reaches as far as the Yellow Sea, crosses the eastern hemisphere. It is only interrupted by the valley of the Nile, by a narrow slip of land on the east of the Mediterranean, and again by the more extensive valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. West of the Nile and the immediate west of the Euphrates, are mere seas of sand, scarcely above the level of the ocean. To the east of the Euphrates and Tigris the desert consists, for the most part, of a series of terraced plateaux, from three to ten thousand feet above the sea level. The land in the vicinity of these rivers is inundated yearly, and, being kept watered by canals in ancient times, produced rice and barley with an increase of two hundred for one. The southern plain of Chaldea is a land of incomparable fertility, yielding its fruits almost without labour; thus it is that in these plains all the races of the ancient world have successively encountered each other. Babylon and Memphis have been the two great centres of civilisation, though Babylon claims, with reason, the priority; they have even been rivals; the struggles of Egypt for superiority over the empires of Assyria and Babylonia, and the re-action of the strife, constitutes the military history of these ancient nations, until Alexander the Great united both under one government.¹

4. It is not, therefore, surprising to find, from the notices in the book of Genesis and from the universal testimony of the historical traditions preserved by the Greeks, that the earliest attempts in the formation of distinct national governments were made in the plains bordering on the Euphrates, and in the valley of the Nile.

BABYLONIA, CHALDEA, THE PLAINS OF SHINAR. The mythical history of Berosus, which traces the antiquity of the Babylonian kingdom to about 36,000 years before the Persian Conquest, may be

¹ Lenormant, "Ancient History of the East," vol. i. pp. 339-341, abridged.

safely disregarded, although his later dynasties are more reconcilable with the facts recorded in the brick tablets. That a Cushite kingdom was established at Babel by Nimrod is certain from Genesis x. 10; the entire plain of Chaldea was filled by a *Turanian* population, supposed to have come from the east of Lake Aral; the *Sumirs* in the south and the *Akkads* in the north. With the Sumirs began the early civilisation of Chaldea, though, in the opinion of Sayce, "the pictorial hieroglyphics, which afterwards became the cuneiform character, were first invented in Elam," which was peopled by kindred Turanian tribes.¹ The Akkads originally settled in the mountains south of the Caspian, spread over Elam and the plains, forming with the Sumirs one people: "the languages and dialects spoken by them were agglutinative . . . approaching more nearly to the Ural-Altaic family of speech than to any other known group of tongues." The principal cities of the Sumirs were Erech, or Uruk, Nipur, Larsa (perhaps the Ellasar of Genesis, xiv. 1), Ziggulla, Dur, Chalma, Kuluna (Cahneh). The Akkadian cities were Babylon and Kis; Sippara and Agané (or Agadhe) united formed one city—the Sepharvaim of Scripture; also Tiggaba, Duraba, and Hit: the country was intersected by a network of canals. The existence of several separate kingdoms, composed of one or more of these towns, frequently at war with each other, exposed this desirable fertile territory to the invasion of a less civilised Shemitic race (the Chasdim), who amalgamated with the old population. It is very difficult to understand the changes which follow. There was an *Elamite* dynasty under Kudur-Nankhundi I., 2280 B.C.; after him Chedorlaomer (Kudur Lagamar), Genesis xiv. 1; this was followed by an Arabian, Chaldean, or *Kassite* dynasty, founded by Khammurgas, 2017 B.C. Contemporary with these dynasties there were petty states, sometimes independent, one of which had a *Shemite* dynasty, under Sargon I., who ruled over Agané and Babylon; this king claims to have had a predecessor of the same name so early as 3780 B.C. Sargon I. established the library at Agané, and caused the scientific work on astronomy and astrology to be compiled in seventy-two books, with another on terrestrial omens. He is celebrated as a great conqueror, over-running Syria, Palestine, and even Cyprus; all this is difficult to reconcile with the existence at the same time of the Kassite dynasty. Under this family, the petty rulers of Assur (one of whom, Ismi-Dagon, flourished about 1820 B.C.) increased in power, then became independent, and in 1270 B.C. conquered Babylonia. Sub-

¹ Sayce, "Herodotus," pp. 359, 360.

sequently Babylonia recovered its position; and one of its kings, Nebuchadnezzar, 1150–1120, is recorded as an active and able ruler; but the empire of the west of Asia was, from the thirteenth century B.C., in the hands of the monarchs of Assyria.

One remarkable fact connected with these Babylonian Sumirs and Akkadians, is their comparatively advanced position in the arts of civilised life, and their possession of an extensive and varied literature. With architecture, engineering, metallurgy, castings, pottery, textile manufactures of a superior character, they were familiar; so also with the use of the mechanical powers—as the lever and the pulley; and with optics, sufficient to enable them to manufacture the lens. In sculpture and painting they had made some progress. They had made astronomical observations from a very remote period. Their literature, preserved on brick tablets mainly, embraced works on history, poetry (epic poems, fables, hymns), science, law, grammar and vocabularies of Akkadian words with Shemitish explanations. It is singular that from this people, probably while resident near Lake Aral, a small colony (of one hundred and twenty families) carried this civilisation to China, a fact fully proved by a learned French *savant*, M. Terrieu de la Couperie.¹ But with all this superiority in the arts and sciences, they are believed to have been the first organisers of a system of idolatry, and were slaves to the most degrading of all the superstitions of the heathen world. In addition to polytheism, image-worship, and the adoration of the heavenly bodies, their minds were oppressed by the fear of sorcery, which is everywhere the accompaniment of that species of spirit-worship known as Shamanism, which to this day is the ruling faith of the tribes of southern Siberia. Besides three hundred heavenly spirits and six hundred earthly ones, every inanimate object had, or was supposed to have, a spirit, all of which were objects of fear, more or less to be guarded against by exorcisms or charms, or otherwise propitiated; the bondage of such a system must have been all but unbearable to sensitive and tender consciences, and must have been a source of gain to astrologers and exorcists.

ASSYRIA is referred to in Genesis x. 11, 12, in connexion with Assur (the Assyrian), who, departing from Babylonia, founded Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen. Its rulers seem to have been subject to Babylon, until the decline of the Kassite dynasty, when Babylon became independent, perhaps in the sixteenth or seventeenth century B.C. The history of *Ctesias*, compiled from the

¹ *Quarterly Review*, No. 307, July, 1882.

Persian chronicles, represents Ninus as the founder of the Assyrian empire, followed by Semiramis, a great conqueror, so early as from 2300 to 2000 B.C. Ninyas, her successor, was followed by a series of luxurious rulers, until the fall of the empire under Sardanapalus in the ninth century B.C. This history is the exaggeration of national vanity. *Herodotus*, with more regard to probability, dates the commencement of the empire in the thirteenth century B.C. (after the subjugation of Babylon), under Ninus, the son of Belus. The early kingdom had a very limited territory, extending from the Lower Zab to a small distance north of Nineveh. Shalmanezer I. made Nineveh a royal residence, and rebuilt Calah 1300 B.C., the kingdom then extending to the northern mountains, and began to assume an imperial character. It is very difficult to fix the period of the Egyptian invasion of northern Syria and of Mesopotamia, and of their contests with the *Khita* west of the Euphrates. Egyptian vanity has probably greatly exaggerated the successes of their monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, as recorded on their monuments. The *Khita* and the *northern* Syrians, from their position, suffered the most from these raids; though Assyria and Babylonia were more or less affected by them. Tiglath-Adar, the Assyrian king, conquered Babylon 1271 B.C.; his empire extended over the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the Armenian mountains to the Persian Gulf. Under his successor, Bel-kudur-uzur, 1240, Babylon rebelled, and he was killed in the attempt to reconquer it, 1220 B.C. After him several kings, until Assur-risilim, 1150. This prince recovered lost territory, and subdued a number of mountainous tribes, extending the empire to Lake Van (then called the Upper Sea). Tiglath-Pileser succeeded, 1120. His reign was one of successful warfare with the *Khita* in Syria, with the northern and eastern tribes; advanced as far as Lebanon and the Mediterranean Sea, for the first time reached by the Assyrians. On this sea the monarch sailed in a ship of Arvad (Phœnicia), and killed a dolphin. He was passionately addicted to hunting the wild bulls on Lebanon, and is said to have slaughtered a hundred and twenty lions: at Assur he kept a park of animals for the chase. The king of Egypt, knowing his taste, sent him a crocodile. Many were his restorations of the old buildings and the erection of new ones. He left Assyria the foremost monarchy in the world 1100 B.C. After him, his son, Assur-bel-Kala; then Samsi-vul 1080. After him the Assyrian power declined, its dependencies revolted, and the *Khita* and the *Syrians* recovered their lost ground. This was its condition at the beginning of 1000 B.C. These wars were annual

raids, alluded to (2 Sam. xi. 1) as "*the time when kings go forth to battle.*" They were carried on by the Assyrian kings especially, from the necessity of their position, which compelled them to support a large military class and their leaders by the plunder acquired in the campaigns, and to replenish the treasury by the tributes exacted. The most ruthless cruelty was exercised. The conquered kings and chiefs were beheaded, impaled, or crucified, or burnt alive, or flayed alive; they were sometimes tortured and mutilated, the tongues and the eyes torn out, and similar tortures inflicted on hundreds of captives. This enjoyment of cruelty appeared in the paintings on the walls of the palaces, which were exhibitions of executions and tortures calculated to familiarise the spectators with the sight of misery and pain. Conquered populations were transferred to distant lands, the men of a nation being located with the women of another country, without any regard to domestic relationship. The plunder acquired consisted of the precious metals, brass, cattle, horses, war-chariots, and instruments of iron. Large numbers of slaves were captured, and these, with captives reduced to slavery, were employed in public works, or canals, roads, &c., and in the buildings in Assur and Nineveh. Yet these barbarians were not insensible to the value of Babylonian culture, or of commerce, Shalmanezar I. having established a library at Calah, consisting of brick tablets of Akkadian literature accompanied by Shemitish translations.

It will be noticed that in the political system of Western Asia ASSYRIA and BABYLON formed one great power, generally opposed and checked by the more concentrated power of EGYPT, and that between these great and dominant empires there were subordinate but independent states, as PHŒNICIA, SYRIA, the KHITA, the ISRAELITES, and sundry warlike tribes, whose geographical position, as well as their varied resources, rendered them important allies to the greater belligerents.

5. EGYPT was occupied at a very early period by an agricultural population; afterwards, probably, by a warlike caste, which, with its earlier kingdoms, commenced probably not earlier than 2600 or 2700 B.C. "Egyptian history can be carried back with tolerable exactness, but not with much detail . . . to the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, 1703 or 1520 B.C., from which time the whole country formed, with rare and brief exceptions, a single kingdom. It is certain that there was a foreign conquest before this time, and that a people [the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings], quite distinct from the Egyptians, had possession of the country for a

considerable period. But the duration of their dominion, which is variously estimated at 260, or 511, or 900 years, is wholly uncertain, and will, probably, never be determined. That there was an ancient native kingdom before the [Hyksos] conquest may also be laid down as an ascertained fact; and numerous monuments may be pointed out, such as the pyramids, very many rock tombs, the grand hydraulic works at the Fayoum, and a certain number of temples which belong to this period, and are capable of conveying to us a good idea of its civilisation. Its duration cannot be estimated at much less than seven centuries, and may, perhaps, have been longer, but no exact account can be given."¹

The first king of Egypt was Menes, who united the petty states and founded the monarchy; the beginning of his reign is fixed at widely different dates, from 5702 B.C. to 2601 B.C. The principal pyramid builders were the kings of the first, fourth, and sixth dynasties. With this latter dynasty the *old empire* closed, 3500 B.C., or 2383, or 2140 B.C.; then there is a blank in the history until the twelfth dynasty, 3064, or 2218, or 2020 B.C., when the Middle Empire begins; great changes had taken place in the physical type of the ruling class and in the religion of the people. Thebes was the capital, not Memphis. The authority for the dates 5702 B.C. &c. are the result of a modification of the lists and dates of the Egyptian history by Manetho, written about 260 B.C.; the monument gives the names and occasionally the regnal years of the kings, but no chronology, and no consistent list of the consecutive order of the kings; hence the monuments cannot be appealed to as authorities confirming the chronological system of Mariette, followed by Lenormant. To suppose that one nation existed in the possession of a high degree of civilisation and the possession of great power, some two or three thousand years before the kingdom of Babylonia and Chaldea, is highly improbable.² The barbarous Shepherd Kings (the Hyksos), a Shemitish people from Asia, conquered Egypt 2214 or 2020 B.C., with the fifteenth dynasty: they then adopted the Egyptian civilisation, but were expelled by the founders of the eighteenth dynasty, 1703 or 1520 B.C. From the fourteenth to the thirteenth century B.C., the Egyptian monarchs are represented as warring with the Babylonians, the Ruten (Syrians), the Khita (Hittites) and the Assyrians, in order to secure the suzerainty

¹ See Geo. Wilkinson, "Herodotus," vol. iii. p. 357.

² See Rawlinson, "Herodotus," vol. ii. G. Rawlinson, "Origin of Nations," pp. 149-161.

over Syria, which, from the ranges of Lebanon to the Euphrates, was the great battle-field of the rulers of Western Asia and Egypt. In these wars the Egyptian land forces marched in the lowland path, which, avoiding the hills of Palestine, skirts the Mediterranean Sea: the military engines and the heavy material of war appear to have been conveyed, with portions of the troops, by the navies of the Phœnicians. Under the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, 1460-1288, or 1412-1300, or 1324-1232, the family of the Ramesids advanced the military power of Egypt; the first Rameses was followed by Rameses II. the Sesostris of the Greek historians, a great conqueror, whose conflict with the Khita has been celebrated by the poet Pentaur, 1360 B.C.; but the first king whose views embraced the extension of the power of Egypt over Syria was Thothmes I., who began to reign thirty-eight years after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and whose ostensible object was to avenge the irruptions of the Hyksos. These invasions of Asia took place *long before* the consolidation of the empire of Assyria, 1271 B.C. Under the king Meneph-thah, a singular attack was made upon Egypt by the Libyans, assisted by various tribes, Etruscans, Sicilians, Achæans, Trojans (according to the interpretation of the monuments). This was repulsed with great slaughter (1350 B.C. perhaps). Lenormant regards this as the result of a Libyan-Pelasgic league to resist Phœnician and Egyptian aggression on the part of the Greeks and the inhabitants of Sicily and Italy. If so, historians have under-rated the early civilisation of the tribes of Italy and Greece. The nineteenth dynasty was closed by inferior rulers. With the twentieth dynasty the decline of Egypt commenced; the conquests were lost; Egypt was ravaged by the Libyans; and the Hittites and the High Priests of Thebes gradually encroached upon the kingly power, so that, in about 1100 B.C., Her-hor, the High Priest, founded the twenty-first dynasty. Their rule appears to have been peaceful, and the dynasty lasted until 975 B.C.

The attacks of the Libyans, assisted by these primitive Greeks and other northern allies, is a singular fact, which proves that the Greeks of that early period were not only warriors but capable of forming large temporary confederacies, as, for instance, that which is said to have besieged Troy. "Egypt probably gave to the Greeks their first glimpses of a settled and luxurious civilisation . . . there they would find towns wealthier than the fabled towns of the Phœnicians; the fields full of good things, the canals rich in fish, the lakes swarming with wild fowl, the meadows green with herbs."¹

¹ A. Lang, *Contemporary Review*, 1879, pp. 138-200; also Gladstone's "Homeric Synchronisms," pp. 138-200.

Egypt was, indeed, the great power of the *then* western world. Its architectural wonders, the pyramids, sphynxes, tombs, temples; its canal from Bubaste through the Bitter Lakes to the Red Sea (made by King Seti and Rameses II., nineteenth dynasty), and the other numerous canals for the distribution of the Nile waters in irrigation, its orderly administration, the power of the king and of the priesthood, and the great wealth of the higher classes, so contrasted with the condition of Greece as to bear the impression of its superior wisdom. The Greeks, in their ignorance, looked upon Egypt in the same uncritical spirit as European writers manifested in the early accounts of China, until a nearer acquaintance dispelled the illusion. Egypt possessed all the arts of civilised life, and its higher classes enjoyed a high degree of luxurious comfort. The sciences of astronomy, geometry, and medicine, and agriculture were cultivated; her literature, historical, biographical, moral, and poetical was accessible to the higher classes in the papyri MSS. But the bulk of the population, arranged in castes (if not by law, by custom) were in a state bordering on slavery, liable to be drafted from home by thousands when needed for public works. Circumcision was to them an ancient rite, which had no religious associations: the fellah of the nineteenth century is probably a fair representative of the fellah under the Pharaohs. The religion of the ancient Egyptians is a difficult question, hard to understand.

None of our Egyptologists seem to be satisfied with their own views of the character of the religion of the Egyptians, so great is the difficulty to reconcile the wide difference between the polytheism and animal worship of the multitude, and the more spiritual conceptions of the educated classes. The people were pre-eminently religious: the cities were crowded with massive temples filled with worshippers, who were attracted by the grand and artistic ceremonials within the sacred buildings, and by the processions in the streets, or in barges on the canals, or on the Nile; the festivals were numerous, a week rarely passed without the performance of some special ceremony. A gross polytheism, which embraced the heavenly bodies and the principal divine attributes, and then descending to animal worship and the lowest fetichism of a negro tribe, was the popular religion. Every province and even every town had its particular deities. Under the old empire Ptah was the superior deity, but under the Lower Empire Amun was regarded as chief. There was an *esoteric* religion for the educated classes, "a system combining strict monotheism with a metaphysical speculative philosophy on the two great subjects of the nature of God and the destiny of man, which sought to exhaust

these deep and unfathomable mysteries.”¹ The primary doctrine was the real essential unity of the divine nature, the popular gods being regarded as mere personified attributes of Deity, or part of the nature which had been created and inspired by him. No educated Egyptian conceived the popular gods as really separate and distinct beings. The immortality of the soul, its accountability, and judgment after death in the Hall of Truth, where Osiris presided, was the enunciation of a great truth mixed up with fabulous circumstance. If by the decision of the judge the good deeds of the soul preponderated, then it was purified in a purgatorial fire and admitted to the presence of Osiris for a period of 3,000 years, after which it re-entered its own body and lived once more upon earth, until, having completed a reiterated cycle of years, it attained the perfect union with God. In the case of the guilty soul which the judge could not justify, it was sentenced to a series of transmigrations with the bodies of unclean animals. If, after many trials, the result was unfavourable, the final sentence was complete annihilation. The expectation of again needing the body in the renewed life led the Egyptians to take extraordinary care in the embalmment of the dead.

6. THE KHITA (the Hittites of the Bible) were, perhaps, Canaanites, perhaps Indo-Europeans, as they were spread from Armenia to the north of Syria, and from the Euxine to the west of the Euphrates, and had small settlements in Palestine. Their chief seat was in the lands bordering on the west of the Euphrates and northern Syria, where the RUTEN, the Syrians, are also noticed as a distinct people. Carchemish on the Euphrates, and Kadesh, on the Orontes, were the head-quarters of the Khita. In the Book of Joshua (chap. i. 4) their frontier, about 1500 B.C., is thus defined:—“*From this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea.*” As a power they were able to cope on equal terms with Egypt on the one hand and Assyria on the other. In or about 1360 B.C. occurred the great battle of Kadesh, between Rameses II. and the Khita, whose allies came from Asia Minor and Kurdistan. The battle is described in a poem by a Theban poet, Pentaur, and may be read in Brugsch’s “History of Egypt,” vol. i. p. 46. In this battle Rameses barely saved himself from defeat. A few years after, “the increasing movements of the nations, and the growing troubles in Canaan, and the pushing forward of whole races in West Asia, owing to the immigration of warlike tribes of foreign origin, seem to have attracted the serious

¹ “Ancient Egypt,” by Rawlinson, vol. i. pp. 313-315.

attention of the kings of the Khita as well as of the Egyptian Pharaoh. The then Lord of Khita (Khita Sir) was the first to make to his Egyptian friend the proposal, written on a tablet of silver, for an offensive and defensive alliance."¹ The Khita had not declined in influence at the conclusion of this period (1000 B.C.). Their trade by caravans from the ports of the Persian Gulf embraced India, Arabia, Ethiopia (south of Egypt). Aden, near the entrance of the Red Sea, is said to have been one of their depôts. They passed through the Cilician gates by the road to Sardis and the Ægean, and connected by their visits the Grecian States of the Ægean with Assyria and the East, bringing to the knowledge of the Ionian Greeks the arts and manufactures of Babylon, &c. It is a matter of dispute among the learned whether these people were of Canaanitish, or Shemitish, or Indo-European origin, and whether their language was Shemitic or agglutinative, or Indo-European. Carchemish was a noted entrepôt of commerce. The formation of independent kingdoms in Syria in the eleventh century probably curtailed the power of the Khita over northern Syria. It is remarkable that the two references to this people in the 1st Book of Kings x. 29, and 2nd Book of Kings vii. 16, were regarded by Professor F. Newman as evidences of the unhistorical character of the books in which they occur. To the labours and researches of the late G. Smith, and to the learned investigations of A. H. Sayce, we are indebted for the resuscitation of the history of the Khita.

ASIA MINOR, the grand peninsula which abuts upon south-eastern Europe, was well known to the Khita, who, as traders, passed through its central provinces as far as the Ægean. The original population of this country was probably Turanian, followed by Phœnician, Shemitish, and, lastly, by Aryan races, all of them so mixed up that the particular character of the population of each people is to this day a matter of doubt. The *Dardanian* kingdom (*Troy*) followed by the kingdom of *Phrygia* (remembered by its king Gordius and the famous knot, which Alexander the Great cut when unable to untie it), then the *Lydian*, who claim for their first dynasty, the Atydæ, an existence before the thirteenth century B.C. The *Phrygians* were undoubtedly Aryans, and probably nearly allied to the Hellenic races, who may have received the beginning of their culture from them. The explorations of the learned are now being turned in this direction, and have already thrown some glimmering light upon the history of their early civilisation, and its origin in the

¹ The treaty may be found in Brugsch, vol. ii. pp. 68-74.

commercial enterprises of the Khita and the Phœnicians. The Bithynians, Paphlagonians, and the Phrygians were supposed to be connected with the Thracians on the European side of the Hellespont. *Greek colonies*, after the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, 1104 B.C., were established by the dispossessed leader, who, in the Æolian, Ionian, and Doric settlements occupied the whole of the west coast of Asia Minor, at that time inhabited probably by a kindred race. By the rising power of the kings of Lydia the further extension of the territory of these colonists was prevented. The first coining of money is by Herodotus ascribed to the Lydians, the date not known. Pheidon, Tyrant of Argos, 895-865 or 770-730 B.C., is said to have first made weights and measures, after the Asiatic mode (Babylon), and Leake contends that the Greeks first originated a coinage. It is very singular that up to the time of Darius Hystaspes we do not read of any coinage in Asia or Egypt. Not a single coin has been found in the excavations in Egypt, Babylon, or Assyria, but many references to payment in gold and silver by weight. But it seems unlikely that there should have been a coinage in Lydia, and that neither the Khita nor the Assyrians and Babylonians had any knowledge of this great convenience. It is possible that while large payments were made in the precious metals by weight, some tokens of small value were current and used in minor payments, and that these have escaped the notice of historians.

7. The PHŒNICIANS have been generally considered as a Canaanitish people, one with the old founders of Sidon and Tyre. Recently some of the learned incline to regard them as Shemites emigrating from the Persian Gulf, and taking possession of the maritime settlements of the Canaanites and Syrians. Others suppose that the Phœnicians occupied these cities before the Canaanites were in possession of Palestine.¹ These are mere conjectures; probably they were a mixed race of Hamite and Shemite blood, drawn together by their commercial habits. As a people they are remarkable for three things. (1) They were the earliest navigators; (2) the inventors of alphabetical characters; and, at the same time (3), like the Canaanites, addicted to the most degrading, cruel, and licentious rites of all the ancient peoples in their religious observances. Their trade by the Mediterranean Sea extended to Greece, Italy, Spain, Gaul, and North Africa, and from their ports on the Red Sea they visited Arabia Felix and India. By land their caravan trade extended from Egypt through Central

¹ See Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. i.; also "Origin of Nations," pp. 199, 200-202.

Africa ; by a route through Babylon they passed through Elam to the north-east of Asia ; by a route northwards they traded with Armenia and the Caucasian tribes beyond in slaves and horses ; from Gades, their Spanish outpost, and from their colony of Carthage, founded 1233 B.C., in north Africa they explored the north and west coasts of Africa. For several centuries they were the sole navigators in the Mediterranean Sea ; their cities on the Syrian coast were seats of the manufactories of cotton, linen, and of the scarlet dye, as well as of glass and golden ornaments. In the 23rd chapter of Isaiah and the 27th chapter of Ezekiel there are sketches of their trade. As the allies of the kings of Egypt, they conveyed troops and warlike machinery to northern Syria, and to their naval power the Egyptian settlements in Greece were indebted, not only for their foundation, but for their stability. The Phœnician cities were governed either by kings or suffetes (in Hebrew *sophetim*—*i.e.*, judges), assisted by an oligarchic council. In their religion, as in that of the Canaanites, we see the dark side of the idolatry of antiquity ; their practical abominations, opposed to the purity and decency of private life ; the holocausts of human beings, offered as sacrifices to appease the wrath of the gods, reminds us of the censure in Deut. xxxii. 17, "*They sacrificed unto devils, not to God.*" Dean Stanley remarks : "The bright side of polytheism is so familiar to us in the mythology of Greece, that it is well to be recalled for a time to its dark side in Palestine. . . . The Gentile accounts are insensible to the cruel, debasing, and nameless sins, which turned the heart of the Israelites sick in the worship of Baal, Astarte, and Moloch."¹ The Phœnicians worshipped the gods who were regarded as hostile to life with severe abstinence, self-mutilation, and human sacrifices. Captives by thousands were offered to Moloch. The best-beloved and high-bred children of the nation must be offered as propitiations to avert public calamities, of which there is an instance recorded in 2 Kings iii. 27. These rites were carried out fully by the Carthaginians. When Agathocles of Syracuse besieged Carthage, 310–307 B.C., three hundred children taken from the noblest families were sacrificed. There was an image of the god Chronos, made of iron, heated by a fire underneath. The hands of the image were fully stretched out in a downward position, so that the victims placed upon them rolled into a cavity filled with fire. The cries of the victims were drowned by the noise of the drums and the fifes, the mothers compelled to

¹ "Jewish Church," vol. i. pp. 209, 210.

stand by without lamentation or sighing. Silius Italicus (in his poem "Punica," A.D. 25-60) gives an invocation to the "paternal gods" of Carthage, "whose temples are cleansed by murder, and who rejoice in being worshipped by the agony of mothers." The Canaanitish gods who were regarded as favourable to life were worshipped with the most shameless prostitution and the most unbridled debauchery.¹ The religion of the Canaanites and the Phœnicians, based on a false and diabolical notion of the character of God, was the upas-tree, which poisoned the intellect, the heart, the morals, and the social life of these races. Their extinction, partly by the Israelites, and finally by the Romans, as a people accursed by humanity, was a blessing to mankind. One good thing they gave to Europe, in the alphabet which, *it is said*, Cadmus brought to Greece in the sixteenth century B.C.

8. The history of the ISRAELITES, until within the present century, had been generally regarded as a mere episode in the narrative of the world's history, one exclusively belonging to the theology of the old dispensation, and deriving all its interest from its position as introductory to the knowledge of Christianity, the religion accepted by the civilised world. In our day Dr. Hales and Dr. Russell have called attention to the intimate connexion of this history with that of the ancient world, while Ewald, in Germany, and Deans Milman and Stanley, in works which bear the impress of no ordinary learning and genius, have given us, for the first time, detailed narratives which cannot fail to attract and interest the general reader, and which must not be neglected by the historical student, though he may differ largely from some of the opinions and theories of these admirable writers. The Biblical history of this people is the best introduction to the general history of the world. Students well trained in the narrative from Genesis to Nehemiah are prepared to read with advantage the records of Egypt and of the Oriental world, as introductory to the classical narratives of Greece and Rome. The patient perusal of the historical books of the Bible, in connexion with the works of Milman and Stanley, yields, in fact, an amount of solid information which is an antidote to the one-sided superficial historical scepticism of some of our popular writers. In the education of the human race, God had committed to the descendants of Abraham "*the oracles of God*," Romans iii. 2; thus it is that, "while all other nations over the earth have developed a religious tendency which acknowledged a higher than human power in the universe, Israel is

¹ Max-Duncker, vol. i. pp. 351, 352.

the only one which has risen to the grandeur of conceiving of this power as *the one only living God*. . . . If we are asked how it was that ABRAHAM possessed not only the primitive conception of the Divinity as He had revealed Himself to mankind, but passed through the denial of all other Gods to the knowledge of the *one God*, we are content to answer, that it was by a special revelation."¹ But, as Gladstone remarks, "It was not monotheism alone which gave a special character to the religion of that Shemitish people (the Jews). . . . It was the sense of sin; it was the association of a moral law with Deity, as its living fountain head; it was, above all, the relation of the individual soul to God, developed in the Psalms, with an intimacy and richness which have made them the delight, the marvel, and the training school of the Christian world."² The chronology of the Israelite history is very uncertain, the true numbers of the original Hebrew text having been lost. The date of the exode from Egypt, given by Hales at 1648 B.C., is by Usher, as in the margin of our Bibles, 1491 B.C.; by Bunsen, jun., 1563 B.C.; by Conder, 1541 B.C. The learned at present, with Baron Bunsen, seem to favour the date 1320 B.C., a date very difficult to reconcile with the Biblical narrative. The date by Conder seems a probable one, which meets most difficulties. The patriarch ABRAM, of the line of Shem, resident in Ur of the Chaldees, where idolatry had been very recently systematised and imposed with authority upon the population, was divinely called to proceed to Harran, and thence to the land of Canaan, about 2186 B.C. (according to Hales' system of chronology). The promise given to him was that he should be the progenitor of a great nation, and that in him should "*all the families of the earth be blessed*." (Genesis xii. 13). Abram, afterwards called Abraham, and the succeeding patriarchs of the tribe which they led, were, on a large and more dignified scale, like the venerable sheiks of the more respectable and uncorrupted of the Bedouin tribes of our day; but they were independent rulers, important from the number of their armed followers, and from their wealth in cattle, &c. JACOB, the grandson of Abraham, removed into Egypt, about 1971 B.C., with his tribe, which could not be less than three thousand persons, and settled, by permission of the Egyptian king, in the land of Goshen, the eastern and exposed frontier of the Delta. When the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, jealous of the increase of the Israelites, and fearing their possible sympathy with the nomad races, recently expelled from Egypt, were led to

¹ Max-Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. 172.

² "Olympic System," *Nineteenth Century*, October 1879.

attempt to reduce them to slavery, and greatly oppressed them, God raised up MOSES as their deliverer. He led them out of Egypt, 1541 B.C., a body of 600,000 adults, to which number (including women and children, about 2,000,000) the Israelites descended from Jacob, and those adopted into the tribes had increased in the space of 430 years. We have an all but perfect character in MOSES the man of God (Deut. xxxiii. 1), "a man who considered merely in an historical light . . . has exercised a more external and permanent influence over the destinies of his own nation, and mankind at large, than any other individual recorded in the annals of the world . . . to his own nation Moses was chieftain, historian, poet, lawgiver. He was more than all this—he was the author of their civil existence Moses had first to form his people and bestow on them a country of their own before he could create his commonwealth the virtue of pure and disinterested patriotism never shone forth more unclouded Let Moses, as contrasted with human legislators, be judged according to his age, he will appear, not merely the first who founded a commonwealth on just principles, but a lawgiver who advanced political society to as high a degree of perfection as the state of civilisation which his people had attained, or were capable of attaining, could possibly admit. But, if such be the benign, the prematurely wise and original character of the Mosaic institutes, the faith of the Jew and of the Christian in the divine commission of the great legislator is the more strongly established and confirmed."¹ After forty years' residence in the wilderness of Arabia, south of Palestine, Moses died, and the Israelites, under Joshua, commenced the conquest of Canaan, the land promised by God to their great father Abraham 1501 B.C. Among the class of "adopted" Israelites, not of the race of Abraham, the names of Caleb and Othniel may be noticed. On the death of Joshua the Israelites were governed by the ordinary rulers of the twelve tribes, and occasionally by "Judges" raised up as patriotic leaders to resist the oppression of foreign invaders from the neighbouring nomad tribes. The Egyptian kings, satisfied with the non-interference of the Israelites with their quiet passage along the seashore, their land route to northern Syria and the Euphrates, were not disposed to enter the hill country of Palestine in order to interfere in the wars between the Canaanites and the people of Israel. The last of the Judges was Samuel, by whom, to gratify the wishes of the nation, Saul was appointed king 1071 B.C. DAVID

¹ Milman's "History of the Jews," vol i. 8vo. pp. 213-215.

began to reign 1051 B.C., and during his forty years' reign founded a large kingdom extending from Egypt and the Red Sea to the Euphrates, of which Jerusalem was the capital. The circumstances of the times were favourable. The great powers, Egypt and Assyria, were at that time distracted by internal troubles, and unable to oppose. But the history of David, recorded in the Old Testament, and his Psalms, are the lasting memorials of his life. SOLOMON, the son of David, succeeded, 1011 B.C. His influence in his later years was evil; all his power and wealth used for selfish aggrandisement, and his theoretic wisdom became practical folly. The sacred historian faithfully depicts the good and the evil in his character. The Temple, which he built, and for which his father David had made provision, is one of the abiding associations of his name, together with the Proverbs, the book of Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, which are attributed to him.

The Israelites were mainly an agricultural people, but they had a national literature of songs, histories, biographies, &c., to which there are references in their sacred books. These books comprise the five books of the Pentateuch, the books of Ruth, Joshua, the Judges, and the two books of Samuel, with the earlier Psalms, which were probably in the hands of the educated classes in the settled period of peace enjoyed in the reign of Solomon. The genuineness of the Pentateuch and of the other books has been questioned by some of the learned in Germany and England. These critics have pointed out words and phrases which imply a later date, and so far they have done good service towards the Biblical criticism of our day. They have convinced the friends of the Bible that, in the many revisions of the old text, words and phrases which had become obsolete have been modernised, that marginal notes and explanatory additions have unawares crept into the text, and that there may be a few interpolations, referring simply to historical, chronological, or topological facts, but which have no bearing on faith or morals. If, on these grounds, the antiquity of the sacred books is to be discredited, then, there is not a single old writing from Homer, the old Greek poet, down to Geoffry Chaucer in England, which is not in the same position. To Christians the testimony of the Jewish Church, corroborated by the strong affirmation of *Our Lord*, is sufficient evidence. The preservation of this sacred literature was favoured by the existence of the priesthood, and of the Levites, distinct by their tribal origin from the rest of the people, and separated to religious duties, by whom some acquaintance with the history, and the ritual, and the laws of the Mosaic code given to the people by Moses at Sinai was

absolutely necessary. Schools of the Prophets had been instituted by Samuel, in which pious young men were trained by zealous patriotic teachers in the knowledge of the Law. If at that time the book of Job were known (which is not improbable), then some of the deepest problems of philosophy were brought in contact with the minds of Hebrew thinkers.

The failure of the Israelitish people to realise the ideal of a theistical righteous community is the more to be regretted when we consider the character of the institutions given to them. "By the Law, to which they gave their free and unconditional consent, the great Jehovah became their king . . . the feudal lord of all their territory . . . Hence the Mosaic constitution . . . was, in its origin and principles, entirely different from every human policy. It was a federal compact . . . between the Founder of the state, the proprietor of the land . . . and the Hebrew nation, selected from all the rest of the world for some great ulterior project : the terms by which they held . . . were their faithful discharge of their trust, the preservation of the great religious doctrine, the worship of the one great Creator . . . the permanence of the national blessings depended upon the integrity of the national faith. Apostasy . . . brought the curse of barrenness, defeat, famine, or pestilence on the whole land : it was repressed with the most unrelenting severity . . . perpetual sacrifices enlivened their faith : frequent commemorative festivals . . . reminded them of all the surprising and marvellous events of their national history . . . Above all, the great universal rite of sacrifice was regulated with the utmost precision . . . The ordinary festivals were of a gayer and more cheerful character. Every seventh day was the Sabbath. Labour ceased through the land . . . The new moon, or the first day of the lunar month, was a festival ; and on three occasions—the Passover festival, the feast of Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles—all the males of all the tribes were to assemble wherever the Tabernacle of God was fixed. This regulation was a master-stroke of policy, to preserve the bond of union indissoluble among the twelve federate republics which formed the early state . . . At each of these festivals the frontiers were unguarded ; special divine protection at such times was assured to them (Exodus xxxiv. 24.) The Sabbatic year was another remarkable instance of departure from every rule of political wisdom in reliance on Divine providence. The whole land was to lie fallow . . . At the end of seven periods of seven years . . . the Jubilee was appointed . . . all the estates were to revert to their original owners . . . and the whole land returned to the same state

in which it stood at the first partition the law (an agrarian law) prevented the accumulation of large masses of landed property in one family To one tribe, that of Levi, a tenth of the produce of the whole land was assigned, instead of a portion of the land due to them as one of the twelve tribes But did the Jewish people ever fulfil the noble scheme of the Jewish legislator? of the observance of the Sabbatic year, still less of the great agrarian law of the Jubilee, we have no record The failure impugns not the wisdom of the legislator it condemns only the people of Israel, who never rose to the height of that wisdom.”¹ The violation of the covenant by the Israelitish people is specially observable: (1) in the repeated apostasies of the nation from the worship of Jehovah to the idolatrous abominations and cruelty of the Canaanitish ritual; (2) in the neglect of that system of restraint upon accumulation, which, if carried out, would have realised the utopia of philosophical speculation. For their violation of their Covenant Act, their fundamental constitution as a people, they suffered in their own land, in their captivities, and in their subsequent dispersion as we now see them.

So far the history has been confined to the ancient nations of south-western Asia, whose political system included Egypt; but there are already in Europe young and active races preparing for the conquest of the known world.

9. EUROPE was peopled the last of the continents, receiving from the East branches of the widespread so-called TURANIAN races, and, perhaps, from the African BERBERS, the Iberians, Ligurians, &c., from the south. Then followed the KELTIC emigration, the HELLENIC and ITALIC, the Teutonic, and, last of all, the Slavonic. The views of our scholars are given in the *Preliminary Notes, IV*. Dr. Donaldson recognises a Slavonic element in the old Pelasgic ancestry of the Greek races: whatever may have been the original stock, these Hellenic Greeks were a remarkable people. “No race ever did so many different things so well as the Greeks. They were the first people who thought of finding out the truth and reason in everything.”²

The history of GREECE is all debatable land, especially in the history of the early ages, the “*origines*” of the race. In England we have three great writers—Mitford, Thirlwall, and Grote, besides an English translation of Curtius, the German professor at Dorpat, and of Max Duncker. The history of Mitford is that of a bitter

¹ Milman's “History of the Jews,” vol. i. pp. 148–160.

² C. A. Fyffe, “History of Greece,” 24mo. 1875.

Tory, a hater of democratic institutions—in fact, a political manifesto in 8 vols. 8vo. Freeman remarks that, “with all his blunders and all his unfairness, he did good service in showing that Plutarch’s men were real beings like ourselves He was a bad scholar, a bad historian, a bad writer of English, but he was the first writer of any note who found out that Grecian history was a living thing, with a practical bearing.”¹ Gladstone thinks that, “notwithstanding his prejudices, Mitford is an author whom no one need, even at this day, be ashamed to consult or to quote He surely marks one of the advancing stages of Greek historiography.”² Thirlwall’s “calm judgment and consummate scholarship came to correct, sometimes too unmercifully, the mistakes and perversions of Mitford; but it was Grote who first looked straight at everything, without regard to convenient beliefs, by the light of his own historical and political knowledge.”³ Grote ignores pre-historic and ethnological speculations, thinking with Sir G. Cornwall Lewis that these ‘rest on no evidence.’” Certainly “they rest on no contemporary written evidence; but surely they rest on an evidence of their own—that evidence which is of the same kind as that which forms the groundwork of philology, and of some branches of natural science—of geology, for instance, which is simply archæology before man. Moreover, it sometimes happens, as in the case of the legendary history of Mykéné, that archæological and legendary evidence coincide so wonderfully as to leave no doubt that the legend has preserved the memory of a real state of things.”⁴ Curtius “came to his Grecian history with the last results of ethnological and philological study which gave him, so far, a great advantage over both his English predecessors.”⁵ So far, by way of introduction to the history of Greece, the most eastern peninsula of Europe, called by its people Hellas, a territory much less than Portugal. It has an extensive line of coast, broken up into innumerable bays and gulfs, well furnished with natural harbours, and was thus divided into small isolated districts by rugged mountain-ranges, between which the valleys alone were adapted to cultivation. There is not one large plain in the whole of Greece. Hence the inhabitants (the most ancient being the Pelasgi, after whom the Hellenes, a warlike kindred people), though of one stock and speaking the same language, were

¹ Freeman’s “Essays,” second series, pp. 111–155.

² Homeric “Synchronisms,” p. 190.

³ Freeman, pp. 155, 156.

⁴ Ibid., second series, pp. 113, 114.

⁵ Freeman’s “Essays,” second series, p. 151.

never (except when a conquered people) united under one government. Each valley had its ruler, and of these petty political organisations there were about one hundred in all Greece, but in many different stages of progress as regards the arts and usages of civilised life. Some remained in their original tribal organisations, as the Illyrians, Epirots, and the more northern tribes—much in the condition of the Albanians of our day. In most of these states there was a king, with chiefs exercising a patriarchal government over a free people, who expected to be ruled by their old customs. Tribal wars were frequent, and inroads from the more barbarous tribes to the north retarded the progress of civilisation. The Phœnicians first introduced the use of letters and the culture of the East. The legends respecting the power and legislation of Minos, the Cretan legislator, probably refer to the effects of Phœnician and Egyptian influence on that island, upon which, and upon the other islands, and on the mainland, the Phœnicians and the Egyptians had made settlements from the Deltan-Phœnician colony, rather than from Phœnicia direct. For example—Danaus, from Egypt to Argos, 1500 B.C.; Cadmus, from the East to Thebes, who brought over the Phœnician alphabet, 1550 B.C.; Cecrops, from Sais, in Egypt, who founded Athens, 1555 B.C.; Pelops, from Lydia, who gave his name to the Peninsula (the Morea), and others in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C., whose names are to be found in the old legends. Perhaps some of these were rich and powerful settlers from Phœnicia or Egypt. There are references also to some expeditions in which leading Greek chiefs acted in unison; for instance, that of the *Argonauts to Colchis*, “to procure the Golden Fleece;” probably a raid upon the coasts of the Euxine, 1225 B.C.; the War of the Seven against Thebes, 1213 B.C., a family feud sung by the poets; the *Trojan War*, in which the Greeks under Agamemnon, king of Mykéné, besieged and destroyed Troy, in Asia Minor, after a ten years’ siege, to revenge the elopement of Helen with Paris, 1184 B.C.; a war unimportant in itself, and which is mainly interesting to us because the theme of the poem of Homer. In the year 1104 B.C. the more warlike Dorian tribes from the north of Greece occupied the Peloponnesus. This is called the *Return of the Heraclidæ*, the leading chiefs of the Dorians deriving their claim to that territory from their supposed descent from the mythical hero Hercules. We read also of a *Council of Amphictyons*, representing a confederacy of Hellenic tribes in and near Thessaly, which had charge of the Oracle at Delphi and of the treasures deposited there, and from this position had occasionally some influence in political affairs. The

reality of these events, with the dates affixed, which the makers of the Parian Marbles received as authentic in the third century B.C., rest on legends which, though believed by these Greek archæologists, have been questioned in modern times. Recently, however, there has arisen a reaction against the excesses of this historical criticism, a reaction quickened and confirmed by the excavations made at Ilium, Mykéné, and Tiryns, by Schliemann, and again by some obscure intimations in the Egyptian records, which seem to vindicate the substantial truth of some of the old legends. "The older Shemitic histories, the Egyptian inscriptions, and the traditions of the Greeks themselves agree that the Phœnicians certainly, and perhaps the Egyptians, sailed with powerful fleets through the Ægean, and traded with enormous advantage with the rude inhabitants of the coasts and islands, by means of their imposing wealth and culture. They settled also in Greek waters, partly for commercial and mining purposes, as, for example, at Thasos . . . but partly, also, from the desire of forming new empires. Just as distinguished Athenians, like Miltiades or Iphicrates, became great princes among 'the butter-eating Thracians,' so we may suppose that the legends of Minos, of Cadmus, and Danaus indicate sovereignties set up by these civilised foreigners, in pre-historic days, among the Greeks . . . the legend of Minos seems to us the echo of the most important of these sovereignties. But the pre-historic ruins at Argos, Mykéné, and Orchomenos show that Crete was not the only seat of culture . . . Gradually Greek, or semi-Greek chiefs began to dispossess these Semitish forerunners of Greek culture. The native chiefs seem then to have succeeded to the power and wealth already centred at Argos, Mykéné, Crete, and Orchomenos, and other such favourable positions. The great Cyclopiian ruins are found on the very sites indicated in Homer as the seats of the greatest monarchs. Accordingly, I conceive that Agamemnon, Menelaus, Nestor, and others of the richer chiefs, but especially the Atreidæ, rather inherited a power and wealth, established originally by the enlightened despotisms of Shemitic merchant princes, and not gradually acquired by the extension of a local patriarchal sway . . . The general tone of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* implies, then, not a nascent but a decaying order of things—subordinated chiefs rebelling against their suzerains, nobles violating the rights of their absent chief."¹ To suppose that the early history of Greece is wholly mythic, that is to say, a series "of current stories, the spontaneous and earliest growth

¹ Mahaffy, "*Social Life in Greece*," pp. 15-18.

of the Grecian mind,"¹ is to ignore the fact that their varied and local, as well as their general character, their agreements and their differences clearly and decisively point out to local hereditary tradition as their true origin.

Soon after the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus the petty kingdoms became first aristocratical and then democratical, according as one or an opposite party prevailed. This may have been hastened by the decay or extinction of the great historical families. Grote considers that "the prime cause is doubtless to be sought in the smallness and concentrated residence of each distinct Hellenic society. A single chief, perpetual and irresponsible, was no way essential for the maintenance of union. . . . the primitive sentiment entertained towards the heroic king died out, passing first into indifference, next—after experience of the despots—into determined antipathy."² A republican government requires for its success a high type of national character. So far, in Greece, in England, and the United States, as well as in old Rome and in modern France, the paucity of that high type has been unfavourable to the working of purely democratic institutions. Greece was known to the Hebrews as *Chittim* (Numbers xxiv. 24; Daniel xi. 30): the name of *Javan* is also used (Isaiah lxvi. 19; Ezekiel xxvii 13-19).

10. Italy, in ancient times, was confined to the territory of the centre and south. *North Italy*, the valley of the Po, and the plains of Lombardy belonged to Ligurians and the Gauls (Kelts); it was only known as Gallia Cisalpina to the early Romans. Some suppose the Ligurians to have been partly, at least, of Berber origin, from Spain and southern Gaul. The Etruscans, whose origin is a problem, came from the north, and drove the Umbrians, an old Italian race, southwards. These Umbrians, Oscans, Opicians, Latins, Samnites, and Volsci are supposed to be of the Indo-Germanico-Sclavonic stock by Dr. Donaldson,³ in which the SCLAVONIC-LITHUANIAN type can be recognised. According to Freeman,⁴ there were two branches of the Italian race, one nearly akin to the Greeks—the LATINS; the other, of the original Italic Aryan race, the Sabines, Equians, Volscians, Samnites (*i.e.*, the Oscans); in the south, the old Pelasgic settlers from Greece. All these tribes were related. The Greeks were their brothers; the Lithuanian-Sclavonics their cousins. The political capabilities of the Greeks

¹ Grote's "History of Greece," vol. i. 12mo. p. 111.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 10-16.

³ "Varronianus," pp. 59-65.

⁴ "Hist. Geog. of Europe," vol. i. pp. 215, 216.

and Italians differed. The Greek political unit and centre was his own city; he could not be welded into unity with other cities of his own race, except by despotic power; the only national feeling was connected with games and the arts. The Olympian games, the poems of Homer, the tragedies of Euripides, and others were the links of union to the Hellenic races. On the other hand, "the Italian surrendered his own personal will for the sake of freedom, and learned to obey the state. In such subjection as this individual development might be marred, and the germs of fairest promise in man might be arrested in the bud. The Italian gained instead a feeling of fatherland and of patriotism, which the Greeks never knew, with an earnest faith in his own gods—and thus alone, among all the civilised nations of antiquity, succeeded in working out national unity in connexion with a constitution based on self-government—a national unity which at last placed in his hands the supremacy, not only over the divided Hellenic stock, but over the whole known world."¹

The ETRUSCANS remain to this day a puzzle to philologists and archæologists, an illustration of the incompleteness of our historical knowledge. They trace their origin to the north-east, and call themselves "Rasena." Being totally unlike any other Italian people, the opinion is that they were a Turanian people similar to the Finns, and Basques, but Dr. Donaldson thinks they were a branch of the Norse Scandinavians.² They had first settled in Rhætia; then in the plains of the Po, from the Ticino to the Adige and beyond, forming there a confederacy of twelve cities at a very remote period; after this, driven onward by the Gauls or Germans, they crossed the Apennines, and extended their territories to the Tiber, occupying the land now called Etruria or Tuscany. Here they built twelve cities, each of which was governed by a Lucumo (king). They had also at that time settlements in Campania at Capua, and other cities. Physically, they were short and stout; their religion was gloomy; their architecture, sculpture, pottery, works in metal prove their advancement in the arts of civilised life. In maritime affairs, they, at an early period, covered with their piratical corsairs the western Mediterranean, and formed a treaty with the Carthaginians to oppose Greek colonisation. Their language appeared barbarian to the Greeks and Romans, and is a mystery to this day: the alphabet is of Greek origin. The remains of their massive buildings at Fiesole, and elsewhere, resemble those of early Greece and Lydia.

¹ Mommsen, vol. i. 12mo. pp. 30, 31.

² "Varronianus," p. 69.

II. Western and central Europe were first peopled by Turanian races, widely and sparsely scattered, and afterwards mostly absorbed by the Keltic races, followed by the Germanic and Slavonic races. SPAIN appears to have received, at a very early period, a Berber population from north Africa, the Iberians, who occupied not only Spain, but southern Gaul, and in Italy were known as the Ligurians. The Basques, in the north of Spain, are supposed to be of Berber origin. The Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians after them, established trading stations on the southern and eastern coasts of Spain. Carteia, supposed by some to have occupied a position near the narrow neck of San Roque (Gibraltar), claims to be one of the oldest cities in Europe, probably founded long before 1500 B.C. Tartessus, at the mouth of the river Bœtis, was a Phœnician factory, from which the name of Tarshish was taken by the Hebrews, and applied by them in the same vague meaning as, a few years ago, we used to speak of "the Indies." When first visited by the Phœnicians, "the gold of its mines was a treasure not yet appreciated by its possessors. They bartered it . . . to strangers in return for the most ordinary articles of civilised living, which barbarians cannot enough admire. This story (from Herodotus) makes us feel that we are indeed living in the old age of the world. The country, then so fresh and untouched, has now been (1838) in the last stage of decrepitude; its mines, then so abundant, have been long since exhausted; and, after having in its turn discovered and almost drained the mines of another world, it lies now like a forsaken wreck on the waves of time, with nothing but the memory of the past to ennoble it."¹

12. There are three ancient "geographical expressions," the people of which were far removed from the revolutions and politics of Europe, western Asia, and Egypt—namely, ARABIA, INDIA, and CHINA.

ARABIA is said to have been settled by CUSHITE races, the *Adites* and the *Amalekites*, the latter partially Shemitic. the *Yoktanites*, from Shem, formed a large portion of the population, and with the Ishmaelites, descended from Abraham, may be regarded as the ancestors of the present Arabs. Yemen, known to the Egyptians as *Pun*, was a Cushite centre of trade, to which the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and, at a later period, the Israelites resorted. The *Edomites* (Idumeans), from their commanding position at Petra, had the main control of the caravan trade, arrangements being made with the tribes through which the caravans passed. The *Moabite*

¹ Dr. Arnold's "History of Rome," vol. i. 486.

and the *Ammonite* tribes were the near neighbours and, like the *Edomites*, the antagonists of Israel.

INDIA. The history of this vast peninsula and continent (for such it is) connects it with eastern Persia (Iran). The ARYAN races settled in Iran sent forth the Aryan conquerors of India. These Aryans were for many ages settled in BACTRIA, which was a powerful state 2000 to 2500 B.C., the defence of eastern Persia against the nomad tribes beyond the Oxus. Balk and Samarcund are ancient capitals and centres of trade. It is *supposed* that the settlement of *northern and western* India by the ARYANS took place between 2000 and 1500 or 1200 B.C., and that before this migration from Persia, the religion of the Aryans in Persia had been modified by a great reformer (Zarathustra) ZOROASTER: he was opposed to the nature worship, the pantheism, and the polytheism, which had begun to corrupt the pure Theism of the earlier Aryans. With him, the gods of these Aryans, who had migrated to India, were regarded as Dæmons, and Indra and Seva as spirits of evil. He aimed to teach pure Theism; but, unable to account for the origin of evil, he imagined the existence of two equally powerful gods—Ormuzd, the good, the creator, the benefactor; and Ahriman, the evil, the source of all moral and physical evil, and of death. Zoroaster is placed by some earlier and later than 1000 B.C.—even so low as 400 to 500 B.C.: probably there were several successors and revivers of Zoroaster who have been confounded with the original teacher. Fire (as pure) is the only visible representation of Ormuzd admitted into the Zend temples. Their religious book is the “ZEND AVESTA,” the antiquity of which is not settled. The reforms of Zoroaster led to a war among the Aryans, in which the followers of Zoroaster were the conquerors; hence the continued migration of the discomfited party to India. In the “RIG VEDA,” the sacred book of the Indians, there are maledictions heaped upon Zoroaster. As the Aryans of Iran pushed westward to Media and western Persia, the Turanian inhabitants were by degrees subdued; but the conflict of races has been celebrated as that of Iran and Turan by the Persian poet Firdousi. Before the invasion of the Aryans, INDIA had received three large immigrations from its neighbours—(1) By a *Thibetan* race, from which the Mongolians and Chinese received their first population; (2) A *Kolarian* race, now represented by the Santals, &c.; (3) A *Dravidian* race (the Tamils), Turanians who occupied eventually southern India, and were able, by their civilisation, to maintain their position against the Aryan races. All these races were called by the Aryans Dasyus (enemies), Dasas (slaves). The

Vedic hymns speak of them with scorn; yet some of them were advanced in civilisation, had castles and forts. They were driven from the valley of the Ganges 1400 B.C., about which time the *Brahminical system* (unknown to the Vedas) was established among the Aryan conquerors. According to that theory (1) the caste of the *Brahmins* is from the mouth of Brahma, there are the priests, superior in dignity to all others; (2) the *Kshatriya*, the military class, from the arms of Brahma; (3) the *Vasyas*, husbandmen, from the thighs of Brahma; (4) the *Sudras*, the lowest of the people, from his feet, but all these are *twice born*. There was a long contest between the Brahmins and the military class for the superiority of position, in which the craft and prestige of the Brahmin prevailed. These castes have been largely subdivided. The religion of the Brahmins was pantheistic—all things and men are emanations from Brahma, and the great end of life is to seek reabsorption into Deity. The Suttee, however, is no part of the original religion of the Vedas.¹

“The political organisation of the people of India, whether Aryan or Dravidian, seems to have borne a great resemblance to that of the *Teutonic* people. It originated in the clearance of primeval forests by the pioneers of humanity. . . . Every new clearance gradually grew into a village; these villages became subject to those internal changes and revolution which are inseparable from the progress of the human race. . . . In due course, the *Village* comprised a community of independent householders, each of which had his own family, his own homestead, and his own separate parcel of arable land for cultivation, and a common right to the neighbouring pastures. . . . But, while the individual householder was the supreme head of his own family, within the limits of his own homestead, he was bound, as a member of the village community, to conform to all its multifarious rules and usages as regards the order of cultivation, and the common right of his neighbours to graze their cattle on the pasture. . . . The ancient *village community* of independent landowners, governed by common rights and usages, naturally acquired a political organisation of its own. . . . Its affairs were conducted by a council of elders, or by the council in association, with a head man, who was either elected to the post by the village community, or succeeded to it as an hereditary right. . . . at a later period of development each village had its own officials, such as the accountant, the nobleman, the priest, the physician, the musician. It had

¹ See Max-Duncker: Talboys.

also its own artisans, as the blacksmith, the carpenter, the worker in leather, the tailor, the potter, the barber; these officers and artisans were generally hereditary, and were supported by grants of land rent free, or by fees contributed by the landholders in grain, or perhaps in money . . . Village republics seem to last when nothing else lasts; revolution succeeds to revolution. Hindu, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn, but the *village community remains the same.*"¹

CHINA was probably first possessed by pastoral tribes. At a very early period a *Turanian* race, called the Bak, near the south-east Caspian, connected with the *Akkadians* of Chaldea, and receiving from them their civilisation, settled in China and were the founders of Chinese civilisation and literature,² the first king of whom we hear was Fohi—then Hwang-to—then Yaou, who is supposed to have lived 2,300 B.C. His empire extended from 23° to 40° north, and from 6° west of Pekin to 10° east of Pekin. The capital was Ke-choo in Shantung. The Shang dynasty succeeded 1766 B.C.; the Chow dynasty, under Woo-Wang, 1,121 B.C. Their founder divided China into seventy-two feudal states, which led to a series of internecine wars.

13. RELIGIOUS HISTORY.—The origin of idolatry, whether in Tsabaism, the adoration of the heavenly bodies, or in the symbolism of the divine attributes, or in the reverence for ancestry, or in the honours paid to the memories of deceased heroes and national benefactors, or in the corruption of patriarchal traditions, or in the puzzles of philosophy in its efforts to account satisfactorily for either natural phenomena or for moral evil, is one of the questions of the day which will probably never be answered satisfactorily. Its varied manifestations are matters of history, and some of them have been already noticed in the case of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Phoenicians. The Greek polytheism (substantially common to the Roman and Italic people) is in its bare, matter-of-fact details familiar to every schoolboy. We may quote Grote's impartial account:—"The mythical world of the Greeks opens with the gods, anterior as well as superior to man: it gradually descends, first to heroes, and next to the human race. Along with the gods are found various monstrous natures, ultra-human and extra-human, who

¹ Wheeler's "History of India," vol. iii. pp. 61-3: Talboys.

² See *Quarterly Review*, No. 307, July, 1882.

³ See the letters of M. Terrien de la Couperie in the *Academy*, October and November, 1883.

cannot with propriety be called gods, but who partake with gods and men in the attributes of volition, conscious agency, and susceptibility of pleasure and pain—such as the Harpies, the Gorgons Sirens Cyclopes the Centaurs, &c. The first acts of what may be termed the great mythical cycle describe the proceedings of these gigantic agents—the crash and collision of certain over-boiling forces, which are ultimately reduced to obedience, or chained up or extinguished under the more orderly government of Zeus, who supplants his less capable predecessors, and acquires precedence and supremacy over gods and men—subject, however, to certain social restraints from the chief gods and goddesses around him, as well as to the custom of occasionally convoking and consulting the divine agora.” “The inmates of this divine world are conceived upon the model, but not upon the scale of the human. They are actuated by the full play and variety of those appetites, sympathies, passions and affections which divide the soul of man”: they are “invested with a far larger and indeterminate measure of power, and an exemption as well from death as (with some rare exceptions) from suffering and infirmity.”¹ The Greek mythology probably arose from personification of the forms of nature, and by additions received from the Theologies and Theogonies of the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. As a superstition it had a firm hold on the masses, maintained by its festivals, processions, and sacrifices, and by the necessity of believing in something besides and above material existence. As a religion it never satisfied the educated and thoughtful. Such took from it what appeared to them calculated to meet their spiritual aspirations, or became the followers of the philosophical teachers who laboured to reconcile the religious myths with scientific researches and human reason. In Italy there was by far a deeper religious feeling than in Greece. Practically the Greeks and Romans were fatalists. Even Zeus is the minister of a stern necessity. Morality lost not a little by the examples furnished in the popular histories of the gods and goddesses of Olympus. The fear of retribution through the action of the Furies operated to some extent in checking the commission of great crimes, but was not generally associated with the sort of future life described by the poets. The Greek mysteries were “fragmentary glimpses of future retribution: as also are the doctrines of the unity of God and of atonement by sacrifice the consciousness of guilt was not indeed first taught by them, but was felt

¹ Grote, vol. i. pp. 1, 3.

generally, and felt very keenly by the Greek mind. These mysteries were its gospel of reconciliation with the offended gods."¹ If we judge the idolatrous systems by their fruits as seen in the generally depraved character of the common people in Egypt, the East, and even in Greece and Rome, our language must be highly condemnatory. See also St. Paul (Romans i. 18-32) a true picture of the heathen morality of the day. In the early ages, and in the more simple form of idolatry, the aberrations of the intellect might be less connected with the depravation of the heart, and the moral evils of the system might be corrected to some extent by the traditions of the patriarchal ages. There were also many exceptions to the prevalent errors of the age in men "*who feared God and worked righteousness,*" and as such were "*accepted of him*" (Acts x. 34, 35; xvii. 20; Romans ii. 14, 15). The fashion now is to find some deep, profound philosophy in connexion with all heathenish systems: the fact is that too often these learned men, in their inquiries, are insensibly led to find what they bring to them, the reflex of their own preconceived conclusions and theories.

14. LITERATURE implies the art of writing for its conservation. But of the changes in language after the first dispersion of the human race we have no history, except what philologists infer by a comparison of the varied dialects of human speech. Pictorial writing from simple signs, such as were found in Mexico and among the North American Indians, up to the complex Egyptian hieroglyphics, preceded the discovery of alphabetical writing. The learned have come to the conclusion that all existing alphabets have been derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Phœnicians have the credit of first perceiving "the advantage of *one* definite symbol for *one* sound, and the disadvantage of a dozen."² From their alphabet all the alphabets now used have been formed. The discovery of the alphabet may fairly be regarded as the most difficult as well as the most fruitful of all the past achievements of the human intellect. There have been in fact five other great systems of picture writing. (1) The Egyptian in five varieties, (2) the cuneiform in nine varieties, (3) the Chinese in five varieties, (4) the Mexican in two varieties, and (5) the Khita in four varieties. But to use these systems requires the labours of a life. To invent and bring to perfection our alphabet has proved to be the most arduous enterprise in which the human intellect has ever been

¹ Mahaffy, "Rambles in Greece," pp. 20, 21.

"Encyc. Brit.," ninth edition, vol. i. p. 607.

engaged. Its achievement taxed the genius of the three most gifted races of the ancient world. It was begun by the Egyptians, continued by the Shemites, and finally perfected by the Greeks. To show that from certain hieroglyphic pictures, which were in use long before the Pyramids were erected, it is possible to deduce the actual outlines of almost every letter of our modern English alphabet, is the object of the Rev. I. Taylor's work on the alphabet.¹ As early as the Second Dynasty the Egyptians had solved the hardest problem of all, the conception of a pure consonant, which involves the essential principles of alphabetic writing, but they advanced no farther. It was reserved for the genius of an alien race (the Phœnicians) finally to reject every vestige of homophones and polyphones, of ideogram and syllabics, and boldly to rely on one single sign for the notation of each consonantal sound. When alphabetical writing was first invented we do not know, but in *Western Asia* the art was probably in use before the time of Abraham. In EGYPT the enchorial character of the hieroglyphic writing superseded the more pictorial character before the seventh century B.C. The ISRAELITES in the time of MOSES were acquainted with alphabetical characters, having, no doubt, acquired them in their settlement in the north-east of Egypt, with which PHŒNICIAN traders and Shemitish pastoral tribes came frequently in contact. They had the documents which now form the *Pentateuch*, the books of *Joshua* and the *Judges*, together with *Ruth*, and the book of *Jasher* (now lost), possibly also the book of *Job*. EGYPT had an extensive literature, of which only a very minute portion has been deciphered and translated. The writings are historical, geographical, theological and moral discourses, poetry, letters, and romances; the mathematical sciences, as astronomy and geometry, were cultivated, so also medicine. Magic and astrology had a mighty hold on the minds of all classes. One of the most important of the papyri is one of the oldest, thought to be nearly as old as the monarchy; it is called "*the ritual of the dead*," but the Egyptian title was "*the manifestation of light*," or, in other words, "*the book revealing light to the soul*." There is a small epic of about 120 lines by Pentaour, the poet, on the exploits of Rameses II. in his war with the Hittites (about 1360 B.C.; also a sort of tour in Syria about 1400 B.C., very meagre in the information it gives us. The short poems, letters, and romances constitute of themselves a large literature, but as yet we have access only to a small number. PHŒNICIAN literature is all

¹ 2 vols. 8vo. 1883.

lost. Sundry writers quoted by Josephus, and references to Mokhos and Sanchoniathon, historians who are said to have lived before the Trojan War, are all that remain. The remnants of certain CHALDEAN poems and legends (preserved in the Assyrian library of Assur-bani-pal, 670 B.C.) give us, among other things, the *Epic of Isdubahr* and the *Legend of the Creation*, which belong to this epoch, besides many other works, recorded on tablets, which have not yet been prepared for the public eye. In IRAN (Persia) the *Zend Avesta*, the sacred book of the early Persians ; in INDIA, the *Vedas*, the earliest of the sacred books of the Hindus, were no doubt in existence from 1000 B.C. to 1500 B.C., if not earlier. The tendency of the learned is to bring these works much nearer to the fifth century B.C. They represent, however, the views of the Persians and the Hindus at the very beginning of their national existence. In CHINA the book *Y-King* "the book of Changes," now unintelligible to the most learned of the Chinese, is attributed to Fuhi, called also Mih-hi, whose date is from 2852 B.C. to 2737 B.C. In the *Akkadian Syllaberies* there is said to be a key to the explication of this book, interesting especially as showing the early remote connexion between the first settlement in *Chaldea* and the founders and fathers of Chinese civilisation.

State of the Known World 1000 B.C.

EUROPE.

SCANDINAVIA : Settled by Finnish and Tschudic races.

GAUL, Britain, and *Central Europe* : The *Kelts* in Gaul, the *Germans* in the east of the Rhine, followed and pushed forward by the *Slavonians*, who occupied Eastern Europe.

SPAIN : By *Kelts*, also by *Iberians* (Berbers from Africa). The *Phœnicians* had settled colonies in the south of Spain at a very early period, at Gades, Carteia, Malaga, &c. ; also in Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands.

ITALY : North of the Po, the Gauls (*Kelts*), the *Ligurians* along the Mediterranean towards Gaul, the *Etruscans* (Rasena) from the north. The origin of this people very uncertain ; they occupied the west centre of Italy. In the *centre* the *Umbrian*, *Oscan*, *Sabellian*, and other tribes nearly related, supposed to have descended from the *Slavonic Lithuanians*,

and to have been mixed up with the Kelts, the Siculi, Sicani, and Pelasgic races. In the *south* the old *Pelasgic* population, originally from Greece, as the CEnotrians, Iapygians, and other tribes.

GREECE: Under the declining rule of the petty kings (Greek or Phœnico-Egyptian Dynasties). *Phœnician* colonies, or marts in *Cyprus*, *Crete*, *Rhodes*, the *Cyclades*—mines of *Thasos*, *Siphnos*, and *Cimolus* (gold and silver) worked by Phœnicians.

A supposed *Libyo-Pelasgic Confederacy*, 1800 to 1400 B.C., opposed the progress of the Phœnicians in the Mediterranean (according to Lenormant).

ASIA.

ASIA MINOR: The Dardanian kingdom *Troy* (1400 or 1144 B.C.) by an Hellenic race; *Phrygia*: *Midas I.* reigned before the Trojan War; *Lydia*: The first Dynasty, the Atydæ, ended 1232 B.C.; the Heraclidæ succeeded; the *Carians*, a powerful race.

PHœNICIA: *Sidon*, very ancient (though *Marathos* is perhaps prior), was destroyed by the Philistines, 1209. *Tyre*, f. 2750 or 2267, then became the chief of all the Phœnician towns in 1150: Colonies in Greece and the Islands, in Malta, in North Africa, in Spain: their ships explored the Euxine and traded at *Colchis* for metals, gold from the *Ural*, with hides and furs; also by the Red Sea, into Arabia and India: they were generally friends and allies of Egypt, which needed the help of their fleets.

SYRIA: Various tribes, mainly under the *Khita* (Hittites), whose power extended from Armenia, and perhaps part of Asia Minor, along the west side of the Euphrates.

ISRAEL, under Solomon, ruled over Syria to the Euphrates, over Philistia, Edom, Moab, and other tribes.

ASSYRIA: The kings of Nineveh extended their territories to the Mediterranean 1120 B.C.; at the close of this period their power was lessened by the revolts of many of their formerly subject nations.

BABYLON had been conquered by the Assyrians 1271 B.C., but soon became independent, though it remained a secondary power until the seventh century B.C.

- MEDIA:** *Elam, Persia, and Iran*, which extended to the Indus—first settled by Turanians—then, by degrees, occupied by the Indo-European races, between 2500–1200 B.C.: Bactria, an important kingdom.
- ARABIA:** Its independent tribes in the north and centre. Yemen, the seat of a large trade from Asia, and by the Phoenicians and Kita, with Armenia and Europe.
- INDIA:** The Indo-European race predominant, and pushing its way southwards. The Turanian or Dravidian race in the south: other Turanian races in the north and centre of the Peninsula.
- CHINA:** Under the Chow Dynasty, which had divided China among seventy-two feudal states, occupying about one-half of what is now called *China* in our map.

AFRICA.

- EGYPT** was under the Priest Kings of the twenty-first Dynasty, 1100 to 975 B.C.
- LIBYA** (the Ribu): inhabited by tribes, of which the Maxyes were the most powerful: probably an Indo-European people—white, blue eyes, fair hair—A company of Libyans, Greeks, Ligurians, Siculi, &c., under Marmaiu, an African. These Libyans had settled in Libya at a very early period, and had subdued an older population.
- ETHIOPIA** (the Soudan), frequently subject to Egypt, but often independent. It was settled by the Cushites in the time of the eleventh and twelfth Dynasties—subjected by the eighteenth and nineteenth Dynasties. There was a kingdom at *Meroe* and another at *Napata* (Mount Berkel), which were great emporiums for trade with Arabia and India. The population was Cushite, a branch of the same race in Arabia.
- CARTHAGE:** Originally a settlement of the Sidonians, called *Cambe*; then, before 1200 B.C., called Carthage. From this point colonies were sent to South Spain, Corsica, Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, and Malta.
- While *Ethiopian* races spread over the south and east of Africa, the *Berber* races (Indo-European in their origin) occupied the Sahara and the interior tracts of all North Africa. They are supposed to have first colonised the south of Spain.

SECOND PERIOD.

*From 1000 B.C. to the Persian Empire
539 B.C.*

1. AT the commencement of this period the great powers of EGYPT and ASSYRIA were for a season powerless owing to revolutions in their respective dynasties. The ISRAELITISH kingdom under Solomon ruled from Egypt and the Red Sea to the Euphrates, apparently on friendly terms with the KHITA (1 Kings x. 29). But, on the death of Solomon, the revolt of Jeroboam, aided by the King of Egypt, established the kingdom of the Ten Tribes (that of ISRAEL), while the two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, formed the kingdom of JUDAH, under Rehoboam, the son of Solomon. The Israelitish people were thus taught that their mission was not one either of foreign conquest or of imperial power; they were to understand their position as that of a people intrusted with the divine oracles, while enduring a long period of national humiliation. All the conquests of David were lost; the *Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumeans*, and others resumed their former independent positions. The kingdom of ISRAEL lasted, amid many changes of dynasties, 255 years, and became to a very great extent idolatrous, though the sacrifices and ritual of the Mosaic law were partially maintained. Nineteen kings in all reigned in Israel, which was a purely military monarchy. JUDAH was governed by twenty kings from Rehoboam to the last of the kings of the house of David, Zedekiah, who was carried captive to Babylon 587 B.C. Of these *Asa, Jehosophat, Uzziah, Jotham, Hezekiah, and Josiah*, six in all, were loyal to the maintenance of the worship of Jehovah. All the others, both in Judah and Israel, gave way to the gross idolatry and to the licentious and cruel worship of the Canaanitish nations; and this apostasy was not the result of the exercise of kingly tyranny, but of the love of

the people for the idolatries of its neighbours. The kings and the ruling class both of Judah and Israel were thus, with a few exceptions, a disgrace to humanity. Two prophetic teachers and public opponents of idolatry, who may be called the *tribunes* of Jehovah, *the true kings of Israel*, were raised up to testify to the guilt of the kings and people: ELIJAH from 910 B.C. to 897 B.C., ELISHA from 897 B.C. to 838 B.C. After these remarkable men *Hosea*, *Amos*, and *Josiah* laboured, and protested, and prophesied in ISRAEL; while in JUDAH *Joel*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Obadiah*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, and *Zephaniah* exercised the office of protesters against idolatry, remonstrants against the sins of the kings and people, and advocates for the pure worship of Jehovah; thus calling the attention of the people to their peculiar privileges and grand destiny, which they were counteracting by their unfaithfulness and idolatry. Besides these, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* were the prophets of the Jews while in captivity at Babylon. This prophetic dispensation was, in fact, the divine administration of the theocratic government. By these prophets JEHOVAH, the king of the Israelitish people, declared *His* will: "These prophets were never patriots of the common stamp, to whom national interests stand higher than the absolute claims of religion and humanity. . . . The things for which Elijah contended were of far more worth than the national existence of Israel, and it is a higher wisdom than that of patriotism which insists that divine truth and civil righteousness are more than all the counsels of statecraft. Judged from a mere political point of view, Elijah's work had no other result than to open a way for the bloody and unscrupulous ambition of Jehu, and lay bare the frontiers of the land to the ravages of the ferocious Hazael. But with him the religion of Jehovah had already reached a point where it could no longer be judged by a mere national standard, and the truths of which he was the champion were not the less true because the issue made it plain that the cause of Jehovah could not triumph without destroying the old Hebrew state. Nay, without the destruction of the state, the religion of Israel could never have given birth to a religion for all mankind; and it was precisely the incapacity of Israel to carry out the higher truths of religion in national forms which brought into clearer and clearer prominence those things in the faith of Jehovah which are independent of every national condition, and make Jehovah the God, not of Israel alone, but of all the earth."¹ In the writings of these prophets, which make one-fourth

¹ W. Robertson Smith, "Prophets of Israel," pp. 78, 79, 12mo. 1882.

of the volume of the Old Testament, we have a vivid picture of the moral corruption, and the political servility, and treachery and falsehood of the kings, the priests, the nobles, and the people. Placed between the great powers of their age, EGYPT on the one hand and ASSYRIA and BABYLON on the other, the smaller states as *Israel*, *Judah*, *Syria*, &c., always disunited, were thus incapable of maintaining the balance of power between these two empires; on the contrary, they were tempted to invite the interference of one or other of these great powers in their petty rivalries. The insincere state policy of the kings of Judah, especially in their readiness to yield and take oaths of fidelity to the predominant power, whether Egypt, or Assyria, or Babylon, and the equal facility with which these oaths were broken, makes one rejoice in the just judgment by which the national existence of both Israel and Judah terminated in the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities. The prophets were, under all circumstances, the advocates of truth, sincerity, and faithfulness in political life, and suffered much persecution for their uncompromising opposition to the tergiversations of the kings and people, as we may observe in the case of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah. The kingdom of Egypt was revived under Shishouk (Shishack) of the twenty-second Dynasty, who invaded, took, and plundered Jerusalem and 133 cities of JUDAH after the death of SOLOMON, 976 or 981 B.C., when, after the death of Shishack, Azerch-Amen (*Zerah the Ethiopian*) invaded JUDAH 940 B.C., he was defeated (2 Chron. xiv. 9-15). These movements from the west should have taught the two kingdoms of ISRAEL and JUDAH, the PHœNI- CIANS, and the petty kingdoms of SYRIA to unite for their mutual defence against both EGYPT and ASSYRIA, knowing, as they did, that their position placed them in the debatable land in which for centuries past these two imperial powers had contended for the mastery. But their rivalries blinded them to the sense of danger, and led them to appeal to ASSYRIA for help against their rivals, thus hastening the period of their subjection and final extinction.

2. The *empire of ASSYRIA* was revived by Assur-dan 940 B.C. Assur-nazi-pal, 885 B.C., re-established his frontiers as far as the Mediterranean, which the Assyrians had lost for 200 years. In 745 B.C. a new dynasty began with *Tiglath-Pileser II.*, who enlarged and consolidated the empire. In 743 B.C. he held a court at Arpad, to which both Syria and Israel sent representatives to pay homage to him as their suzerain. As the friend of Ahaz, king of Judah, who sought his aid against Israel and Syria, this monarch took Damascus, and thus destroyed the rule of the Benhadad family

740 B.C. *Shalmanezzer IV.*, one of his generals, succeeded 727 B.C.; he blockaded Tyre several years, and died while besieging Samaria, the capital of the kings of Israel, 723-2 B.C. SARGON, another general, seized the power, took Samaria 720 B.C., and put an end to the kingdom of Israel; then, on his road to invade Egypt, he conquered the Philistines, and defeated the Egyptians under Sabaco the Ethiopian, at Raphia, 720 B.C. The KHITA were next subdued, and their chief towns, Kadesh and Carchemish, taken and destroyed 720-717 B.C. In 711 he took Ashdod and Jerusalem, making Hezekiah his tributary (*see* Isaiah x. 6, 12, 22, 24, 34). *Sen-nacherib* succeeded 705 B.C. He again threatened Jerusalem, and was about to enter Egypt, when his army was miraculously destroyed 701 B.C. (Isaiah xxxvi. xxxvii.). This event is noticed in the Egyptian annals, and ascribed to their gods. Babylon, never satisfied under Assyrian rule, was reconquered by him. In his wars he took eighty-nine fortified cities and 820 minor places in Babylonia, with Babylon itself, which he defaced and partially burnt, 691 B.C. *Esarhaddon* succeeded 681 B.C. He took Manasseh, king of Judah, to Babylon, but after a while restored him, 676 B.C. Babylon was rebuilt by him and beautified, and was his favourite place of abode. Tyre, as the friend of Egypt, was again blockaded. EGYPT, under Tirhakah, was conquered 672 B.C., and divided into twenty satrapies; two rebellions were followed by fresh subjugations 669 B.C. *Assur-bani-pal*, the successor of Esarhaddon, had to reconquer Egypt. Thebes (No-Ammon) was destroyed, and the ground strewn with its ruins, as foretold in Nahum iii. 8-10. Tirhakah fled to Ethiopia, but he and his son again raised a rebellion, and for the fourth time the Assyrian authority had to be re-established by arms. These expeditions, followed by a revolt of the Assyrian soldiery, and by the rebellion of the MEDES and the BABYLONIANS 652 B.C., exhausted the resources of the Assyrian empire. The EGYPTIANS also revolted under Psammetikos of Sais, assisted by Ionian and Karian mercenaries sent by Gyges, king of Lydia. *Esarhaddon II.* (Sarakos) succeeded 625 B.C., the inroads of the barbarous Kimmerians diverted the Medes and Babylonians for a few years, but in 606 B.C. the city of Nineveh was besieged by the Medes and Babylonians, taken and destroyed 606 B.C. The MEDES had begun to assert their independence in 740, and again in 633 B.C., BABYLON under Nabopolassar in 625. The KIMMERIANS properly belong to the barbarous tribes north of the Black Sea, who had fled from more powerful Scythian tribes. They were the precursors of that great northern swell of population which at that time, and for ages after, troubled

civilised Asia and Europe. This irruption is noticed by the Greek poet Kallinicos 634 B.C., and also by the Hebrew prophets Zephaniah (i.), and Jeremiah (i. 13-16; vi. 22-25). The large mounds now found on the site of Nineveh, washed as they have been by the rain of 2,500 years, have preserved to us the remains of the buildings of the Assyrian monarchs, they explain to us the character of the civilisation of the Assyrian nation. The principal prophecies which refer to the fall of Assyria are Isaiah x. 5; xiv. 25; xxx. 8, 9; Zephaniah ii. 13-15; Ezekiel xxxi. 11-16; Nahum iii. 6, 7. The civilisation of Assyria was derived from Babylon, its literature was that of the old Turanian Akkads, translated into the Assyrian Shemitish dialect. The first Assyrian library was established at Calah 1300 B.C.; the greatest library was established by Assur-bani-pal at Nineveh 670 B.C., it had 30,000 tablets. This library had a catalogue, the tablets were arranged methodically and numbered. Among other works is *the great Babylonian epic*, which incorporates in the adventures of Isdubahr the history of the flood and the ark in which Xisurthus was saved, the building of Babel, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of the human race. The *legend of the creation* also, as well as the history of the flood, are obviously from the old traditions existing long before the time of Abraham, preserved in the patriarchal families, and recorded for us in the book of Genesis; mythologies, treatises on geography, astronomy, astrology, natural history also. The religious poems appear to have been written after the Shemites had succeeded in considerably modifying the old spirit worship of the Akkadians. "The old sorcerer gave way to the priest, and the adoration of kings to the worship of abstractions, and the people began to adore special deities, such as the sun-god, the moon-god, and the sky." The Shemites probably introduced with the worship of Assur a pantheon of gods, the teaching respecting conviction of sin and the need of a Redeemer. The oldest code of laws is an Akkadian one, records of a banking-house in Babylon of a firm which existed through five generations, and sundry cheques.¹ The city of Nineveh was a sort of province enclosed in walls 100 feet high, defended by 1,500 towers 200 feet high, the walls so thick that three chariots might be driven abreast with ease; these walls, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles long and 11 broad, were in circuit 60 miles. Hence it is described in Jonah as "an exceeding great city of three days' journey" (Jonah iii. 3). "That which strikes us most . . . is the unbounded command of naked

¹ See "Assyrian Life and History," M. E. Harkness. Translation.

human strength possessed by these early kings, and the effect of mere mass and indefatigable perseverance, unaided either by theory or by artifice, in the accomplishment of gigantic results."¹

3. There were now left *four* great powers in Western Asia, including Egypt, which was politically an Asiatic power. These were BABYLON, the MEDES and PERSIANS, EGYPT, and LYDIA. If LYDIA had had time to consolidate its resources, and had known how to conciliate and employ the skill of its Greek neighbours, it might have established a power intermediate between European and Asiatic civilisation, to the great benefit of the old world. But, having come prematurely in collision with the MEDES, it was conquered by Cyrus the PERSIAN, 554 B.C. EGYPT had already secured its independence of Assyria, and had shaken off the Ethiopian Dynasty, 648 B.C. ("The Priests of Noph," Isaiah xix. 13), and was quite prepared to contend with Babylon, as before with ASSYRIA, for the lordship over Palestine and Syria.

4. NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the successor of Nabopolassar, followed the old policy of the Assyrian kings, and opposed the attempts of the kings of EGYPT to reassert their claim to Assyria and to the region west of the Euphrates. *Pharaoh Necho*, having advanced as far as Megiddo on his way, was opposed by Josiah, the excellent king of Judah, the faithful vassal of the king of Babylon, and was there slain, 610 B.C. Necho then placed Jehoiachim on the throne of Jerusalem. This prince had to submit to Nebuchadnezzar, who captured Jerusalem 606 B.C., and sent away Daniel and many other captives to Babylon. From this year is dated the beginning of the Babylonish captivity (Jeremiah xlv. 1-12). In spite of the opposition of Jeremiah the Prophet, Jehoiachim revolted against Nebuchadnezzar, relying upon the help of Egypt, 602 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar, delayed by other wars, could not avenge this insult until 597, when he took Jerusalem and put Jehoiachim to death, placing Jehoiachin, a child (called also Jeconiah and Coniah), in his room, who only reigned three months and ten days. His mother and the leading chiefs again were led by the Egyptian idolatrous party to rebel; but in 597-8 Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and carried the king and royal family, with 10,000, in captivity to Babylon; among them was Ezekiel the prophet. Zedekiah, the youngest son of Josiah, was made king by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezekiel xvii. 13, 14). Infatuated by false prophets (2 Chronicles xxxvi. 13), and relying upon Egypt, like his predecessors,

¹ Grote, vol. iii. p. 405.

he declared against Babylon. This was followed by the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, 587 or 586 B.C. Zedekiah was blinded, his sons and the princes of Judah slaughtered, and himself sent a prisoner to Babylon. Other leading men and sixty others of the people were put to death, and Jerusalem itself was destroyed by fire, the walls broken down, the temple and the city left a mere ruin. TYRE was taken 573 B.C., according to the prophecy of Amos (who lived 787 B.C.) i. 9-10; Isaiah (who lived 713 B.C.) xxiii. 1-15; Ezekiel xxvi. to xxviii. Egypt, under Apries (Hophra), was fearfully ravaged, and reduced to great distress, and Ethiopia also. The conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians and Babylonians was foretold by Isaiah, xix. 1-16; xx. 1-6; by Jeremiah, xliii. 10-13; xlv. 29-30; xlv. 13-26. Ezekiel forewarned Egypt, xxix. to xxxii. The conquest of Ethiopia was foretold by Isaiah (xx. 1-6), and by Zephaniah (ii. 12). The empire of Nebuchadnezzar was the largest, the richest, and the most compact and powerful of any which the world had yet seen. In his reign the intercourse with Greece, through Asia Minor, had become not infrequent. We hear of a Greek named Artimenides, the brother of the poet Alcæus, who served in the army of Nebuchadnezzar.¹

DANIEL THE PROPHET was reared in the court of Nebuchadnezzar, by whom he appears to have been highly esteemed and trusted, and upon whose hasty and indomitable spirit he may have exercised a beneficial influence. (The remarkable prophecy of Daniel (ch. ii.) is a sketch of the future changes of political power in the world. Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, Greece, and even the last empire, the iron rule of Rome, should give way to a rule of moral and spiritual influences—the rule of Christ. This kingdom is now gradually, though slowly and imperceptibly, advancing in the world, and preparing the way for a rule of spiritual influences, and of justice and morality. In a subsequent revelation the real character of the four grand empires is set before us. They are presented in the similitude of savage beasts, denoting the divine condemnation of their rapine and cruelty (Daniel vii. 1-7). The captive Jews in Babylon appear to have been liberally treated. Many became rich and prosperous, and the major part of them became attached to territory bordering on the Euphrates, and eventually chose it for their country. They were thoroughly cured of their tendency to idolatry. Gradually the Jewish people were dispersed over all Western Asia, Egypt, Greece, and Italy, carrying

¹ Grote, vol. iii. 12mo. edition, p. 302.

with them their spiritual news of the divine nature, completely free from all Polytheistic errors.¹

The new BABYLONIAN KINGDOM thus became an empire under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar, who has left an impression of a high statesmanlike character, and of the possession of singular excellences above the contemporary kings his neighbours. By him *Babylon* was enlarged and beautified: the walls were estimated at from 40 to 60 miles in circuit, 32 to 75 feet thick, and from 150 to 365 feet in height (varying in thickness and height, no doubt, according to the necessities of the locality). The grand temple of Belus occupied a site which was a square, each side 1200 feet. A tower, 600 feet square, rose 1800 feet. The streets were laid out in straight lines, enclosing large squares of arable and garden land. Numerous canals running along most of the leading streets furnished supplies of water for domestic uses and for irrigation. He made a road from Babylon through the Western Desert to Sela and Elath, far shorter than the old caravan route by Tadmor and Damascus. Thus Babylon was again a centre of trade, where all the caravans from Cilicia, and the north and west, and from Syria and Palestine touched the Euphrates. The maritime trade was either direct from Babylon, through the Persian Gulf, or through Gerrha, a port on the west side of the gulf, which was an entrepôt of the PHŒNICIANS. This city, at one time a very large one, is the Dedan of the Bible (Jeremiah xxv. 23; Ezekiel xxv. 13)—a people who occupied the city and the islands in the bay (the Bahrein Islands). The navigation extended to the Red Sea and the east coast of Africa, and to Ceylon and southern India. This trade and navigation from the Persian Gulf, so prized by Nebuchadnezzar, was afterwards discouraged by the Persians, who feared attacks on Babylon and Susa, which, not having any fleet, they would be unable to repel. The land trade was by roads westward to the Mediterranean, northward to Armenia and the Black Sea, and eastern and north-eastern to India and China. Babylon had from the earliest period been the seat of textile manufactures in wool, cotton, and linen, and for articles of gold and silver workmanship, engraved stones, rich carpets. The Jews, as well as the Greeks, while revelling in the descriptions of the wealth and magnificence of Babylon, testify to its luxurious indulgences and immorality. The death of Nebuchadnezzar was followed by the decline of his empire. Evil-Merodach, who succeeded 561 B.C., was followed by incompetent rulers. The Medes and Persians, under

¹ See Dr. Pusey, "The Prophecies of Daniel," 8vo.

Cyrus, besieged and took Babylon 539 B.C. Nabonadius (Nabonadus) the king was heading the Babylonian army outside. He was defeated by Cyrus (who gave him a principality in Carmania). *Belshazzar* was the associate of Nabonadius left in charge of the city.¹ This explains why Daniel was appointed to be *third* ruler of the state (Daniel v. 29). *Cyrus* led his army through the empty bed of the Euphrates, by the water gates, "and the more distant parts of the city were on fire long before the news reached the palace, perhaps before Daniel had finished expounding the writing on the wall"² (Jeremiah li. 30-32). *Darius* the Mede was placed in charge of Babylon, while *Cyrus* was otherwise engaged. It is very difficult to identify this *Darius*, and there is some obscurity in the details of the sieges of Babylon and the position of *Cyrus*, but the *whole power of the empire of the Medes and Persians* was eventually concentrated in the person of *CYRUS*. (The following prophecies refer to the destruction and present condition of Babylon: Isaiah xiii. 1-22; xiv. 14-23; xlv. 1-6; xlvii. 1-15; Jeremiah l. and li.) There is great obscurity in the history of the fall of Babylon. The statements of both Herodotus, Xenophon, and Abydenus are contradicted by some inscriptions on the clay bricks, recently discovered, which affirm a peaceable occupation of Babylon by *Cyrus*, after a battle with Nabonidus. It is probable that these inscriptions may be the history modified to gratify the national vanity. We have patriotic histories of the peninsular war which attribute the expulsion of the French to the bravery of the Spaniards, forgetting the English army under Wellington. *Cyrus* may have thought it politic to humour the vanity of the Babylonians. Sayce thinks that the *Darius* of the book of Daniel was *Darius Hystaspes*.

5. GREECE AND THE HELLENIC WORLD.—By the *Trojan* war, and by the colonies settled in *Asia Minor*, and by occasional intercourse with EGYPT and PHENICIA and LIBYA, the *Greeks* were brought more frequently in contact with the more advanced world of the East and South. By the KHITA the commodities of the East, and the superior manufactures of ASSYRIA and BABYLON, had been carried in caravans to the Ægean coast, and thence to Greece. With the exception of MACEDONIA, a new kingdom carved out by a Grecian adventurer, Perdikkas, of the royal race of Argos, in the ninth century B.C., all the governments had become Republican. He and his warlike successors established this small state, which waited the proper time for aggrandisement. The government was monarchic, after the fashion of the Homeric age, checked by a

¹ Max-Duncker, vol. vi. p. 81.

² "Student's History," p. 528.

Council of Chiefs. In all the *Doric* states in the Peloponnesus, the Doric conquerors had reduced the old inhabitants (the Greeks who had been the glory of the heroic ages) to an inferior political position, and in some cases, as in *Sparta*, a large portion of them became Helots, slaves of the most degraded character. So in *Thessaly*, and in other states where the rulers were a military caste, lording it over the industrious classes. In all the Grecian states the citizens of the towns seemed to claim a superiority over the country people, and in the cities only the favoured possessors of the citizenship had any share in the administration. The religion of the Greeks, "anthropomorphic polytheism," though singularly beautiful, so much as to extort the regrets of Hume and Gibbon that it could not be revived, "being mainly a product of imagination and the æsthetic sense, with no depth of root either in the reason or conscience, with feeble philosophical and moral power and possibilities, has no claim to be regarded as a great religion, and indeed would seem to have been, in some measure, outgrown by the Greek mind when Homer wrote."¹ Whatever there was of moral or religious power in the Greek religion was traceable to the old traditions of the fathers of the race, improved and enriched in after-ages by glimpses of a pure theology, gathered by some of their travellers from intercourse with the East. The mass of the people were superstitious in the extreme, from which also the higher classes were not exempt; while popular theology, or rather mythology, of the poets and of the legends had little influence. Perhaps local superstitions had greater hold within the sphere of their action than all the deities of Olympus. The strongest bond of religious union was the attachment to particular sanctuaries and to the common worship or festivals connected with them. Hence, the *Olympian* games, celebrated every four years on the Alpheus in Elis, which claim an antiquity long preceding the Trojan war, reinstituted by Iphitus 277 B.C., with the *Nemean*, celebrated at Nemea in Argolis, and the *Isthmian*, celebrated on the Corinthian Isthmus, twice in every Olympic—these claim a high antiquity also. The *Pythian* were established by the Amphictyons after the Sacred War in which Cressa was destroyed, and the games instituted out of the spoils of the city, celebrated every third Olympic year. All these festivals helped to maintain the sense of the unity of the Greek race. SPARTA, under the Dorian rule, became a mere military encampment, as if in an enemy's country. LYCURGUS, 880 B.C., arranged for the lands to be cultivated by the

¹ Flint, "Philosophy of History," vol. i. p. 5.

non-citizens and Helot population ; the freemen were as soldiers in barracks or tents. Two kings, a Senate of twenty-eight, and an Assembly of the free *Spartans*, constituted the government. The power and territory of Sparta was increased by the conquest of Messenia, after two wars, which lasted from 743 to 668 B.C., with a short interval. In most of the other Grecian communities, the dissensions and contentions for power among the people led to the necessity of choosing or accepting able individuals as temporary dictators (just as in Rome, and in all the revolutions in modern Europe, especially France) to frame a platform of constitutional government. In the history of ATHENS, for example, first, DRACO 621 B.C., then SOLON 590 B.C., had been chosen for this purpose, to arbitrate between the exclusive claims of the great families, the aristocratic party, and the Demos—*i.e.*, the great body of the citizens, most of whom were poor. These conflicting interests had led to the usurpation of the supreme power in many cities by popular leaders raised to irresponsible positions of authority by the poorer classes, who, being supported by a body of armed followers, became practically despotic. These were called *Tyrants*, not merely because their government might be strict and oppressive, but however it might be exercised. The Greeks respected the hereditary king of the heroic ages, but the elected demagogue ruler was their special aversion. "The noble who failed in the struggle with his brother aristocrats, this was he who taught the Demos their rights, and offered to lead them against their former oppressors." Thus there arose a certain phase of Greek "society, called the age of Tyrants, which has hardly received fair treatment at the hands of historians. Politically, it was an epoch of stagnation or retrogression ; but, socially and æsthetically, in spite of the vices of many Greek despots, I hold it to have been not only an age of progress in Greece, but even a necessary prelude to the higher life which was to follow . . . the degradation of the lower classes, the undisguised violence of the nobles, made all approach to a proper constitution impossible . . . the Tyrants systematically raised the common people and lowered the nobles . . . they gave the cities a strong government and peace, giving the opportunity to develop commerce and to cultivate art. When the Tyrants passed away, Greece, by this fusion of classes produced by the Tyrants, was in fit condition to develop political life."¹ The complaints of the aristocratic poet Theognis, driven from Megara by a revolution, describes the consequences of a convulsion in which in

¹ Mahaffy, "Social Life in Greece," pp. 82-84.

Megara the ruling families had been supplanted by a Tyrant, such as was from time to time experienced by many other cities. "We see that the poet was connected with an oligarchy of birth and not of wealth, which had recently been subverted by the breaking in of the rustic populations, previously subject and degraded; that these subjects were content to submit to a single-headed despot, in order to escape from their former rulers; and that Theognis himself had been betrayed by his own friends and companions, stripped of his property, and exiled, through the wrong-doing of enemies, whose blood he hopes one day to be permitted to drink. The condition of the subject cultivators, previous to this revolution, he depicts in sad colours. They dwelt without the city, clad in goat-skins, and ignorant of judicial sanctions or laws; after it, they had become citizens, and their importance had been immensely enhanced. Thus, according to his impression, the vile breed has trodden down the noble, the bad have become masters, and the good are no longer of any account."¹ The political meaning of the epithets *good* and *bad* differed from the ethical meaning: the *good* were the wealthy, the noble; the *bad*, the low-born, the poor, the ignorant. In ATHENS, Pisistratus overturned the reformed oligarchy of Solon, and obtained the supreme power, and, though expelled thrice, retained his power until 527 B.C., when he died. His power was exercised under the old forms, and was supported by a band of Thracian mercenaries; he maintained the laws of Solon, greatly improved the city, collected a library open to the public, and made, on the whole, a wise and noble use of his position. But the Athenians never regarded him as a successor of the Heroic kings. We must not forget that in Greece were made the first experiments in the construction and working of free government, which, however imperfect in their beginning, have served as lessons and guides to the civilised world, and have had no small influence on the progress of our race. Political science, the effort to enjoy a free life in a well-ordered state, dates its origin from the experiments of Greek statesmen and the thoughts of Greek philosophers."² The literature of Greece has, next to the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, been the most valuable of influences in the education of the human race.

6. Greek colonies were established along the Ægean Sea in ASIA MINOR, on the shores of the Euxine, in ITALY and SICILY, in LIBYA (at Cyrene), soon after the Dorian conquest, 1104 B.C. Croton, in

¹ Grote, "History of Greece," 12mo. edition, vol. iii. pp. 44, 45.

² *Quarterly Review*, No. 148, p. 488.

south Italy, is connected with the endeavours of the great philosopher, *Pythagoras*, to establish a society for scientific study, for political improvement, and for the moral renovation of society, from 550 to 510 B.C. The colonies in Asia Minor, and of the Propontis, and on the Euxine, and on the Palus Mæotis, were most important for the trade of civilised Asia, and for that of the barbarous nations north of the Euxine and the Caspian. The colonies to the west were established, long after, 750 to 650 B.C., in SOUTHERN Italy (called from them Magna Græcia), and SICILY 600 B.C.; most of them were begun by the leaders of parties in the ministry. Of these Sybaris has been famous for its luxurious habits, and has become a proverb. Those in SICILY were afterwards peculiarly important from their contest with the CARTHAGINIANS; they formed the vanguard of *Hellenic* civilisation—in Sicily especially—opportunistically established to check the ruthless policy of a Phœnician colony. A Greek colony was formed in LIBYA by Battus at *Cyrene* 640 B.C.; *Marseilles*, in Gaul, was founded by the *Phokæans* 600 B.C. It will be seen from these colonies that the extent of Greek influence is not to be measured by the limits of Greek territory, properly called Greece or Hellas. At a very early period, so early as the sixth century B.C., the mind of west Asia and of half Italy was, to some extent, influenced by the Greek language, Greek literature, and Greek ideas on philosophy and polity. Greek colonisation, at one time, seemed likely to go far west. On the conquest of Lydia by Cyrus, “Bias of Briene, 548 B.C., proposed that all the Ionian cities should follow the example of the Phokæans, and that there should be a general emigration to Sardinia, in order that all might obtain a new country there, and that there should be there found one great community, one city to be founded by all in common. Had this proposal been carried out, the achievements of Cyrus would have exercised a far deeper influence over the distant west than the mere settlement of the Phokæans in Atalia (Corsica). . . . The centre of Hellenic life would have been transplanted from east to west, and the fate of Italy would have been changed; the Greeks would have retired before the supremacy of the East in order to establish a strong insular power among the weak communities of the West. But the Ionians could not rise to the height of such a resolution.”¹ “Herodotus bestows upon this plan the most unqualified commendation, and regrets that it was not acted upon. Had such been the case the subsequent history of Carthage, Sicily, and even Rome, might have been sensibly altered.”²

¹ Max-Duncker, vol. vi. p. 59.

² Grote, vol. iv. 12mo. p. 134.

7. ITALY.—In this period the Gauls occupied the north of Italy, the Ligurians, supposed to be an Iberian race, the shores of the Mediterranean extending from Etruria to south-east Gaul. *Etruria*, under the Etruscans, was a powerful state, gradually pressing southward upon the old Italic races, the Umbrians, Sikels, Oscans, Sabellians, &c. *Southern Italy* received a large number of Grecian settlements: Tarentum, Croton, Sybaris, Rhegium, Cuma, and others, between 1030 B.C. and 600 B.C. The *Latin* tribes were near neighbours to the aggressive Etruscans. Latium was supposed to have been the adopted country of Æneas when he fled from Troy, and Alba Longa was the seat of his reputed descendants for three centuries. This fable, flattering to Roman vanity, is now by all scholars regarded as a myth totally destitute of historical foundation. The plains of Latium were originally covered with villages, the centres of the various clans inhabiting the territory. These villages were sometimes independent, but more generally connected with some central point of union, the *Civitas*. Three tribes, the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres, combined to form the population of Rome (753 B.C.). The Tiber was the natural highway for the traffic of Latium; and Rome thus combined the advantages of a strong position, commanding both banks of the stream down to its mouth, afforded greater protection from pirates than could be found in towns situated immediately upon the sea-coast. To these commercial and strategical advantages Rome was indebted for its early importance as the emporium of Latium. It was governed by kings, of whom ROMULUS was the first; and the regal power was checked by a senate and popular assembly. Tarquin the Proud, the last of the seven kings, was expelled 510 B.C. Historians, patriots, and poets have fallen into the great delusion of regarding this event as the triumph of free principles of government and the extension of political liberty among the population of that city by the establishment of a republic. The real state of the case was far different. Whatever may have been the crimes of Tarquin the Proud, and of the Tarquinian régime, which was evidently of Etruscan origin, the change was in favour of an aristocracy, and of the limitation of the liberties of the old constitution of King Servius Tullius, while the power and territory of Rome were greatly diminished.

But the early history of Rome is one of the battle-fields of modern archæologists. By the school of Niebuhr, Mommsen, and others, followed by Ihne, Arnold, and Grote, the history of Rome, up to near the First Punic War, is regarded as mainly mythical and conjectural. The learned critics have certainly made out a fair case to justify a measure of incredulity in reference to the details, recorded

by the regular historians, as Livy. But the attempt to reconstruct the history has been a failure. *Dyer*, in his history of the city of Rome, &c., has ably defended and all but proved the *substantial* truth of the leading facts connected with the regal history. Roman vanity has indeed falsified many particulars of the early history, and in the opinion of Dr. Arnold, the Roman historians, in point of accuracy and honesty, occupy a very inferior position compared with those of Greece. That Porsenna was conqueror in the war after the expulsion of the kings, and that Camillus did not overcome the Gauls, may be true, and the common tradition false; but that the leading facts of Roman progress and of the various constitutional changes are preserved in the old traditions cannot be doubted. The decried historians had access to documents now lost, and their mistakes and exaggerations come nearer to the truth and explain the *origines* of Rome, on the whole, more satisfactorily than the ingenious speculations of modern critics. The population of Rome consisted originally of four classes:—(1) the *populus*, the original founders of the city, called also the *patricians*; these were divided into three *tribes*, each tribe having ten *curiæ*: each *curia*, being a religious corporation, distinguished by its peculiar sacred rites and objects of worship, was divided into an indefinite number of *gentes* or clans; a *gens* consisting at first of parties tracing their descent (either naturally or by adoption) from one common ancestor and having one family name; (2) the clients, consisting of the dependants of the patricians, not without political rights, but identified with the interests of their patrons; (3) the *plebs* or *plebeians*, consisting mainly of the population of towns conquered by the Romans, or of voluntary emigrants: these were free, and often wealthy from their industrial and commercial pursuits, but had no political power, and could not intermarry with patrician families; (4) the *slaves*. The government was first under the direction of an *elective king*, but after 510 B.C., in *two consuls*, elected by the senate and people annually. The *senate* at first consisted of three hundred members from the patrician families, almost absolute in its authority, but checked by the *comitia curiata*, composed entirely of the patrician class, in which the majority of each *curia* directed the vote of that *curia*, and so through the *thirty curiæ* the senate had the entire executive power at first, but this was lessened by the successive additional power claimed and exercised by the centuriates and tribunes. The *plebeians* were first admitted to a share in the government by the legislation attributed to Servius Tullius, by which the plebs were divided into six classes proportional to their wealth and the taxation paid by them. The first class

embraced the equestrian order (the knights), who formed the cavalry and were possessed of property to the amount of £320 and *had ninety-eight votes!* In the *comitia centuriata* the other classes were reckoned at ninety-five centuries and had ninety-five votes. Thus the political power and at the same time the public burdens of the state fell to the wealthier classes. Another assembly was the *comitia tributa*. This was purely a plebeian assembly, as it had reference to the thirty tribes into which the plebs had been divided, and in which the votes were taken by tribes without reference to wealth or rank; but this assembly possessed little importance until after the expulsion of the kings. On the respective rights and powers of the *comitias (curiata, centuriata, and tributa)* there is considerable difference of opinion among scholars; the *comitia curiata*, however, became a mere form when in 337 B.C. Publius, by the second Publian Law, compelled the senate to permit any law to be discussed in the *comitia tributa*, and, as a matter of course, to be recognised by the senate. The history of the struggle for two hundred years for popular rights is on the whole highly creditable to the Roman people, on the one hand, for only asking for what was reasonable; and to the senate, on the other hand, for knowing how to yield. In the popular interest, the fact that the meetings of the *comitia tributa* did not require the religious sanction of the patrician priestly officials was a great advantage, for the *comitia centuriata* could at any time be dissolved, when it suited the patricians to declare the omens unfavourable.

8. CARTHAGE was a Tyrian city, established for commerce; it was at first a city merely, *not* a nation, though in after-times exercising imperial power over conquered or allied nations, besides the neighbouring territory occupied by the wealthy citizens in villas and gardens, and by a numerous agricultural population. Its government, like that of all Phœnician cities, was monopolised by the great families who formed an hereditary aristocracy, modified at a later period by a small amount of democratic influence. The fleet of Carthage was the main support of its power. An army formed of mercenaries, enlisted from the population of North Africa, Liguria, Gaul, and Spain, was fully employed in securing its possessions in Spain, and afterwards in wars for the extension of their frontier. The colonies made by Carthage were practically mere factories for trade, or military positions, and none of them ever attained to the importance of the Greek colonies, as, for example, Agrigentum and Syracuse. HANNO, in his fleet, explored Western Africa as far as Guinea, 580 B.C. So early as 550 B.C. the Carthaginians had fought with

the *Phœæan* fleets, and had begun to take up positions in *Sardinia*. The interests of their commerce led to a treaty with Rome, 508 B.C., for its regulation on the coast of Italy and to prevent communication with Africa. The Carthaginians agreed to make no trading settlements on the shores of Latium and Campania, while the Romans agreed not to sail on the African coast to the south of the Hermæan Promontory (the north-east point of Africa). Hatred to the Greeks as commercial rivals, and as opponents in the struggle for the possession of Sicily, was one characteristic of their foreign policy: they were anxious to join with the Persians in the attempt to overwhelm the national existence and civilisation of Greece.

9. INDIA before 500 B.C.—The *Aryans* had spread as far as Bengal. The code of *Manu*, supposed to be of a very remote antiquity by Sir W. Jones, who dates it from 1820 B.C., is now by the critics brought down to the fifth and sixth century B.C.; and even so recent as the fourth century B.C. This may be true as to the code in its present stage, but it is obviously compiled from old laws of very remote antiquity. In the mythological poetical histories of India, the "*Puranas*" record a war between the *solar* dynasty of Oude, supported by *Brahma*, with the *lunar* dynasty. The *Maha-Barata*, is a legend of the family feuds in the *lunar* dynasty. These events are supposed to relate to events from 1400 B.C. to 1000 B.C. The real history of the Indian kingdom is very uncertain until the Mahomedan invasion. The most remarkable revolution is the rise and predominance of BUDDHISM for a period of four hundred or five hundred years. This was a reaction against the power and rule of BRAHMINISM, which is thought to have commenced long before the time of Buddha (called also Gotama and Sakya Muni) who was born 625 B.C., and died 543 B.C.

CHINA, at so early a period as 936 B.C., began to suffer from the incursions of the Tartar tribes on its northern frontier. Muh-Wang, of the *Chow* Dynasty, then reigned, and the empire was disturbed by the wars of the sub-kingdoms. In the sixth century the two great philosophers Lao-tsze and Confucius flourished.

10. *Religious History*. INDIA (Northern): The Aryan races had already passed from the simple partial civilisation and nature-worship of their ancestry into the Brahminical rule, the dominion of caste. The four principal, the Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (soldiers), Vaisiyas (merchants), and Sudras (cultivators), are subdivided into many distinct classes, and outside the castes are the degraded Pariahs. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and the final rest of the purified by the absorption of the soul in the Nirwana, is common to

Brahminism and its rival system Buddhism. This great reaction against the exclusive Brahminism is supposed to have commenced before the birth of Buddha. He is said to have ignored the existence of the Deity, and to have denied the efficacy of prayer, and to have resolutely broken the bondage of caste. His moral code approaches very near to that of Christianity, enforcing goodness and kindness as the only merits by which the soul could rise in its transmigration. The five deadly sins were murder, theft, adultery, drunkenness, and falsehood. Buddhism has recently been the subject of much literary controversy, A. Lillie, in his popular "Life of Buddha" (1880), and Mr. E. Arnold, in his poem, "The light of Asia," stoutly opposing the atheism attributed to the system by the article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition, and by Rhys Davids in the "Hibbert Lectures." The early accounts of Buddha which exist among the southern Buddhists are comparatively free from the fables in the writings of the northern Buddhists. These latter attribute to Buddha a birth, life, and miracles similar to those of our Saviour, obviously copied from the apocryphal Gospels, or from the genuine Gospels introduced into India about 300 A.D. Some of the learned, ignorant of the disparity between the genuine and the fictitious histories of Buddha, and relying upon the veracity of the northern fables, inferred that the character of the Christ of the Gospels had originated in the myths respecting Buddha which might have reached Palestine. But there is not the slightest trace of any such historical connexions between Buddhism and Christian literature, or of any such traditions current in Asia either before or immediately after the Christian era. The legends in question do not appear in northern India until the fourth century after Christ.¹ The *Jains*, a sect which is contemporary with Buddha, are equally opposed to Brahminism, especially in regard to the transmigration of souls after death. In IRAN (Eastern Persia) the teachings of the Zend-Avesta, ascribed to Zoroaster, were fully received. This dualistic system survives among the Parsees of India to this day. The Magi were the priests. Fire was the grand symbol highly revered. Originally there were no temples, altars, or statues, and the sacrifices were offered on the tops of the hills. In CHINA the common-sense secular philosophy of Confucius (550 B.C.) has helped to form and stereotype the Chinese character. He did not interfere with the old national ancestor worship, but

¹ See *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, vol. xxxi. 729; the *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1880; Rev. Spence Hardy, "Legends of the Buddhists," "Eastern Monachism."

confined himself to purely ethical teaching. A much more profound though less popular philosophy or religion was taught by Lao-tsze, the contemporary of Confucius. It is called *Taoism*, and its Bible is the "Tao-Teh-King," "a genuine relic of one of the most original minds of the Chinese race."¹ Under the name of *Tao*, the reference is to God as the way to heaven. God is considered as the author of nature, and as the great exemplar to men and to governments. The present system of Taoism is a corruption of the original teaching, in which Lao-tsze is deified.

II. LITERATURE in this period was mainly confined to the Hebrews and the Greeks. The writings of the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and even of the Egyptians, have perished, leaving mere fragments. The Assyrian and Babylonian literature exists only on brick tablets, of which but a small part have been excavated, and fewer still translated, so as to be accessible. The literature of the Phœnicians, and of their colonists, the Carthaginians, is lost. What would we give for the narrative of the voyage of the Phœnician ships which, sailing from the Red Sea, circumnavigated Africa by command of Paraoh Necho, 611-609 B.C., or for that of Hanno, the Carthaginian, who, about 580 B.C., sailed along the western coast of Africa as far Guinea?

The HEBREWS had the writings of the Prophets, the successors of Samuel, who wrote the historical books of *Ruth*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, and *Chronicles*, the last two after the Captivity. These are compilations from contemporary writers to which there is frequent reference. The *Psalms* are attributed to DAVID and others of the Hebrew worthies, some of them as early as Moses, and others after the Captivity: the *Songs*, the *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes* to SOLOMON chiefly, though with subsequent additions. The prophetic writings begin with Jonah, 825 B.C. (Jonah is a vindication of Jehovah's love even for the heathen, and a sharp reproof of Jewish narrow exclusiveness); Joel, Hosea, and Amos, 810-750 B.C.; Isaiah, 758-698 B.C.; Micah, 756-697 B.C.; Nahum, 720 B.C.; Habakkuk and Zephaniah, 630-629 B.C.; Obadiah, 588-583 B.C.; Jeremiah, 629-586 B.C.; Daniel, whose life was spent in Babylon, 606-534 B.C.; Ezekiel, 595-568 B.C. These last three were the prophets of the Captivity. The date of Zechariah is a controverted point, but Haggai and Malachi, the last of the prophets, lived between the return from the Captivity, 534 B.C., to about 400 B.C. Ezra and Nehemiah, to whom the books so called are ascribed, were the contemporaries of these later

¹ *British Quarterly*, No. 155, pp. 74-107.

prophets. No writer of a later date has been admitted into the "Canon" by the Jewish authorities. The prophetic writings are singular, occupying a position claimed by no other literature. They express to us the decisions and will of the Supreme Ruler of the universe on points bearing upon the great question of the principles of the divine moral government over nations and individuals, reminding us that, while "*clouds and darkness*" may hide from us right views respecting the divine administration, yet "*righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne*" (Psalm xcvi. 2). They also present to us most encouraging views of the future condition of the human race, when the Christian dispensation shall have been fully realised on earth.

The GREEKS had poets before *Homer*, as *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Musæus*, and *Jalemus*. *Homer*, the greatest of all EPIC POETS, may have lived 800 B.C. His subject was the war of Troy and the return of Ulysses to Ithaca. *Hesiod* some time later. These poets are specially identified with the polytheism of the Greeks. *Hesiod* records the cosmogony received in his age. By individualising the powers of nature, and forming genealogies of these fictitious impersonations of natural phenomena, he tempted the unbelief of men like *Thales* to introduce "the conception of substances, with their transformations and sequences, in place of that string of persons and quasi-human attributes which had animated the old legendary world."¹ The LYRIC POETS were *Archilochus*, 700 B.C., *Kallinus*, *Tyrtæus*, *Alkman*, *Alkæus*, *Sappho*, from 670 to 610 B.C.; *Simonides*, 540 B.C., *Anacreon*, 650 B.C., *Pindar*, 520 B.C., *Ibykus*, 540 B.C., *Æsop*, 560 B.C., &c. The earliest prose writers—*Cadmus* of *Miletus*, 540 B.C., *Akusilaus* of *Argos*, 550 B.C., *Pherekydes* of *Syros*, 560 B.C. Of the philosophical writers this *Pherekydes* and *Anaximander* were the first who committed their views on philosophy to writing. Grecian philosophy began with the famous constellation of the seven wise men of Greece—*Solon* the Athenian, *Thales* the Milesian, *Pittakus* the Mitylenean, *Bias* the Prienian, *Myson* of *Chenæ*, *Cheilon* the Spartan, *Periander* of *Corinth*—"the first persons who ever acquired an Hellenic reputation grounded on mental competency, apart from poetical genius or effect; a proof that political and social prudence was beginning to be appreciated and admired on its own account."² These men were "persons of practical discernment in reference to man and society," in whose homely sayings or admonitions we have the earliest manifestations of social philosophy, long preceding

¹ Grote, vol. iv. p. 515.

² Ibid., p. 128.

“the growth of dialectics and discussion.” The first philosophers were scientific investigators, setting aside the legendary and polytheistic conceptions of nature taught in the Theogony of Hesiod. “They endeavoured to treat the visible world as a whole, and inquire when and how it began, as well as into all its changes All these were topics admitting of being conceived in many different ways but not reducible to any solution, either resting on scientific evidence or commending steady adherence under a free scrutiny.”¹ This impossibility of a satisfactory solution of these questions led many to despair in the search after truth; “hence the vein of scepticism which runs through the Greek philosophy.” Oriental science, such as it was, received through PHŒNICIA or from the KHITA, to Ionia, probably originated the philosophical movement in Greece. THALES of Miletus, 640 B.C. (claiming a descent from Kadmus the Phœnician), was founder of the *Ionic School of Philosophy*, which aimed at discovering the one principle or substance from which all things could be deduced. Thales thought that this primary substance was *water* (moisture). That he was acquainted with the astronomical learning of the East is probable, as he is reported to have foretold an eclipse of the sun (which took place September 30, 610 B.C., or May 28, 585 B.C.). *Anaximander* of Miletus, 610–550 B.C., supposed a primeval infinite principle including all qualities potentially, whose essence it was to be eternally productive of different phenomena. The earth was evolved from a fluid state, and men first lived in the water like fishes. He is said to have made the first sun-dial and the first geographical map. *Anaximenes* (548–500 B.C.) of Miletus, generally agreed with Anaximander, but regarded the *air* as the first principle. He discovered the obliquity of the ecliptic by means of the gnomon. *Heraclitus* of Ephesus (500 B.C.), the weeping philosopher, regarded *fire* as the elemental principle, the divine spirit of nature. “He was the first to proclaim the absolute vitality of nature, the endless change of matter, the mutability and perceptibility of all individual things in contrast with the Eternal Being, the supreme harmony which rules over all.”² Contemporary with the Ionic school was the singular and isolated *Pythagoras* of Samos (580–520 B.C.), the foundation of whose teaching was that numbers are the cause of the material existence of things, the ultimate nature of things as explained by Lewes.³ Thus each individual thing may change all its peculiar attributes except its numerical ones, it is always *one*

¹ Grote, vol. iii. p. 518.

² Lewes, “History of Philosophy,” p. 61.

³ Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

thing. So also the Infinite must be one. In the original one all numbers are contained, and consequently the elements of the whole world. In the opinion of Von Ranke, "the doctrine was based upon a perception of the invariable mathematical laws which govern the motions of the heavenly bodies. In these motions numerical relations appeared of such importance that the philosopher, confusing form with substance, fancied he recognised in number a divine creative force which ruled all things from the beginning."¹ He taught at Crotona, in opposition to the public religion, a secret religion, which Von Ranke thinks successfully opposed the Phœnician superstitions then issuing from Carthage to overflow the Western world. The theory of the metempsychosis, borrowed from the Egyptians, was combined with the doctrine of moral retribution, in which the soul an emanation from the central fire, the principle of heat, was destined to pass successively through several bodies. The stars are regarded as divinities, the dæmons as a race between the gods and men.² In the political revolutions of *Crotona* Pythagoras and his followers founded a secret society, which was destroyed 500 B.C. "The infinite of Anaximander became the *one* of Pythagoras. Observe, that in neither of these systems is mind an attribute of the infinite."³ *The Eleatic School of Philosophy* was formed by *Xenophanes* of Kolophon 570-480 B.C., who settled in the Phœcean colony of Elea, and there openly derided the popular theology, taught that all things that exist are eternal and immutable. God is the most perfect essence, but cannot be represented; He is all hearing, all thought, all sight, the *one* is God (pantheistically), one existence under many moods; he was opposed to the poets, preferring "problems to pictures."⁴ *Parmenides* of Elea, 460 B.C., taught that the understanding alone is capable of contemplating truth; the senses could only afford deceptive appearances; pure existence is thought and knowledge; all existences are one and identical.⁵ Being alone exists, there is no becoming. The tendency here is clearly towards scepticism.⁶ To the same effect, *Melissus* of Samos (444 B.C.). All that we learn from our senses is simply appearances; also *Zeno* of Elea, 460 B.C., who opposed reason to mere experience, and laid the foundation of a system of logic. With "*Zeno* closes the second great line of independent inquiry which, opened by *Anaximander*, and continued by *Pythagoras*, *Xenophanes*, and *Parmenides*, we may

¹ Ranke, "Universal History," p. 286.

³ Lewes, "History of Philosophy," p. 30.

⁵ Tennemann, vol. i. p. 73.

² Tennemann, pp. 66, 67.

⁴ Lewes, p. 41.

⁶ Lewes, p. 48.

characterise as the *mathematical or absolute system*. Its opposition to the *Ionic, physical or empirical* systems was radical and constant. . . . The two systems clashed together on the arrival of Zeno at Athens; the result of the conflict was the creation of a new method—*dialectics*. This method created the *sophists* and the *sceptics*.¹ The *atomic school* was founded by *Leucippus* (Abdera or Miletus 500 B.C.), who advocated the existence of matter filling all space, composed of atoms, different in form but invariable, indivisible, and imperceptible. By these all things emit heat, motion, and thought, even the soul itself. *Democritus* of Abdera 500–450 B.C., the laughing philosopher, agreed with Leucippus, cultivated science, and first guessed that the *Milky Way* is composed of millions of stars. He regarded sensation as arising from images emanating from external objects—hence thought. Then followed others unclassified as to school. *Diogenes* of Apollonia, 472–460 B.C., blended the teachings of *Anaximenes* and *Anaxagoras*, air—*i.e.*, the soul, thought—was the fundamental principle. *Archelaus* of Miletus, about 450 B.C., a disciple of *Anaxagoras*, taught that all things came out of chaos by fire and water; mankind had gradually risen from the common herd of animals; our ideas of just and right are merely conventional. *Anaxagoras*, of Clazomenæ, a friend of Pericles, 500–428 B.C., taught that an omnipotent, world-ordering mind was the origin of all things. This mind was God, not the creator but the indwelling ruler, the soul of the universe, not a *moral* intelligence, simply a *primum mobile*. He was the first who reached the idea of a divine formative intellect. As a scientific man, he saw in the sun, and moon, worlds like our own. *Empedocles* of Agrigentum, 490–440 B.C., of a noble family, rejected all the gods and their worship. His philosophy agreed partly with *Xenophanes*, *Heraclitus*, and *Anaxagoras*. In the case of *Empedocles*, it is all but impossible to define the peculiarity of his teaching. It is said that he began to fancy himself to be something of a divine person, and that he threw himself into the crater of Mount Etna in order to conceal the fact of his mortality. Von Ranke remarks: “This triad of ancient seats of philosophy—Crotona, Elea, and Agrigentum—is very remarkable. In the Græco-Sicilian colonies those ideas were developed which owed their origin to the contrast of Greek and Eastern minds in Ionia. They form the foundation of all the philosophy of the human race.”²

¹ Lewes, “History of Philosophy,” pp. 53, 54.

² Ranke, “Universal History,” p. 288.

The State of the World 539 B.C.

EUROPE.

SPAIN, occupied by Iberian (Berber) and Keltic races. One of these races, the Turdetani, in the south, had made considerable advances in civilisation, perhaps through their intercourse with Phœnician and Carthaginian traders, by whom settlements had been made on the southern and eastern coasts; also a Greek colony at Saguntum probably in the sixth century B.C.

GAUL. Keltic races in the north and centre. Iberian races in the south. Massilia (now Marseilles), founded by the Phœceans about 600 B.C. The Greeks, having so early as 1000 B.C. begun to rival the Phœnicians and to take from them the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean, now began to compete with them in the West. In *Britain* Kelts, and perhaps a few Teutonic tribes in the East.

SCANDINAVIA. Finnish and Tschudic (Turanian) tribes sparsely scattered. The Goths, a Teutonic race, enter Sweden from Germany.

GERMANY. The Keltic tribes, gradually driven westward or absorbed by the Teutonic races. To the *east of Germany*, the vast plains now known as *Poland* and *Russia* were occupied by Slavonic races, who either absorbed or destroyed their Turanian predecessors. On *the shores of the Black Sea* and of the *Sea of Azoph*, Greek colonies, chiefly from Miletus, had been planted so early as the eighth and tenth centuries B.C. These colonies extended their trade over the whole of what is now Russia and Poland, and eastward beyond the Caspian Sea.

ITALY. Keltic tribes in the north. Iberian Ligurians on the coast from Gaul to the borders of the Etruscans. The Rasena (Etruscans) in Tuscany. Greek colonies in southern Italy, most of them established between 750 and 650 B.C. The Umbrians, Oscans, Sabellians, Samnites, Latins, and other powerful tribes occupied Central Italy. The Romans, of Latin origin, occupied a strong and commanding position

under their kings. *Sicily*, originally settled by the Sicani (Iberians), and by the Siculi (an Italic race), had also Etruscan colonies, and then the far more important Greek settlements at Naxos, Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the Phœnician or Carthaginian settlements at Panormus, Solæis, and Motye (735 B.C.). Sicily was to the Phœnicians what Egypt is to England, the half-way house to valuable possessions; Spain was to the Phœnicians what India is to England; hence, in after-years, the Carthaginian efforts to drive the Greek colonists from Sicily. Phalaris, the Greek tyrant of Agrigentum, 565 B.C., is remembered mainly by certain letters attributed to him, which called forth the famous controversy of Bentley against Boyle in the eighteenth century in England.

GREECE, and the Islands, under a number of petty republics of which Athens and Sparta were the chief. Two petty kingdoms, Macedonia and Epirus, far behind the rest of Greece in civilisation; the Greek colonies in Asia Minor first subject to Lydia, and then to Persia.

ASIA.

CHINA, under the *Chow* dynasty, which ruled over several subordinate kingdoms.

INDIA. The Aryan races in the north. The beginning of the Buddhist reaction against Brahminism.

THE EMPIRE of the *Medes and Persians* extended from the *Ægean* to the Indus, and as far north as Bactria, but within these boundaries were a large number of self-governed kingdoms and satrapies, which were only nominally subject to the "great king." Of the regions of Central and Northern Asia beyond the Caspian and the Himalaya Mountains we know nothing, except from occasional inroads of the Kimmerians and Scythians upon Asia Minor and Media. A Median king, 607 B.C., built a wall ninety miles long and 120 feet high, between the Caucasus and the Caspian, as a barrier against them.

JAPAN, originally settled from the continent. The first Mikado began to reign in the seventh century B.C.

AFRICA.

EGYPT, much exhausted by the Babylonian ravages, but as yet under its own king.

ETHIOPIA, long subject to Egypt, In the eighth century B.C., Napata (the seat of a great sanctuary devoted to the worship of Amun in the sixteenth century B.C.) became the capital of the kingdom of Meroe, under a branch of the Her-hor dynasty of Thebes. The rulers were the princes of Noph (Isaiah xix. 13 ; Ezekiel xxx. 13), who for a season governed Egypt from 750-650 B.C., contending with the Assyrians for the rule over that country.

THE BERBERS, the ancient Libyans (Lehabim, Gen. x. 13, 14), from whom the Kabyles, Tuarechs (Tauricks) are descended, occupied Northern Africa. A Greek colony had been settled at Cyrene, 631 B.C., by the island of Thera. Barca was an offshoot of Cyrene, founded about 550 B.C.

THE CARTHAGINIANS dominated over all North Africa (westward of Libya).

THIRD PERIOD.

*From the Foundation of the Persian Empire,
539 B.C. to the Empire of Alexander
the Great, 330 B.C.*

1. THE main event of these 200 years is the resistance of the rising, vigorous civilisation of the West, as represented by Greece, to the less vigorous civilisation of the East, of which Persia was a favourable specimen. The final triumph of the Greeks was the conquest of Persia by Alexander, through which the Macedonian Greeks spread the ideas and the language of Greece into Egypt and the far East, even into India. Meanwhile the Phœnician Carthaginians in North Africa, the Romans in Italy, each of them gradually advancing and consolidating their power, were preparing to contend for the sovereignty of the Western world.

The PERSIAN EMPIRE has not generally been regarded as meriting much notice from historians. Max-Duncker is the first of modern historians who has done justice to the character of the Persian Government:—"The Persian empire is commonly spoken of as extending from the Ægean to the Indus; but in this vast extent of territory are included kingdoms under their native kings, vast governments under satraps, only nominally dependent upon the Great King, acknowledging his authority simply by payment of tribute. They were so far independent as to engage in war with each other, and to hire Greek and other mercenary troops in self-defence. The large territories in Turkey, in Asia, and Persia were not so far reduced to deserts as they are now, but were inhabited by Turcoman or Arab tribes, who then, as in our day, paid tribute when the ruling power was able to enforce it. The empire of Cyrus was

far more compact than the preceding empires of Babylon and Assyria, or the present Governments in Asiatic Turkey and Persia. A thorough revolution had been accomplished by Cyrus. The predominance of Shemitic culture and arms had passed away into the hands of the Aryans of Iran. From the mountains of his native land Cyrus had subjugated in thirty years three great empires, Media, Lydia, and Babylonia. None of the conquerors before him had achieved results which could be compared with his. He understood how to maintain his conquests; he was not compelled, like the rulers of Assyria, to begin each year a new struggle against his defeated opponents; he knew how to institute arrangements which secured an existence of two centuries. The kingdom rested on the rule and devotion of the Persians; they were the ruling tribe; free from contributions and taxes, they had only to render military service. The Medes of the same race and religion [Iranians and Zends] were closely identified with the Persians. Pliny states that the conquest of Asia yielded to Cyrus 24,000 pounds of gold besides gold and silver plate. Alexander found in Persia 180,000 talents, equal to forty millions sterling. Under Darius Hystaspes the tax on cultivated land produced 7,600 talents of silver, equal to 2½ millions sterling, and from Indian tribute equal to three millions sterling, the entire revenue being perhaps fourteen millions sterling. Cyrus was the least bloody among the conquerors and founders of empires in the East. He took the place of a native king to the conquered people. Among all the native rulers of the East no one is like him, and one only approached him—Darius Hystaspes.”¹ It is supposed, from the evidence of the inscriptions, that Cyrus was an Elamite, of the royal Persian clan of Teispes, who took possession of Elam on the fall of the Assyrian empire. See Ezra i. 2; Isaiah xxi. 2, where the original *Elam* is rendered by the more familiar word *Persia*.²

2. *Cyrus*, the founder of the Persian empire, was the object of admiration to both Jewish and Greek writers. He was evidently a man intellectually and morally above his countrymen. As a Theist of the old Iranian faith he was opposed to Polytheism, but in political action patronising where he found it established. The supposition to the contrary, advanced by Sayce,³ is founded on the fact of Cyrus’s patronage of the popular gods of the conquered nations, which does not affect his personal belief in his own Zoroastrian creed. The kings of Persia were of the Achæmenian family of the royal tribe

¹ Vol. vi. pp. 92–387, abridged.

² “Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments,” p. 180. ³ Ibid., pp. 168–175.

of the Pasargadæ. The seats of empire were at Susa, Persepolis, and at Ecbatana, the old capital of the Medes. Both these central positions, by the institution of regular posts carried by horsemen, were connected with the distant points of this vast empire. The title of "the great king" was given to the sovereign of Persia by the Greeks as well as by the Asiatics. A large amount of wealth taken from Sardis and Babylon, valued at one hundred and twenty-six millions sterling, met the expenses of the state until the reign of Darius Hystaspes. The old Median religion, as reformed by Zoroaster, was the religion of the state; the emblem of Deity was fire; the Magi were a caste specially devoted to astrology, astronomy, and ritualistic forms. Cyrus had probably been prepossessed in favour of the Jewish exiles in Babylon by their monotheism, and by what he had heard and seen of the prophet Daniel, and by the designation of himself by his titular name as the conqueror of Babylon by the prophet Isaiah (chap. xlv.). He at once permitted the restoration of the Jews to their own land 526 B.C. In a just and necessary war, defending the north-eastern provinces of his empire from the old enemies of southern Asia, the nomad Scythian tribes, he was killed in battle 529 B.C. Cambyses, his son, succeeded; he put to death his brother Bardia, to whom Cyrus had left the remote East, Bactria; then he conquered Egypt, which had revolted. The cruelty attributed to him is very doubtful. He desired to subjugate Carthage, but the Phœnicians refused to assist with their fleet. One of the Magi took the name and claims of the dead Bardia, and usurped the throne of Persia while Cambyses was yet alive, 522 B.C. After Cambyses' death he was for a while acknowledged, but within six months the deception was discovered, and he was slain by Darius Hystaspes, of the family of Cyrus, 522 B.C. A civil war, with the revolt of the Medes, was not finished for five years 517 B.C. Darius soon after is said to have crossed the Bosphorus, and marched across the Danube, along the shores of the Euxine with a large army, but the Scythians retreated before him and he had to retrace his steps. His object was, probably, to get the settlements of the Greeks on the northern Euxine under his power. He had by his officers placed Thrace and the Greek Chersonesus under his power 513 B.C.; then followed the reconquest of Egypt and the conquest of Barca, the Greek colony (Cyrene) 512. A fleet was sent to explore the west of Europe, which advanced as far as Crotona in Italy, the real design of which was to ascertain the position of the Greeks. It is well to call to mind the extent of the empire, for the Strymon, which separates Thrace from Macedonia, was 3,000 miles to the Indus, from Memphis to Sogdia

2,500 miles, from the Ægean Sea to Susa 1,755 miles. The post was carried from Ephesus to Susa in five or six days. Travellers with baggage could reach Susa in ninety days. Aryan life and culture were now dominant through the whole breadth of Asia. The Behistan inscription which DARIUS placed in an inaccessible position on the famous rock on the route from Babylon to Ecbatana yet remains in the three tongues (Aryan, Turanian, and Shemitic), to testify to the fame of Darius. The world had never seen such an empire. Beyond the Ægean Sea a branch of the Aryan stock, the Hellenes, had developed an independent civilisation and city life in small mountain cantons, in a peninsula all but surrounded by the sea. "The eye of the potentate of Asia looked, no doubt, with contempt on these unimportant communities, whose colonies in Asia and Africa had long been subject to him, on states of which each could put in the field no more than a few thousand warriors. . . . Was it possible that these small cantons, without political union or common interests, living in perpetual strife and feud . . . was it possible that these cantons could maintain their independence against Persia? . . . It was a question of decisive importance for the civilisation and development of humanity, whether the new principle of communal government which had been carried out in the Hellenic cantons should be maintained, or pass into the vast limits of the Persian empire, and succumb to the authority of the king—state-power, and even life: absolute authority and the will of the majority, abject obedience and conscious self-control—the masses and the individual—these were ranged opposite each other, and the balance was already turning in favour of overwhelming material force."¹

Aristagoras, Tyrant of Miletus, "morally contemptible, but gifted intellectually with a range of ideas of unlimited extent, made for himself an imperishable name by being the first to entertain the thought of a collective opposition to the Persians on the part of all the Greeks, even contemplating the possibility of waging a great and successful war upon them."²

The contest was hastened by the revolt of the Greek colonies in the Ægean, in which the Athenians had assisted the revolvers, 500-494 B.C. Darius was deeply offended, and sent out Datis and Artaphernes, 492-490 B.C., to occupy Greece. All the islands and most of the states in the mainland submitted, and sent the tokens

¹ Max-Duncker, vol. vi. pp. 406-408.

² Von Ranke, "Universal History," p. 161.

of their submission, "earth and water," to the Persian camp. The Athenians began the resistance, and defeated the Persian generals at Marathon by an army of ten thousand, commanded by Miltiades. Darius died 490 B.C. in the midst of his preparation for a second invasion. Xerxes succeeded, and prepared an army said to consist of 1,700,000 men and 1,207 Phœnician ships, 482-481 B.C.; the army passed through Asia Minor, and Xerxes crossed the Hellespont, and began the greatest and most unfortunate of all the expeditions which have crossed that strait to invade Europe.

3. GREECE had hitherto been without any bond of political union. Each state viewed its neighbour as a rival, and each state was, as in all freely-governed communities, divided by the contentions of two parties, the aristocratic and democratic. "The full and perfect sovereignty of each separate city formed the political ideal of the Greek mind; the less advanced members of the Hellenic race did not fully attain to the conception because they did not fully attain to the perfection of Greek city life. . . . In the earliest times this system of small separate communities formed the whole political world of which the Greeks had any knowledge."¹ Sparta was essentially military and aristocratic, was in all her policy opposed to democracy, and established oligarchies where it had the power; it was reconciled to the subjugation of the Greek colonies in Asia by Persia, and never punished or redressed the arbitrary deeds of its commanders. Athens, on the contrary, having expelled the last of the sons of Pisistratus (Hippias) 510 B.C., was, from the restored constitution of Solon (liberalised by Cleisthenes), essentially democratic. All power was invested in the whole body of free citizens (the Demos), practically not exceeding from five to six thousand male adults, and representing a population of twenty to thirty thousand of the citizen population. Meetings were held every eight days in the open air, by which the magistrates and generals were chosen, and legal points decided. Such an assembly was a mere mob, but, on the whole, an intelligent mob, though too easily influenced by orators, and occasionally hasty and capricious in its decisions. The non-citizens formed a middle class, generally engaged in trade, having no political rights; with the slaves they formed the bulk of the population. The Athenian Demos has been fully described by Grote, and defended by him and by Freeman against Mitford and his aristocratical school. "The essence of this typical Greek democracy is that it unites all power, legislative and judicial, in the assembly of the

¹ Freeman, "Essays," second series, p. 116.

people. . . . Its legislative powers were greatly narrowed by one of its own committees, but its executive powers were unbounded. . . . This mob restrained itself just where the modern Parliament gives itself full freedom, and it gave itself full freedom just where a modern Parliament restrains itself." The practice of ostracism, the legal banishment of dangerous popular leaders, is defended with good reason as better than revolutionary proscription and bills of attainder. By this plan "the honourable exile of one stood instead of the proscription of many. . . . Mitford was right enough in assuming that an English county meeting reached the very height of political ignorance; only he should not have thence leaped to a similar conclusion as to the assembled people of Athens. . . . Such writers forget that the common life of the Athenians was itself the best of political educations. We suspect that the average Athenian citizen was in political intelligence above the average English member of Parliament. . . . The defect of the Demos was that it was the offspring of an enthusiasm too highly strung, and of a citizenship too narrow to allow of lasting greatness."¹ This last remark of the earnest common-sense historian qualifies the implied admiration which precedes.

Thus the democracy of Athens was an exclusive and privileged class, altogether different from the democracies of France or America, or the ideal democracies of some of our political constitution-mongers from the Abbe Sieyès down to Major Cartwright. In fact, all the democracies were exclusive and aristocratic, far beyond what we have seen exemplified in modern times among the French, German, Italian, and English noble and titled classes. Commerce and the mechanical arts were despised. "In well-regulated states," Aristotle remarks, "the lower order of mechanics are not admitted to the rights of citizenship." In Thebes, for instance, no one who within ten years had been engaged in retail dealing could be elected into the magistracy; but, while it was degrading for a Greek to carry on any of those employments personally, he could, without losing his respectability, have them conducted by others on his account; hence, manufactories and workshops, as well as mines and lands, were held by the first men in the state. These narrow prejudices may be excused in the case of the Greeks; among professedly Christian nations, whose "Great Teacher," by his own position and practice, dignified and sanctified manual labour, the indulgence in such exclusiveness

¹ Freeman, "Essays," second series, pp. 107-147.

is not only silly and hurtful, but *sinful*. The slave class were chiefly the property of the free citizens, who owed the leisure which gave them the opportunity of political life to the enforced labour of bondsmen, an inconsistency which none of the great writers of antiquity appear to have noticed. To them slavery was a necessity, and it had, in their opinion, always existed, and that no civilised society could exist without it. Politically, it was to be checked and regulated, but supported. The Athenian slaves were generally the best treated in Greece, and had many holidays; but the slaves of Nicias, hired out to labour in the mines of Laurium, were less fortunate. A thousand of them were let out to Souas, the Thracian, at an obol per day (one penny and a farthing) for each, the lessee being bound to restore to him the same in number! The yearly rent paid for each slave was thus half the price paid for him in the market. If a slave lived for three years, Nicias made a profit of fifty per cent. on the outlay. These slaves at Laurium worked three hundred and sixty days in the year, had only five days' rest in the three hundred and sixty-five days: the work was poisonous.¹ Nicias, the Athenian, would have had small sympathy with our philanthropic legislation on slavery, factory labour, &c., &c. The jealousy of the citizen class towards the wealthier and highly-descended families occasioned most of the seditious and party contests which retarded the prosperity and eventually destroyed the liberties of Greece. The taxation fell heavily upon this wealthy class, not only in direct payments, but in the obligation to provide for public festivals and shows, and to meet the extraordinary cost of the galleys in time of war. There were not only rivalries among the Greek states, but also a desire for conquest, and for the annexation of neighbouring territory, even among these petty republics. Sparta had conquered and made slaves of the Messenians; but it had rivals in Tegea and Argos. Athens had rivals in Megara and Ægina. The hostile invasion of the King of Persia obliged these rivals to unite for their common protection and for the glory of Greece. Instead of remaining a mere multitude of small states, disunited, envious, and jealous of each other, they were led by the vigorous example of Athens and Sparta to unite, although but for a while, in resistance to Persia. The success at *Marathon* against the army of Darius—490 B.C.—emboldened them to resist the more formidable invasion of Xerxes, in which the number of the Persian armies, the difficulty of finding subsistence for them, and the unfitness of the

¹ Mahaffy, "Rambles in Greece," pp. 169, 170.

mountain territory of Greece for the action of large armies, were all in favour of the success of the Greek patriotic resistance. It was, however, easy for the Persian army to pass through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. The first serious check to them was given at the *Pass of Thermopylæ*, where Leonidas, with his three hundred Spartans and seven hundred allies, fell, overwhelmed by numbers (July 6, 480 B.C.). The Athenians wisely abandoned Athens, which was burnt by the Persians (July 20), and looked to their fleet for deliverance. By this fleet the Persian fleet was defeated and destroyed at Salamis (September 23, 480 B.C.). Xerxes, after eight months' campaign, returned to Persia, crossing the Hellespont leisurely and with kingly state, leaving Mardonius as commander of the Persian army in Greece. Mardonius occupied Athens, but he was defeated and killed at Platæa (September 25, 479 B.C.) by the Greeks under Aristides and Pausanias. On the same day the Persian fleet was defeated at Mycale by Leotychides and Xanthippus; after which the war became an aggressive one. Attempts have been made, by Richardson in 1770 and by the Comte de Gobineau in his "*Histoire des Perses*" (published before 1870), to represent the history of the Persian and Greek wars in a point of view favourable to the Persians. They have been regarded by the learned as eccentricities of opinion requiring no serious notice. In this aggressive war the leadership was with Sparta; the object was to free the Greek colonies in Asia Minor from Persian rule, Sparta was far from disinterested, the Spartans being generally unfair, tyrannical rulers. "At home, under an iron system which taught each successive generation that their highest virtue was to preserve, not to impair, the institutions of their fathers, they were utterly unable to act the part of conquerors; for conquest, being the greatest of all possible changes, can only be conducted by those who know how to change wisely. . . . Thus the Spartan had no idea of turning their (after) triumph over Athens (at the end of the Peloponnesian War) to any other account than that of their pride and rapacity."¹ So also, in this war against Persia, envy and jealousy of Athens led them to oppose the fortification of Athens and the Piræus (478-477 B.C.), which, however, were accomplished by the policy of Themistocles.

The haughtiness of the Spartan Pausanias disgusted the Greeks, and the hegemony or leadership of the Greek fleets was transferred to Athens, the Spartans withdrawing their four hundred and seventy ships. This maritime league under Athens unfortunately led the

¹ Arnold's "Rome," vol. i. pp. 493, 4.

Athenians, like the Spartans, to consider what was merely military precedence as implying the rights of sovereignty. An opposition league was then formed by Sparta, which had, at that time, full rule over the Peloponnesus, and partially over other states beyond Peloponnesus. Cimon, the Athenian commander, is said, after the defeat of the Persian fleet and army near Cyprus, to have concluded a peace, 449 B.C., with the Persian king Artaxerxes, in which the *Great King recognised the independence of the Greek colonies*, and consented that his fleet should not navigate the *Ægean*, and that his troops should not approach within three days' march of the coast; but this is supposed to be an exaggeration of Greek vanity. Meanwhile, the hatred of the Spartans towards Athens, fully reciprocated by Athens, found occasion for open war in the dispute between Corcyra and Corinth, its mother-country, 434-432 B.C. The Athenians took part with the Corcyrians, and the Spartans with the Corinthians; and this was the commencement of the *Peloponnesian War*, which lasted 431-421 and 418-404 B.C., in round numbers twenty-seven years (including the three or four years' truce), and of which the only valuable result was the history of Thucydides. The leaders on the side of Athens were Cimon, Pericles, and Alcibiades; on the side of Sparta, Lysander. The great orator, Pericles, exercised a commanding influence in Athens, until his death 429 B.C. Under his auspices the grand buildings, the glory of Athens, were erected, and the fine arts largely patronised. Athens, during the war, had looked forward to the formation of an empire over the Grecian colonies in Sicily, and had sent an expedition, under Nicias, 415 B.C., the largest ever sent by any Greek state. It was an enterprise unparalleled in the past history of Greece. The object of the Athenians was not merely to assist the Ionian colonies in Sicily against the Dorians (Syracuse, &c.), but to bring Sicily and the Greek colonies in south Italy under Athenian influence, and to form with these a league against the Carthaginian power, which had ever been adverse to the Greeks. The disastrous end of this expedition hastened the ruin of Athens, which was compelled to submit to Sparta 404 B.C. It is remarkable that two great events, bearing upon the interests of the Greek population, have been transacted in Sicily. The defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera, who had leagued with Xerxes to attack the Greek colonies, while his armies were invading Greece itself, in 480 B.C., is one of these; the other is the defeat of the Athenian attack on Sicily, 415-413 B.C. "The fate of the whole western world was involved in that sweeping ruin of the fleet of Athens in the harbour of Syracuse. Had that great

expedition proved victorious, the energies of Greece during the next eventful century would have found their field in the West, no less than in the East. Greece, and not Rome, might have conquered Carthage; Greek, and not Latin, might have been at this day the principal element of the languages of Spain, of France, and of Italy; and the laws of Athens, rather than those of Rome, might be the foundation of the laws of the civilised world.”¹ The occupation of Athens by the Spartans was followed by the nomination of thirty men—the Tyrants—with supreme power, by whom one thousand four hundred impeachments and executions were at once carried out. These, with their successors (ten in number), were expelled by the efforts of Thrasybulus and a party of exiles, by whom the laws of Solon were restored. Mahaffy remarks that the massacre of Corcyra 428 B.C., the murder of two hundred and twenty-five Plataean prisoners in cold blood by the Spartans 428 B.C., the condemnation by the Athenians of the Mitylenians to death, of whom one thousand were actually executed 427 B.C., should not be forgotten in our admiration of Greek culture and refinement. The Athenians put many hundreds of the inhabitants of Melos to the sword to make way for a colony of Athenian citizens. Lysander, after the battle of Ægospotami, 405 B.C., put to death three thousand prisoners, who submitted to a fate which, had *they* been successful, they would have inflicted on the Spartans. With all their intellect, the Greeks were wanting in heart; their humanity was spasmodic, not constant, and included no chivalry to foes or to helpless slaves.² “A long and careful survey of the extant literature of ancient Greece has convinced me that the pictures usually drawn of the old Greeks are idealised, and that the real people were of a very different . . . of a much lower character. They were probably as clever a people as can be found in the world, and fit for any mental work whatever.”³

4. In the thirty-three years which elapsed between the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War and the war of the Thebans against Sparta, 404–371 B.C., the philosopher Socrates was put to death in Athens on a charge of impiety, 399 B.C. The expedition of the ten thousand Greeks, under Xenophon, to assist Cyrus the Younger in his revolt against his brother Artaxerxes, failed through the death of Cyrus in battle at Cunaxa; but the Greeks managed to retreat from the very heart of the empire with safety, a proof to them of the

¹ Arnold's "History of Rome," vol. i. pp. 347, 348.

² Mahaffy, "Social Life in Greece," pp. 176, 234–243.

³ Ibid., "Rambles in Greece," pp. 19–22.

weakness of the Persian empire, 401 B.C. The Spartans made a disgraceful peace with Persia, called *the Peace of Antalcidas*, 317 B.C., by which the Persian supremacy over the Asiatic colonies was re-established. This, if true, was the result of the rivalry of Athens and Sparta, and of the help which both of them had received from Persia. Then, the Great King had found it easier to influence the leaders of political parties in Greece by bribery, and to engage them in wars with each other, than to conquer them in the battle-field. The *contest between the Spartans and the Thebans* commanded by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, 371-362 B.C., in which the Spartans lost the battle of Mantinea, was humiliating to Sparta; but, notwithstanding this check to Sparta, Thebes, after the death of Epaminondas, was unable to take the lead. It has thus become evident that there was no leading power in Greece which could secure a union of its states against foreign aggression. "It had never been a compact society,—a nation,—but a number of independent political units, animated by feelings of suspicion and jealousy, and dislike of all, except the members of its own city. Beyond this stage, which made the city everything, Greece, as a whole, never advanced.¹ Men as nearly allied in blood as the men of York and Bristol still regarded the power of making war upon each other as the highest of their privileges (a proof of the possession of sovereign power within their own limits), and looked upon the exercise of this power, not as a stern necessity, but as a common incident in the ordinary course of things." Hence, it was hardly possible for Greece to retain its independence, when a powerful, concentrated military monarchy had arisen on its very borders, for they were unwilling to acknowledge the supremacy of any one state as their leader, by whom, united together, they might hope to repel even a superior power. The most natural and desirable of all conditions for Greece would have been such a confederacy, a permanent bond of union; yet the thought of such a general fixed union of the states of Greece, on equal terms, seems never to have occurred to a single Greek statesman. This neglect is a reproach to their practical ability. There were, no doubt, great difficulties to overcome; so there were in Switzerland, in the Seven United Provinces, and in the thirteen British colonies in America; but among these, when the necessity was evident, there were found men able to conciliate opposition and to carry out the union. Greece, however, had not trained men to feel and care for the Greek people as a whole. The sympathies of

¹ Coxe, "Persians and Greeks," p. 4.

the most patriotic were limited to his own city, and thus disunited, led astray by local politicians, caring only for party interests, the Greeks could oppose no effectual resistance to Macedonia, the rising power outside, which was well acquainted with its weakness. Greece had poets, philosophers, and orators, and great soldiers, and able generals, but they had no Cavour or Stein; they had no great general in whom they could trust to fight for Grecian objects. Instead of this they were wasting their powers as mercenary troops in the service of Persia, or Egypt, or Carthage. Greece *at last submitted to Macedonian supremacy*, because its petty states were too proud and jealous to acknowledge one of their own states as a leader. From the time of the successful resistance to the Persian invasion, there had been a gradual decline in the moral feeling of both the Athenians and Spartans, and of the Greeks generally. Increase of luxurious habits, which required enlarged pecuniary means, with the increasing cost of the armies, felt by all the cities, arising out of the employment of mercenary troops—a practice which grew and increased in the Peloponnesian War—induced the petty states, Athens and Sparta also, to look to the Persian government of Asia Minor, and to the Great King himself, for subsidies in their wars with each other, and to rejoice in this unequal alliance.

5. Meanwhile the ISRAELITES who had been carried captive, at first by the Assyrians and lastly by the Babylonians, had been permitted to return to their own land, by the decree of Cyrus, B.C. 536, after seventy years of captivity (dating from the first beginning of the Captivity, 606 B.C.). The number of those who returned with Zerubbabel (prince of Judah) and Jeshua (the high priest) was about 50,000, chiefly of the tribes attached to the former kingdom of Judah, though there appear to have been portions of the other ten tribes with them. Hence they were called Jews. They began to rebuild Jerusalem, to restore the walls, and to lay the foundations of the Temple. In this they were opposed by the SAMARITANS, originally a mongrel race of heathens (2 Kings xvii. 23, 24), mixed up with a degraded class of the old Israelitish population, who had, however, retained some imperfect knowledge of the old Jewish religion, and desired to be identified with the Jews. This union was rejected, their claim to the Jewish nationality denied, and hence their opposition to the Jews in Jerusalem, by their intrigues with the Persian court and with the local officials of Persia. THE TEMPLE was, however, rebuilt and dedicated, 515 B.C., and many, probably of the later captivities who had seen the old temple rejoiced, and yet wept, when the foundations of the new were laid, 535 B.C. EZRA, a priest

in favour with Artaxerxes (Longimanus), was permitted, seventy-eight years after the first party had returned to Jerusalem, to lead a band of Jews returning to their own country, and was vested with power to regulate the affairs of the newly-restored people, 458 B.C. NEHEMIAH, one of the royal cup-bearers, also in favour with Artaxerxes, was sent, 444 B.C., to regulate the government and to establish more thoroughly a rigid adherence to the Law of Moses. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah, who lived for some time after the return, were followed by Malachi, the last of the Prophets, contemporary with Nehemiah. The strict reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, especially the law against mixed marriages, were offensive to many, even of the priests. One Manasseh, the son of Joiada the High Priest, left Jerusalem and built a rival temple on Mount Gerizim, near Samaria, carrying with him the Pentateuch as the only authority for the Mosaic Law, 409 B.C. The High Priest of the Jews, with a council (the Sanhedrim), had the direction of Jewish affairs, under the Persian Government, which always respected the religion of the Jewish people. The Samaritans, with their new temple, were regarded by the Jews with great aversion as schismatics. The Hebrew language gradually changed to a Syriac-Chaldaic dialect. No writing which was not accepted as a sacred book before 420 B.C. was included in the Canon of the Old Testament, according to the testimony of Josephus,¹ a priest and competent witness; no writing being accepted as of divine authority which had not had the sanction of a prophet; and we know there was no prophet from Malachi, 400 B.C., to the time of John the Baptist. This is confirmed as true (up to their own time) by Jesus the son of Sirach (Ecclesiastes xlix. 10), and by the author of the first book of Maccabees, iv. 46 and ix. 27, 14-41.

6. After the death of Epaminondas, PHILIP OF MACEDON slowly and almost imperceptibly crept into the position at which he aimed from the very first. Philip had been three years a hostage at Thebes, and had learned the art of war under that able commander Epaminondas. He established a regular army, larger and better disciplined than that of any other Grecian state. *In the Sacred War* he assisted the Thebans and Thessalian nobles in the war against the Phokians, who had plundered the temple of Delphi, 355 B.C., of 10,000 talents. Athens and Sparta supported the Phokians. In the end peace was made, the Phokians conquered, and their position in the Amphictyonic Council given to Philip, 346 B.C. Before the conclusion of

¹ "Josephus against Apion," book i. chap. 8.

this Sacred War Philip had made himself master of the thirty cities of Olynthia. The Olynthians had sought the alliance of Athens, and the great orator, Demosthenes, had delivered his first great speech against Philip, B.C. 352. The Athenians were divided in their views respecting the policy of Philip, and when convinced of the necessity of opposing him they were too late. The Athenians and Thebans were defeated by Philip at Chæronea, B.C. 338, and Philip was thus master of Greece. At a congress of all the Greek states, at Corinth, war was declared against Persia, and Philip was appointed *General-in-Chief of the forces of Greece*. He was soon after assassinated, 336 B.C.; but his son and successor, Alexander, after checking the inroads of the northern barbarians and capturing Thebes, which had revolted after the death of Philip, prepared to carry out his father's plans. The severe example of Thebes, rased to the very ground, was a proof to the Greeks of the power and determination of the young monarch, whom they had accepted as their leader in the room of his father. ALEXANDER crossed the Hellespont with about 40,000 men; an army so perfectly disciplined, and so superior to any other army, that it could probably, without any difficulty, at that time have conquered the world. This was no wild enterprise after the Greek mercenaries were beaten. After the death of Xerxes domestic treasons, the frequent rebellions of Egypt, the lax administration of the central government, which could not prevent the private wars of satraps against satraps, and was compelled to allow the leading satrapies to become hereditary, were plain indications, palpable to all Greece, of the decadence of the empire. The Persian armies, though large, were a mere militia, the only efficient troops being bodies of Greek mercenaries commanded by Memnon the Rhodian and others. When Alexander, after visiting the site of Troy, had reached the Granicus, a small stream flowing from Mount Ida into the Propontis, Memnon advised the Persian generals to avoid a battle by retreating, to lay waste the country, and destroy the towns in their line of march, so that, for want of provisions, the invaders might be checked. This advice, which might have saved the empire, was rejected as degrading to its dignity. The Persians were defeated at the Granicus; and as the Greek, Memnon, the only person likely to have been a formidable opponent, soon after died, the career of Alexander was unimpeded until he came to Issus, a town in the mountain-ranges of Cilicia, near the passes, the Syrian gates. In the plain near Issus, Darius Codomannus advanced with 600,000 men, and with him his mother, wives, and harem, as it certain of victory, and the more so as he had among them 30,000

Greek mercenaries. He was defeated and lost his baggage, and the whole of his family and harem were made prisoners. In this battle Alexander not only defeated the Persians, but the republican southern Greeks, their allies, and the special enemies of his rule, 333 B.C. After this the conqueror passed through Syria. Sidon, the oldest of the Phœnician cities, received him as a deliverer. Tyre resisted, but, after a seven months' siege, was taken by storm, with great destruction of life. 30,000 were sold for slaves, 2,000 crucified. In the course of the siege the island of Tyre was united by Alexander's mole to the mainland, and thus Tyre was, and remained defenceless, 332 B.C. Gaza was next besieged, and taken after three months; and then it is probable that Alexander visited Jerusalem, and was conciliated by the High Priest Jaddua. Egypt made no resistance, and Alexander *founded the town of Alexandria*, as a link between the East and the West, and as an emporium of the trade of the East and of India, 331 B.C. Leaving Egypt, Alexander crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, and met Darius at Gaugamela (twenty miles from Arbela), a wide plain between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan. Darius's forces were estimated at a million by some, and by others at 240,000, with 200 scythe chariots and 15 elephants. The loss of the Macedonians was trifling, but 300,000 of the Persians are said to have fallen in the contest, which ended in the defeat of Darius, 331 B.C., who, the next year, was murdered by the traitor Bessus. Alexander passed through the whole of the distant provinces to the north-east, and invaded Northern India, but was compelled, by the unwillingness of his troops to pass beyond the Hyphasis (the Sutledge), to return westward, 325-324 B.C. The return was as adventurous as his previous marches. Vessels were built on the Sutledge. The army sailed down the Indus to the Indian Ocean. Thence Alexander and the army proceeded through Gedrosia and Caramania to Persepolis. The fleet, under Nearchus, proceeded to the Persian Gulf, keeping close to the land, arrived first at Harmozeia (Ormuz), and then at the mouth of the Euphrates. This voyage is celebrated as "the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea." At Babylon, which Alexander had designed to make the seat of his empire, he received ambassadors from the Carthaginians, the Romans, and three other peoples of Italy. He had grand plans of uniting the people of the East with the West. He thought that the predominant races might be amalgamated with the subject races by inter-marriages, education, equal laws, and commerce. It is said that he designed to explore the coast of Arabia to the head of the Red Sea, then to circumnavigate Africa, and, entering the Mediter-

ran by the Pillars of Hercules, to spread the terror of his arms along its western and northern shores, and, finally, to explore the northern extremity of the Lake Mæotis (Sea of Azoff). The character of Alexander had deteriorated, as was manifested by the murders of Philotas, of Parmenio, of Clitus, and of Callisthenes, on most frivolous grounds, and by his assumption of divine honours. In the latter part of his life he acted, in the opinion of the Greeks, the part of a barbarian rather than that of a Grecian king. Death put an end to his plans, at the early age of thirty-three, by a fever the result of excess at Babylon, 323 B.C. Niebuhr, Droysen, and Grote express opinions unfavourable to the character of Alexander. Archdeacon Williams, Thirlwall, and Freeman are his defenders, the latter especially. In his opinion, Thirlwall's narrative of the History of Alexander "is the nearest approach to the perfection of a critical history It is, therefore, on the whole, the Alexander of Thirlwall, rather than the Alexander of Grote or of Droysen, who deserves to live in the memory of mankind, and to challenge the admiration of the world."¹

The fate of Tyre was foretold by the prophet Zechariah (490 B.C.) x. 3, 4; the rise and fall of the Persian empire by Daniel (553 B.C.) viii. 1-7, 20-21; xi. 1, 3. The imagery employed by the prophet, namely, the ram's head, with horns one higher than the other, is found in the ruin of Persepolis. A he-goat was the Macedonian standard.

7. Meanwhile two powerful states, one in Africa, one in Italy, were gradually extending their territories and consolidating their power, thus preparing for a contest for the dominion of the West. These were: CARTHAGE in North Africa, and ROME in Central Italy, to whose early history we have already referred. The history of the rivalry of these two great nations forms a most interesting chapter in the history of the world. Carthage was the ally of Persia against Greece. The people of Selinus, in Sicily, having invited the help of the Carthaginians, this invasion was defeated by Gelon, of Syracuse, and Theron, of Agrigentum, at Himera, 480 B.C. Soon after, the Siculi, the old people of Sicily, were subdued by the Greek colonists, who destroyed Trinacria, the capital of the Siculi, 452-440. The Carthaginians again invaded Sicily, assisted by the Siculi (409), and made great progress, until, by treaty with Syracuse, the west of Sicily was yielded to Carthage—the east being under Syracuse, 340 B.C. A large portion of the south and east of Spain was subdued by the

¹ Freeman, "Essays," second series, pp. 171, 172.

Carthaginians ; but the inhabitants of the Carthaginian subject provinces, whether in Africa, or Sicily, or Spain, were never assimilated to their conquerors, but remained a distinct, and generally inimical people. The newly-formed republic in ROME had to emancipate itself from Etrurian control, and regain, by little and little, the power and territory it had lost in the revolution of 510 B.C. The dispute respecting the monopoly of the public lands by the patricians, headed, on the part of the people, by Spurius Cassius, 486 B.C., by Genucius, 473 B.C., disturbed the commonwealth. The senate opposed, not only openly, but by secret murders. Spurius Cassius "shared the fate of Agis and Marino Faliero"¹ ; Genucius was found murdered in his chamber. Another grievance, the inequality of the bearing of the law upon the interests of the plebeians, was considered, and all the powers of the consuls were superseded, 450 B.C., by the appointment of the decemvirs, ten commissioners appointed to prepare a new code of laws. The result was the Ten Tables, which were promulgated for the information of all classes. After two years, the misconduct of Appius Claudius led to a revolt, and to the restoration of the old consular government. It was while these dissensions were going on the Gauls from the north invaded Italy, plundering Etruria and its vicinity. The Romans came in collision with them, and were defeated on the river Allia, and their army destroyed, 389 B.C. Rome itself was occupied and burnt ; only the Capitol remained. The siege was relieved, either by the help of Camillus and his troops, or by a large payment to the Gauls. After this, the dissensions of the higher patrician classes with the plebeians, which had commenced in the kingly period, was aggravated by the pressure of the debts incurred by the plebeians in the time of war, when, at their own expense, they had to fight the battles of the state. By the following steps a more equitable condition of affairs was secured. (1) The consular power was modified by the appointment of *tribunes of the people* (493 B.C.) intrusted with extraordinary powers for the protection of popular interests ; and in 470 B.C. there were chosen by the tribes alone, through the Publilian Law of Volero, "the second grand charter of public liberties."² The laws were reduced to writing by the appointed ten—the decemviri, 451–447 B.C. (2) The legislative power of the senate was checked by the additional influence gained by the assemblies of the tribes (in which the plebeians had the chief power). By laws made 449, and confirmed 339 and 287 B.C., the resolutions of these assemblies, instead of being simply binding on

¹ Arnold.² Ibid.

the plebeians, were recognised as binding all classes, without the sanction of the senate or the assemblies of the curies or of the centuries. The tribunes had the power of impeaching magistrates, generals, and consuls (after the expiration of their term of office). To the senate there remained one check on the licence of the democracy. They could at any time create a *dictator with absolute power*. The first appointment took place 498 B.C. This office, no doubt, saved the republic several times, and at length was used by Marius and Sylla, and, last of all, by Julius Cæsar, to destroy the spurious sham republic, which, by degrees, had superseded the genuine one. (3) An equality of civil and social rights naturally followed the success of the plebeians in their struggle for a share in the legislative power. (The legislation of the decemvirs, in 450-449, gave increased power to the plebeians in the tribes). The law forbidding the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians was abrogated 445 B.C. The consulship was thrown open to the plebeians 366 B.C., and by the year 300 B.C. they were declared eligible to fill all the offices of the republic. Thus united, the Romans had nearly accomplished the conquest of Italy by the time of the rule of Alexander in Greece and Asia. All the petty states of Latium, and Etruria, and Central Italy had been subjugated. This success may be accounted for, in a great measure, to the facility of associating the conquered people with themselves, making them partners in the work of aggression, and in due time admitting them to a share in its civil government. With the Samnites, the bravest and most formidable of the Italian rivals of Rome, the Romans had two wars: 343-341, 326-304. At the end of the second war they became politically subject to Rome. It was well for the Romans, and for the world at large, that Alexander the Great had been led to the conquest of the East rather than westward to the conquest of Italy. Livy thinks that the Romans would have been fully equal in the contest, and at last victorious; but this is the opinion of national vanity only. Degraded as Greek society had begun to be in the time of Alexander, it was capable of benefiting the East, but the Italics and other peoples of Western Europe would have been morally and socially injured by the occupancy of their territories, and by the debasing influence upon their social life, which must have followed their conquest by the Greeks. The old Romans and the people of Central Italy were at this time remarkable for their sober and moderate habits, and their rigid morality, their respect for law and order. This favourable condition of society continued until after the Second Punic War.

8. INDIA became better known to the Greeks by the invasion of

Alexander the Great. At that time there was a large Aryan kingdom on the Ganges, and also some very powerful non-Aryan states. Chandragupta (312 B.C.), the opponent of Seleucus, ruled over all North India, to the Vindya Mountains. Darius Hystaspes had long before conquered Cabul, and levied a tribute of nearly two millions sterling on that land. Skylax, his admiral, had sailed down the Indus, and up the Red Sea back again to Egypt. Alexander's admiral, Nearchus, sailed down the Indus, and arrived at the mouth of the Euphrates, 326 B.C. The Buddhist reaction against Brahminism was gaining ground.

9. CHINA continued in a disordered state, divided into so many states during the Chow Dynasty. Mencius, *i.e.*, Mengtsen, the great philosopher, lived about 371 B.C.—a teacher of practical ethics like Confucius.

10. The LITERATURE of this period was mainly Greek. The period from 500–300 B.C. may be considered as the golden age of Greek culture both as to literature and art. It was, however, confined to Athens and the Greek colonies in Africa, Sicily, and Italy. (1) *Historians*. The earliest is Hecataeus, the father of history, 500 B.C.; Herodotus, the great pictorial historian, 484–408 B.C.; Thucydides, the philosophical historian of the Peloponnesian War, 471–411 B.C.; Xenophon, whose narrative of the expedition of Cyrus the Younger and the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks from the Euphrates, made him famous as a general as well as a writer, 444–362 B.C.; Charon of Lampsacus, 464 B.C.; Ctesias the physician, 405–401 B.C. (2) *The great tragic poets*, who were the influential moral teachers of their age; Æschylus, 500 B.C.; Sophocles and Euripides, 480 B.C. (3) *Satire and comedy*. Aristophanes and Menander of the middle comedy, 485 B.C. The early tragedies were first exhibited on the stage by Thespis 535 B.C. (4) *The lyric poet Theognis*, 525–488 B.C., describes with high aristocratical indignation the overthrow of his party in Megara. (5) *The fine arts*, architecture, sculpture, painting, were cultivated with zeal in Athens, and especially patronised by Pericles; the names of Phidias, Polycletus, Praxiteles, and Lysippus (sculptors), Zeuxis, Polygnotus, and Apelles (painters), Ictinus, Callicrates, Callimachus, 400 B.C., Hermogenes, 350 B.C. (architects), stand forth as the highest in their respective professions. It is scarcely necessary to apologise for the fine arts. "If the fancy, the sense of beauty, grace, and elegance are never to be addressed, the higher faculties will grow torpid from disuse, the mind will dwindle and degenerate, and intellectual progress will be arrested. . . . A race without wants is a race without ideas. . . . A thing

of beauty is a joy for ever.”¹ (6) The great *orators*, Gorgias, 444 B.C., Antiphon, Andocides, with Pericles and Lysias, 430–400 B.C., Isocrates, 436–338 B.C., Isæus, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, 382–324 B.C., and Æschines, 389–314 B.C. (7) The *physical* and *mathematical* sciences were at first connected with the development of the early philosophy by Thales, Anaximander, Pythagoras, and Anaximenes and others, as already noticed (p. 72); Hippocrates, the father of *medical* science, 460–357 B.C.; Eudoxus of Cnidus, 406–350 B.C., cultivated astronomy, and made the first map of the stars. Heraclides of Pontus taught the daily rotation of the earth on its own axis and the immovability of the firmament of the fixed stars. Aristotle, born 381 B.C., was as highly distinguished for his labours in natural science as in philosophy; and Theophrastus, his pupil, born 371 B.C., was the father of the science of botany. (8) *Music* was cultivated in Athens, and in 444 B.C. Pericles had the Odieum built for musical performances; Aristoxenes of Tarentum, a writer on music, 350–330 B.C. (9) *Philosophy*. The dissatisfaction resulting from the insufficiency of all theories to solve “the problem of existence,” produced the Sophists,² a much-calumniated body of philosophers, stoutly defended by Lewes and Grote. They formed no sect; each teacher stood on his own individual opinion; their main talent was in the art of disputation; the chief early representatives of this class were Gorgias, 440 B.C. (the nihilist); Protagoras (the individualist); Prodicus, 420 B.C. (the moralist); Hippias (the polymathist). The later representatives are Polus (the rhetorician); Thrasymachus (who taught that right was might); Callicles, Euthydemus, Diagoras of Melos, with Critias, the enemy of Socrates, are regarded as both morally and intellectually inferior to their predecessors. Socrates, 470–400 B.C., the Athenian philosopher, was the disinterested opponent of sophistry, mysticism, and philosophical charlatanism; bold and independent in his political life, he had a conviction of duty impelling him to advocate truth and justice, and to enlighten the opinions of his townsmen by private converse with all coming in contact with him; he taught without fee or payment of any kind, endeavouring especially to arrive at clear ideas on moral subjects. Attacked and ridiculed by Aristophanes in his comedies, he was at last tried and condemned to death on a charge of impiety, and also of being a corruptor of youth, 400 B.C. Among the numerous disciples of Socrates were the

¹ *Quarterly Review*, vol. clii. p. 545.

² Lewes, “History of Philosophy,” p. 87.

founders of the Cynic school, of the Cyrenaics, the Sceptics, the Megaric school, and those of Elis and Eretria. But the most celebrated of his pupils were PLATO and ARISTOTLE. It is impossible to give, within any reasonable limits, even the barest sketch of the philosophy of Plato, undoubtedly the greatest of the philosophers. He taught the existence of an eternal first cause—God, from whom emanate the souls of men; but “it is Plato’s doctrine of ideas which constitutes his peculiar realism, and in virtue of which he has been considered the father of the realistic philosophy.” He thought that the genuine philosopher “might ascend beyond the sphere of sense, perception, and opinion to the direct intuition of that super-celestial world in which dwelt the essences and originals of all things true and beautiful. . . . This super-celestial sphere, the home of the gods and of the purified and enfranchised philosophic spirit, he held to be spiritual, eternal, and immutable, such as might be known by the pure intelligence, but was separate from matter or sense; containing, however, the original and archetypal ideas, of which all the things of time and sense were but the imperfect embodiment and shadowy copies. . . . It will be seen that Plato’s philosophy was an attempt to reconcile the sensational scepticism of earlier philosophers with a deep ground of realism and faith. His doctrine of the real, supersensible existence of essences, by participation of which all sensible existences and qualities have their being, though in itself a mere verbal illusion, playing on abstract terms, laid the foundation of the scholastic doctrine of the real and independent existence of general terms or abstract ideas, which was the fundamental tenet of the realism of the Middle Age doctors, and which was opposed by the nomination of those who held such genera or general terms to be the mere names of classes, designating no distinct entities.”¹ *Four leading schools* sprang from the teaching of Plato. (1) The Academy under his immediate disciples. (2) The Peripatetics, under Aristotle. (3) The Epicureans, founded by Epicurus, and (4) The Stoics, by Zeno. Of these the most remarkable is ARISTOTLE, whom Plato regarded as the mind of his school; he refuted “the grand Platonic dream,” the theory of eternal ideas; he regarded ideas as “the production of the reason, separating by a logical abstraction the particular objects from those relations which are common to them all; he was, however, no sceptic, he believed that truth was an heritage for man.” Sir William Hamilton seems to be clearly “justified in saying that Aristotle held to certain

¹ Dr. James H. Rigg, *London Quarterly Review*, vol. xv. pp. 582–585.

primary facts, beliefs, or principles, true but undemonstrable, themselves absolutely certain, and the fountains of certainty to all else; that he 'formed knowledge on belief, and the objective certainty of science or the subjective necessity of believing.' . . . Of some of the chief features in the modern inductive logic it cannot be doubted that he had an anticipation, whilst almost unto this day his syllogistic logic has ruled unrivalled. Doubtless he over-rated—indeed, altogether misunderstood—the value of his deductive logic, which it is now well known can be no instrument in itself of direct or proper discourse. . . . Stoicism maintained that man has within himself the test of truth and the power of moral control. . . . But its main glory was its ethics; its principle of duty and self-abnegation, its high ideal of virtue, the honour it rendered to moral excellence."¹

State of the World, 330 B.C.

EUROPE.

SPAIN. Kelts and Iberians. Carthaginian settlements in the south and east; a Greek colony at Saguntum.

BRITAIN AND GAUL occupied mainly by Keltic tribes. The Iberians from Spain spread from the Pyrenees to the Garonne. Teutonic tribes mixed with the Kelts north of the Seine. The Greek colony in Massilia traded by the route of the Rhone with Britain.

GERMANY. A Teutonic population, pressed by the Slavonic tribes from the East.

SCANDINAVIA. A Teutonic population, pressing the Finns, Lapps, and other kindred races northward.

EASTERN PLAINS OF POLAND, RUSSIA, &c. Peopled mainly by Slavonic races, with Finns, Tschudes, and similar races, to the north. Sundry tribes from Central Asia begin to settle north of the Black Sea (Euxine). The Greek colonies in the Crimea and on the Euxine to the east are the marts for the northern trade.

¹ Dr. Rigg, *London Quarterly Review*, vol. xv. pp. 585-587.

ITALY. The Kelts (Gauls) in the north. The Etruscans, and sundry tribes in the centre. The Ligurians along the Mediterranean from Gaul to the Etruscan boundary. The Greek colonies in the south. Rome, which had been recently burnt by the Gauls 390 B.C., rapidly advancing towards the conquest of Italy.

SICILY was the battle-ground of the Greek colonies and the Carthaginians.

GREECE. All its republics submit as allies to Macedonia.

ASIA.

THE OLD PERSIAN EMPIRE, conquered by Alexander the Great; the Phœnician cities and the Jews under his rule.

CHINA, under the Chow Dynasty, which ruled over several dependent states.

INDIA became better known to the Greeks by the invasion of Alexander the Great. Aryan kingdoms in the north and on the Ganges, and some powerful native states. By the voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Persian Gulf geographical knowledge was increased 326 B.C.

JAPAN. The Mikado rulers gradually conquering the native Ainos.

AFRICA.

EGYPT. Conquered by Alexander the Great. Alexandria founded by him.

ETHIOPIA. Petty kingdoms in Napata and other portions of Meroë.

THE BERBERS over Northern Africa between the Carthaginians and the Sahara. The Greek colonies in Cyrene.

THE CARTHAGINIANS (the enemies) of the Greeks) controlled the sea-coasts of North Africa and of Southern and Eastern Spain.

FOURTH PERIOD.

*From the Empire of Alexander, 330 B.C.,
to the Christian Era.*

1. THE leading events of this period are—(1) The division of the Empire of Alexander, followed by the rise of the Parthian empire, east of the Euphrates, and occupying in part the position of the old Persian empire ; (2) the rivalries of the new Greek kingdoms in Macedonia, Egypt, and Syria, a history, on the whole, of cultivated sensuality, depravity, and cruelty, as disgusting as it is tiresome ; (3) the deterioration of Greece itself, through the loss of its population and resources ; (4) the gradual absorption by Rome of the Greek kingdoms and states, and of the territories of Carthage in Africa and Spain, and the conquest of Gaul.

2. The sudden death of Alexander at Babylon, 323 B.C., was followed by the dissensions of his leading generals, each aiming at the supreme power, and, failing in that, to secure for themselves independent kingdoms. In the wars ensuing the family of Alexander was destroyed, and the empire divided. The battle of Issus, 301 B.C., left Cassander king of Macedonia, Ptolemy Lagus king of Egypt including Cyrene ; Seleucus king of Syria and of all Asia to the Indus ; Lysimachus king over Thrace and part of Asia Minor ; other divisions followed. Lysimachus was killed 283 B.C., and out of his kingdom arose the petty kingdoms of Pergamos, Bithynia, Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia (in Asia Minor). A few years later, 250 B.C., Bactria (under a race of Greek kings) and the Parthians threw off the yoke of the kings of Syria, and their kings, the Arsacidæ, ruled from the Euphrates to the Indus. Soon after, Armenia revolted from Syria, and thus within seventy years after Alexander's death

there were no less than eleven kingdoms formed out of his empire, besides the petty republics of Greece, which maintained for a while their independence. The first formal division of Alexander's empire is foretold in Daniel viii. 8. All these states were engaged in frequent wars with each other, and, with the exception of Parthia and Bactria, were within two centuries conquered by the Romans, and formed mere provinces of its vast empire. Bactria was conquered by Parthia and the Tartar tribes 125 B.C.

3. The Grecian republics, though nominally independent, yet were greatly influenced by the kings of Macedon. In Athens, DEMOSTHENES, the patriotic orator, 322 B.C., and Phocion, the uncorrupt administrator, 318 B.C., were sacrificed to party influence. *Two confederations* were formed, to maintain a union of effort in defence of the national liberty, by the Ætolians and Archæans; but these were separate, and accordingly opposed to each other. *The Achæan League* had for its object freedom and equality for all the Grecian states. The leading men in this movement had a high character for fairness and probity. About 254 B.C. they began to restore the fabric of their old constitution, under Aratus of Sicyon. *The Ætolian League* was simply a revival of the confederation of its tribes. It has been called "the curse of Greece," as its leaders manifested no self-restraint or sense of right and wrong. In ancient times, as Mommsen remarks, "a nation must be hammer or anvil." The petty Grecian states were of necessity in the position of the anvil; Philip of Macedonia was the first hammer, the Romans the second. It was impossible to infuse new political life into a people gradually and yet rapidly declining in numbers and in resources. The conquests of Alexander had opened the East to the enterprise of the young and active spirits of the small communities, whose narrow limits and bitter factions were distasteful to men to whom all Asia and Egypt offered employment and wealth. The poorer classes found employment as mercenaries in the East, and in Egypt, and in Carthage and Sicily. The loss of population was not filled up by the demand for labour, as Greece had no manufactures of any moment, or call for agricultural labour, beyond what was supplied by its slave population. This decline of population and of resources was obvious within less than a century after the conquests of Alexander; every generation the decay was more observable. Polybius, 140 B.C., and Strabo, 29 B.C., besides the eloquent reflections of Sulpicius to Cicero, which are given in Middleton's "Life of Cicero," are witnesses of this decline. Messenia almost deserted; Laconia had only thirty towns left in lieu of a hundred; Arcadia

utterly decayed, and with Ætolia and Acarnania devoted to pasturage ; Thebes a mere village ; Thessaly equally without towns. In the time of Plutarch, Greece could hardly raise three thousand heavy-armed soldiers, the number raised by Megara alone in the Persian War. Athens and Corinth alone maintained a respectable position as cities. These changes are partly accountable to economical causes, and were not beyond a remedy, had the moral feeling of the Greek people been correct and pure. "The historian traces this decay to a taste for luxury and ostentation ; but this could only apply to the wealthy, and is by no means adequate. The real cause struck deeper, and was much more widely spread," the indifference to family life, the refusal to rear children. "Described in general terms, it was a want of reverence for the order of nature, for the natural revelations of the will of God ; and the sanction of infanticide was by no means the most destructive or the most loathsome form in which it manifested itself. This was the cancer which had been for many generations eating into the life of Greece."¹ So also the Greeks in Asia and Egypt, like their rulers, lived generally in defiance of all moral restraints. The history of the kings of Egypt and of Syria is, with few exceptions, one of the most disgusting and degrading on record. The conquest of Asia and the East by Rome began the moral clearance of Greek Asiatic society. The history of Greece, after Alexander, is dismissed with contempt by its great historian Grote, who, referring to the Achæan League, remarks :—"With this after-growth, or half-revival, I shall not meddle. It forms the Greece of Polybius, which that author, in my opinion, treats justly, as having no history of its own, but as an appendage attached to some foreign centre and principal among its neighbours, Macedonia, Egypt, Syria, Rome. Each of these neighbours acted upon the destinies of Greece more powerfully than the Greeks themselves. The Greeks . . . present, as their most marked characteristic, a loose aggregation of autonomous tribes, or communities, acting and reacting freely among themselves, with little or no pressure from foreigners. The main history of the narrative has consisted in the spontaneous grouping of the different Hellenic factions, in the self-prompted co-operation, the abortive attempts to bring about something like an effective federal organisation ; or to maintain two permanent rival confederacies ; the energetic ambitions and endurance of men to whom Hellas was the entire political world. The freedom of Hellas, the life and soul of this history from its commencement, disappeared completely during

¹ Thirlwall, "*History of Greece*," pp. 460-465.

the first years of Alexander's reign."¹ Another able writer deals in censures, which must be taken with some qualification:—"Especially great appear the Romans and the Italians . . . their military rudeness shows in the most advantageous light when we compare it with the base and grovelling temper of the Greeks, with their enmities and envies amongst one another, and their readiness to sell friends and country to the highest bidder, or to offer them up to their petty passions and grovelling desires."²

4. Rome was rapidly advancing towards the conquest of Italy, south of the Rubicon. The Gallic irruption, and the taking of Rome by the Gauls, after the battle of Allia 389 B.C., was but a temporary check, and the calamity excited little interest beyond the confines of Italy. So infrequent was the intercourse of nations that the news of the capture reached Athens in the form of a story, that an army of hyperboreans had taken a Greek city called Rome, situated near the Great Sea. By the year 346 B.C. the Gauls had been either driven from Italy or destroyed. Then followed the First Samnite War 342-340 B.C.; then the Latin War 339-337 B.C.; then the Second Samnite War 325-304 B.C., and a third 298-290 B.C.; after which, to the disgrace of the Romans, the brave and magnanimous Pontius of Telesina, the Samnite general and patriot, was brutally put to death, after being led in chains in the triumphal march of the conqueror in Rome. After this the Etruscans, with the Boii and Senones bordering on Gallia Cisalpina, were reduced, 280 B.C. Another enemy, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, connected with the family of Alexander the Great, was stimulated to emulate his career, and to carve out for himself an empire in Italy and Sicily. Invited by the Tarentines and aided by the general sympathy of the Greeks of southern Italy, the war continued from 282 B.C. to 272 B.C., after which Pyrrhus left for Sicily, and soon after was killed at Argos in Greece. All Italy (not including Gallia Cisalpina) was now subject to Rome, 266 B.C. Some of the Italian nations had already been admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizenship; others, as allies or confederates of Rome, retained their territorial rights, but were bound to furnish supplies of troops, money, and corn; some of the subject states were severely dealt with and placed under great restriction. Single cities were either municipia, with right of Roman citizenship, or colonies settled by Roman citizens, to whom lands were assigned in the vicinity, or prefecturæ, which were municipia governed by a magistrate

¹ Grote, "History of Greece," 12mo. vol. xii. pp. 211-213.

² "History of Rome" (Cab. Encyc. vol. i. p. 247).

sent annually from Rome. The extension of the Roman territory to the Alps by the conquest of the Gauls in north Italy was nearly completed when the First Punic War with Carthage commenced, 264 B.C. "The ten years preceding the First Punic War were probably a time of the greatest physical prosperity which the mass of the Roman people ever knew. Within twenty years two agrarian laws had been passed on a most extensive scale, and the poorer citizens had received besides what may be called a large dividend in money out of the lands which the state had conquered. In addition to this, the farming of the state domains, or of their produce, furnished those who had money with abundant opportunities of profitable adventure. . . . No wonder, then, that war was at this time popular. . . . But our 'pleasant vices' are ever made instruments to scourge us; and the First Punic War, into which the Roman people forced the senate to enter, not only in its long course bore most heavily upon the poorer citizens, but, from the feelings of enmity which it excited in the breast of Hamilcar, led most surely to that fearful visitation of Hannibal's sixteen years' invasion of Italy, which destroyed for ever, not indeed the pride of the Roman dominion, but the well-being of the Roman people"¹ "Beginning her career of conquest beyond the limits of Italy, Rome was now entering upon her appointed work, and that work was undoubtedly fraught with good."² But the occasion of the First Punic War was dishonourable to Rome. Certain mercenary soldiers had seized Messina in Sicily, destroyed the citizens, and held possession against the Syracusans, 284 B.C. They were beaten in the field and blockaded in Messina by Hiero, king of Syracuse, and then, driven to extremity, sent a deputation to Rome, praying that "the Romans, the sovereigns of Italy, would not suffer an Italian people to be destroyed by Greeks and Carthaginians," 264 B.C. It was singular that such a request should be made to the Romans, who only six years before had chastised the military revolt of their brethren Mamertines in Rhegium, taking the city by storm, scourging and beheading the defenders, and then restoring the old inhabitants (270 B.C.). The senate was opposed to the request of the Messina deputation; but the consuls and the people of Rome, already jealous of Carthaginian influence in Sicily and the Mediterranean, resolved to protect the Mamertime buccaneers and to receive them as their friends and allies. Thus dishonestly and disgracefully did the Romans depart from their purely Italian and continental policy,

¹ Arnold, "History of Rome," vol. ii. pp. 538-540.² Ibid., p. 545.

which had so well succeeded, to enter upon another system, the results of which no one then could foresee. Some excuse may be found in the fact that the Carthaginians had been placed by their partisans in Messina in possession of the citadel, and this great rival power of Carthage was thus brought unpleasantly near to the recent conquered territory of Rome. The fear of Carthaginian influence overcame the natural reluctance to an alliance with traitors false to their military oath, the murderers and plunderers of a city which they were bound to protect. Thus began "the First Punic War, which lasted, without intermission, twenty-two years, a longer space of time than the whole period occupied by the wars of the French Revolution."¹ In this war Duilius won the first naval battle near Mylæ (Melarò). Regulus invaded Africa proper, the territory of Carthage, with great success, until beaten and taken prisoner at Zama, 256-255 B.C. The war was carried on in Sicily and on the sea until 241 B.C., when peace was made on conditions that the Carthaginians should evacuate Sicily and make no war upon Hiero, king of Sicily (the ally of the Romans), that they should pay 3200 Euboic talents (about £110,000) within ten years, 241 B.C. The effects of an exhausting war were soon overcome by ancient nations, so that both Rome and Carthage rapidly recovered, "because wars in those days were not maintained at the expense of posterity."² Rome had to check the Illyrian pirates and to complete the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul and the Ligurians 238-221 B.C. Meanwhile the Carthaginians, hampered by a three years' rebellion of its mercenary troops, quietly permitted the Romans to take possession of Corsica and Sardinia, and agreed to pay 1200 talents as compensation to Roman merchants. On the other hand, measures were in process to re-establish the Carthaginian power; the patriotic party, the Barcine family, under Hamilcar, commenced the carrying out of the extensions and consolidations of the territories in Spain. Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, continued the same policy by wars and alliances until the Romans, naturally jealous, were pacified by the engagement of the Carthaginians not to extend their conquest to the north of the Ebro, thus securing the people of Massalia (Roman allies), and keeping the Carthaginians at a safe distance from Italy. Saguntum, an independent city, originally a Greek colony, was, by this treaty, not to be molested by the Carthaginians, but Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, who succeeded Hasdrubal, besieged and took Saguntum after a siege of eight months, 219 B.C. (ostensibly in defence of a

¹ Dr. Arnold, "History of Rome," vol. ii. p. 561. ² Ibid., vol. iii. p. 24.

Spanish tribe). Upon this, war was declared by the Romans 218 B.C., and then the Second Punic War began, which lasted nearly eighteen years, "the most memorable of all that were ever waged," in the opinion of Livy. It will be ever remembered for the remarkable campaign by which Hannibal entered Italy from Spain, through Gaul across the Alps, and kept his army there for sixteen years; and also for the equally remarkable steady pertinacity of the opposition offered by Rome. The route taken by Hannibal was by the Pyrenees, through southern Gaul by Narbonne and Nîmes to the Rhone, about two days' march above Avignon, then through the country of the Allobroges, through Chamberry, and by the Pass of the Little St. Bernard (or Mont Cenis) to Ivrea in Italy. The battles of the Ticinus and Trebia made Hannibal master of all northern Italy, 218 B.C., after which his victories on the Lake Trasymenus, 217 B.C., and at Cannæ, 216 B.C., caused all the nations of central and southern Italy to throw off the Roman yoke, with the exception of the Latins and a few isolated cities. But by 215 B.C. Hannibal's career of successes terminated; he received little help from Carthage, and none from his ally, Philip III. of Macedon. The Romans carried the war into Spain, to cut off all help from that quarter, and at last into Africa. Scipio defeated the Carthaginians (commanded by Hannibal, who had been recalled from Italy) at Zama, 202 B.C., and peace was concluded, by which the Carthaginians gave up all their ships of war (except ten) and their elephants, and agreed to pay 10,000 talents within fifty years. The African ally of the Romans, Masinissa, received the two Numidias, and thus Carthage was placed defenceless under the power of Rome. "The immediate results of the war were the conversion of Spain into two Roman provinces; the union of the hitherto dependent kingdom of Syracuse with the Roman province of Sicily; the establishment of a Roman instead of the Carthaginian protectorate over the most important Numidian chiefs; and, lastly, the conversion of Carthage from a powerful commercial state into a defenceless mercantile town. Moreover, it brought about that decided contact between the state systems of the East and the West which the First Punic War had only foreshadowed, and thereby gave rise to the closely impending decisive interference of Rome in the conflicts of the Alexandrian monarchies."¹ In this war one fourth of the citizens of Rome had fallen, and three hundred thousand Italians; four hundred towns destroyed. The senate of Rome required a nomination of one hundred and seventy-seven persons

¹ "Mommson," vol. ii. pp. 189, 190.

to make up its number. The distressed country population became demoralised ; robber bands multiplied, so that in Apulia alone seven hundred men in one year had to be condemned for robbery.

5. There is but one opinion as to the beneficial character of the results of the triumph of Rome, although "no single Roman will bear comparison with Hannibal." . . . "It was clearly for the good of mankind that Hannibal should be conquered ; his triumph would have stopped the progress of the world. . . . He who grieves over the battle of Zama should carry on his thoughts . . . and consider how the isolated Phœnician city of Carthage was fitted to receive and to consolidate the civilisation of Greece, or by its laws and institutions to bind together barbarians of every race and language into an organised empire, and prepare them for becoming, when that empire was dissolved, the free members of the commonwealth of Christian Europe."¹ And again, "If under the conditions of ancient society, and the savagery of the warfare which it tolerated, there was an unavoidable necessity for either Rome or Carthage to perish utterly, we must admit, in spite of the sympathy which the brilliancy of the Carthaginian civilisation, the heroism of Hamilcar and Hannibal, and the tragic catastrophe itself call forth, that it was well for the human race that the blow fell on Carthage rather than on Rome. A universal Carthaginian empire could have done for the world, as far as we can see, nothing comparable to that which the Roman universal empire did for it. It would not have melted down national antipathies ; it would not have given a common literature or language ; it would not have prepared the way for a higher civilisation and an infinite purer religion. Still less would it have built up that majestic fabric of law which forms the basis of the legislation of all the states of modern Europe and America."² "We look in vain for any legacy left by the Phœnicians (Carthage) to the world except the development of peaceful trade ; they taught the world no politics, no religion or arts. They have left us no orators, no poets, no historians ; and yet it may be that in this they have only suffered the fate of vanquished nations. Who knows but that, had they defeated the Romans, they might have perpetuated a literature equal to that of the Hebrews ? But, still, they could never have replaced the Greeks in politics, in the arts, and in the general power of assimilating other nations to themselves . . . for this reason, they were swept away as soon as they had

¹ Arnold, "History of Rome," vol. iii. p. 65.

² Bosworth-Smith, "Rome and Carthage," pp. 21, 22.

done their work.”¹ These opinions will meet with the approval of most thoughtful men; but the necessity for the destruction of Carthage itself is quite another question. The Roman power was not affected in after-ages by the wealth and trade of the new Carthage on the old site, or of Alexandria. One great evil is obvious; there was no rival left to exercise a moderating influence on the ambition and covetousness of the governing class at Rome; hence resulted the rapid corruption of public and social life; the dissolution of the old Roman manners, and the equally rapid extinction of the old Roman population in Rome and in Italy, supplanted by the enormous addition made to the slave population after the Second Punic War. Free labour and slavery cannot exist together; hence the brave old warlike farmers, the civic and the agricultural free labouring population had ceased to exist in the first century before the Christian era. Rome itself became a city, peopled by the refuse of the conquered nationalities. This deterioration of manners and race may be dated from the return of the army of Manlius from Asia, about 187 B.C.

6. Three wars with Philip III. of Macedon followed, 214-204 B.C., again 200-197 B.C. After the second war, which gave the Romans the predominance in Greece, by the taking from Philip the hegemony of the Greek states, a war with Antiochus III., the Great, of Syria, followed, 192-190 B.C. This monarch, offended by the interference of the Romans in declaring the Greeks of Asia “free and independent,” endeavoured to form an alliance with Macedonia and the Greek states against Rome. The Ætolians were his allies; Macedon and the Achæans remained firm to the Romans. Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylæ, in Greece, and, followed by the Romans into Asia, was again defeated at Magnesia, and compelled to pay fifteen thousand talents, to deliver up his fleet and elephants, and to abandon all Asia Minor west of the Taurus. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians, the allies of the Romans, were rewarded by additions of territory. On the death of Philip III. Perseus, his son, began the Third War with Rome, 171-168 B.C., which ended in the battle of Pydna, and the subjection of Macedonia, Illyria, and Epirus. In Epirus seventy cities were sacked in one day, and one hundred and fifty thousand of the inhabitants sold into slavery. One thousand of the leading Achæans, suspected of attachment to Macedonian rule, were sent to Rome and detained there seventeen years. Assisted by a revolt in Macedonia, the

¹ Mahaffy on “Primitive Civilization,” p. 174.

Achæans again opposed the Romans; they were defeated and conquered by Mummius, the consul, who sacked and burnt Corinth, and thus the whole of Greece with Macedonia became Roman provinces 146 B.C. The same year what is called the Third Punic War was ended. This really was merely the carrying out the determination of Rome to destroy the city of Carthage. After two years' resistance Carthage was taken and levelled to the ground 146 B.C. The wars with Macedonia prevented the possibility of a consolidation of Greek power under Macedon, which might have preserved Greek nationality. With the destruction of Carthage there was no rival power left to excite the few, or check the ambition, of the leaders of the Roman oligarchy. In Spain alone, among the Celtiberians and Numantians of the North, there was resistance, which terminated in the taking of Numantia after a siege of fifteen months, 133 B.C. Roman conquest was not interrupted by the dissensions of the Roman factions, or by insurrection of the slaves, or of the Italian allies. In three wars with Mithridates, king of Pontus, 88–84, 83, 74–63 B.C., the Roman power in Asia was sustained and firmly established. In Africa the Jugurthan war, 111–105 B.C., ended with the capture of Jugurtha, and placed all north Africa under Roman rule. Transalpine Gaul was formed into the Roman "provincia" 123 B.C. Syria and Armenia became Roman provinces 64 B.C. Gaul was conquered by Julius Cæsar 58–49 B.C., and Egypt ceased to be a united kingdom after the battle of Actium, 30 B.C. The history of these conquests cannot be given in detail; that of Gaul is the most important. "The Kelts in every feature resemble their Irish descendants—brave, poetical, amiable, clever, but, in a political point of view, a thoroughly useless nation."¹ In the opinion of Mommsen, the Gauls were incapable of resisting the Germans, and that Cæsar, by his repulse of Ariovistus, the German, postponed the occupation of the west of Europe by the barbarians four centuries. "That there is a bridge connecting the past history and glory of Hellas and Rome with the prouder fabric of modern history; that western Europe is Romaic, and that Germanic Europe is classic; that the names of Themistocles and Scipio have to us a very different sound from those of Azoka and Salmanazzar; that Homer and Euripides are not merely like the Vedas and Kalidasa, attractions to the literary botanist, but flower for us in our own garden—all this is the work of Cæsar."² "In the mighty vortex of the world's history, which inevitably crushes all people that are not as hard and as flexible as steel, such a nation (the Kelts)

¹ Mommsen, vol. iv. p. 287.

² Ibid., vol. iv. pp. 285–289.

could not permanently maintain itself. With reason the Kelts of the continent suffered the same fate at the hands of the Romans as their kinsmen in Ireland suffer down to our day at the hands of the Saxons—the fate of becoming merged as a leaven of future development in a political superior nationality.”¹ But, leaving these doubtful speculations, tinged with some national prejudice, it is necessary to turn to the struggles and dissensions of the city of Rome, the attempts at reform, and their failures, which prepared the way for the extinction of the Republic.

7. The internal history of the Roman people reveals to us two great struggles : that for equality of civil and social position between the *populus* (the old aristocratic patricians, the original people, at one time the only people) and the plebeians, the free inhabitants (as distinguished from the clients, who were dependants upon the great patrician families). But before 174 B.C. this struggle had ended. Even the office of pontifex maximus had been granted to a plebeian, 300 B.C., and the *populus* now comprehended the entire free population, all of whom were eligible to the highest offices. A new order of nobility arose, the *nobiles* or *optimates*, consisting of persons whose ancestors had filled curule offices (who had passed the chair), such as the *ædileship*, *prætorship*, or *consulate*. None but the richest families could belong to this order, as the first step to office, the *ædileship*, was burdened (since the First Punic War) with the cost of the public shows and games. The equestrian dignity was also in the hands of the rich, having no longer any connexion with the cavalry service, but with the amount of property held. The rest of the population were termed *ignobiles* and *obscuri*, and their members *homines novi*. The other struggle was respecting an agrarian law to regulate the appropriation and use of the public lands—the *ager publicus*. This land was at first occupied by the patrician “*populus*,” as leaseholders under the state, claiming also an exclusive right as a class to the enjoyment of such leases, which, in fact, were the main sources of the wealth and power of their order. The claims of the plebeians to a share in this monopoly led to the agitation for an agrarian law. The nature of this law was not understood by historians before the time of Heyne (1793) followed by Niebuhr and Savigny. It had no reference to private property in land, but related solely to the public lands. The object of the proposers of these laws was to limit the extent of the public lands held by individuals, and to appropriate portions among the poorer citizens of Rome. These, and the smaller proprietors around Rome, had, in the preceding generation, to fill the

¹ Mommsen, vol. iv. p. 285.

armies, and to furnish the means for their own personal equipment, while carrying on the annual campaigns in the wars in Italy. To meet these burdens, they had been, and were yet, compelled to borrow largely of the moneyed class, and were legally liable to be sold with their families, as slaves, to meet the claims of their creditors. Hence the occasional interference of the state with the claims of the creditors, sometimes by lowering the amounts due, or by erasing the debts. But these temporary expedients could not save the then poor citizen farmers from ruin. Patriotic, far-seeing men saw in the alteration of the land laws the most probable means of permanent relief. Spurius Cassius, 486-458 B.C., had begun the contest, and the temporary secessions of the people from Rome, 492 B.C., 448 B.C., 395 B.C., had proved the intense feeling of a large party in this question. The Licinian Laws, 375-362 B.C., the Publilian Laws, 339 B.C., aimed to limit the holding of the public land to 500 jugera (from 280 to 300 English acres), and to assign portions, varying from 2 to 14 jugera, to the poorer citizens. These 500 jugera, all arable land, formed no paltry farm, considering the right of pasturage on the outlying lands, for 100 large, or 500 small cattle, the fertility of the soil, and the frugal habits of the people. Such a farm is regarded as a handsome property in the Roman territory in the present day.¹ Each attempt of the patriotic advocates of these laws was followed by some advantage to the people, but the laws were evaded or revoked, as opportunity offered; and the evil of the decrease of tillage, through the enlargement of pasturage and the employment of slaves to the exclusion of free labourers and free proprietors, went on increasing day by day. This state of affairs alarmed Tiberius Gracchus, when brought to his notice in his journey through Tuscany to join the Roman army before Numantia, in Spain, 137 B.C. He saw large domains covered with droves of cattle tended by mounted shepherds, while swine were running wild in the forest—miles and miles of land abandoned to the boar and the buffalo. Here and there a solitary herdsman might be seen with his staff or his pike to defend himself against the wolves and wild boars. And these few inhabitants were generally barbarians (Thracians, Iberians, or Africans), ignorant of the language of Rome. This monopoly of land (*latifundia*) naturally led to another evil (*proletaria*), the crowded beggar population of large towns, especially of Rome. To understand the nature of the social and political problems connected with these words is, to all of us, a matter of importance. These explain the decline of the

¹ Niebuhr in *Foreign Quarterly*, No. xxxiii.

Roman Empire. They discover to us the nature of that cankerworm which is stealthily, but steadily and continuously, impairing the vitality of our modern civilisation. Tiberius Gracchus, first of all, 137-133 B.C., and next, Caius Gracchus, his brother, 124-121 B.C., after carrying a series of enactments to remedy these evils, fell a sacrifice to the fears and the revenge of the opponents of the agrarian laws. The regulations in favour of small grants to the poorer citizens were neutralised by the permission given to the recipients to sell these lands. From 139 B.C. to 123 B.C. the ballot was used in all cases where votes were taken. But from that time bribery was used to such an extent that voting became a profitable and easy trade, and special agencies arose for managing elections and evading the law. A tribune, Borius (119 B.C.), carried a law against the future division of the public lands, with a provision that the rents should form a fund for the relief of the poor. This poor law was repealed, so far as the tax was concerned, 111 B.C.; and thus, by the persevering scheming of the oligarchic faction, the poorer classes lost both land and the poor money. Great was the party violence in these contests. When Tiberius Gracchus was killed, three hundred persons fell with him; and when his brother, Caius Gracchus, fell, three thousand persons were killed in the streets, or strangled in prison. On the question of the policy of the Gracchi there is great difference of opinion—just as in England, on the Reform Bill of 1832. Mommsen (the German historian) appears to approve, on the whole, the policy of the Gracchi, but complains of the irregularity of the procedure, as if it were possible to carry out reforms affecting powerful interests without a great departure from ordinary routine. In such cases the spirit of the constitution, rather than the letter is to be considered. That such measures above law are dangerous, no one doubts, and they are only justifiable when absolute necessity requires prompt and extreme remedy. The evils which result as the consequence of such irregular action lie at the door of those who obstinately oppose the necessary reforms. Mommsen thinks that, as Rome was governed by a senate, it was contrary to the spirit of the constitution when Tiberius Gracchus submitted the domain question to the people, and when he unconstitutionally deposed his tribunal colleagues—that the burgess assemblies in the comitia had become mere mobs, and that the comitia itself had also become a mere meeting (a contio), such as was called to consider, but not to decide, and that by such contiones practically the decrees were passed, each contio thus decreeing itself lands out of the public purse. These contiones had no

legal significance, "practically they ruled the street, and, already, the opinion of the street was a power in Rome." Scipio Æmilianus knew the composition of improvised contiones, when, in 133 B.C., he said, in a speech to the populace, "Ye, to whom Italy is not mother, but step-mother, ought to keep silence; surely ye do not think that I will fear those let loose whom I sent in chains to the slave-market." In Mommsen's opinion, "when any one, whom circumstances and his own influence with the proletariat enabled to command the streets for a few hours, found it possible to impress on his projects the stamp of the sovereign people's will, Rome had reached, not the beginning, but the end, of popular freedom—had arrived, not at democracy, but at monarchy." And yet, again, he makes admissions which tell against his objections: "The aristocratic government was so thoroughly pernicious, that a citizen who was able to depose the senate, and to put himself in its room, would, perhaps, have benefited the commonwealth more than he injured it."¹ A. H. Beesley² takes a decidedly favourable view. He thinks that Tiberius Gracchus was guilty of beginning a revolution in Rome, in the sense that a man is guilty who introduces a light into some chamber filled with explosive vapour, which the stupidity or malice of others had suffered to accumulate. The effects of the reactionary legislation after the death of Caius Gracchus is described as follows: "Slave labour, and slave discontent, latifundia, decrease of population, depreciation of the land, received a fresh impetus, and the triumphant optimates pushed the state step by step further down the road to ruin Ten years after the passing of the Bæbian law it was said that among all the citizens there were only two thousand wealthy families The death of Caius prolonged the senate's misrule for twenty years: twenty years of shame, at home and abroad before those who had drawn the sword against the Gracchi perished by the sword of Marius impotent, unpitied, and despised."³ The greatest of all evils resulting from the legislation of Caius Gracchus was the legalising abuses connected with the right of all citizens in Rome to purchase grain from the public stores at a low price, the loss being borne by the state. Fifty years later the quantity sold to each was limited to the 40,000 purchasers. Clodius (the demagogue, the enemy of Cicero) enacted that 1¼ bushel per month should be given without payment. There were soon 320,000 claimants. These Julius Cæsar reduced to 150,000, and Augustus fixed the number at 200,000.

¹ Mommsen, vol. iii. pp. 97-100.

² In the "Gracchi," &c. "Epochs of History." ³ Ibid., pp. 30, 61, 62.

Various attempts were made to remedy the evils resulting from the failure of the agrarian reform, and in after-ages the settlement of colonies, in order to provide for disbanded soldiers and others, displayed the consciousness of the existence of a growing evil rather than the best means for its alleviation. The lands of Italy were depopulated, the mongrel degraded mob of Rome, fed by largesses of corn from the tributes of Sicily, Africa, and Egypt, had no wish to lead a life of labour as farmers, distant from the amusements and comforts of Rome, their sole desire "*panem et circenses*." And so affairs continued for more than four centuries, when "the (barbarian) flood came and destroyed them all" (Luke xvii. 26). There were other dark spots in the victorious picture of Roman progress, which should be made more prominent in the histories of Roman prosperity. Three Slave wars in Italy and Sicily (134-132)—(103-101), the last of which (73-71) was a war with revolted gladiators. Add to these the extensive piracy carried on in the Mediterranean, for the extinction of which large powers were granted to Pompey, by whom the pirates were effectually quelled 67 B.C. The Roman world, and Rome itself, had to pay dearly for the benefits connected with the rule of Rome.

8. The invasion of the Cimbri (perhaps a mixed race of Kelts and Teutons) was repelled by the consul Marius, both in Gaul and in North Italy, 103-101 B.C. About 320,000 men are supposed to have been slain in this conflict. The Social or Marsic War on the part of a large number of the Italian allies, who demanded the full franchise, continued three years, 90-88 B.C. Full 300,000 lives were lost in this contest. When the war was over, the Romans wisely granted them the franchise. Eight or ten tribes were added to the thirty-five already existing. The new citizens had to appear in person at Rome to give their votes in the polling booths. "The enrolment of the Italians among her own citizens deserves to be regarded as the gravest stroke of policy in the whole history of the republic Doubtless it helped in some measure to accelerate the destruction of the old national sentiments. But these were already mortally stricken, and were destined quickly to perish in the general corruption of society. It reduced the legions more directly to instruments of their generals' personal ambition; but the strongest check to that fatal tendency had been already removed by the enlistment of the lower classes of Rome by Marius, and these the necessities of the state had both justified and approved It undermined the despotic rule of the oligarchy."¹ This measure, whether deemed

¹ Merivale, "*Fall of the Roman Republic*," p. 98.

wise or the contrary by the historians, was a necessity which could not be avoided. It might have led to the re-establishment and perpetuity of the republic had the people and leaders of Rome understood the practicability of representing the scattered and distant, as well as those near and on the spot, by the election of delegates (as in modern times). A parliament of representatives of the Italian states, working in connexion with the senate, might have altered, not only the history of Rome, but the history of the world. As it was, the extension of the franchise did no harm to the republic, which had virtually ceased to exist. The history of Rome from this time is one of personal struggles for power. It becomes a mere biography of Marius, of Sylla, of Pompey and Cæsar, of Marc Antony and Octavius Cæsar, mingled with notices of Catiline and Cicero, Brutus and Cato. In the interests of humanity, the vast provinces governed and plundered by the nominees of the Roman oligarchy required some change by which the extortion and the tyranny of these oppressors might be controlled. The provinces longed for the rule of *one* over Rome itself and over them.

9. MARIUS, the son of a day labourer, rose from the ranks, was patronised by Scipio at Numantia, and, by his marriage with the aunt of Julius Cæsar, was placed in a position to aspire to the honours of the state. His bravery and energy, accompanied by coarseness of taste and habits, contrasted with those of his rival Sylla, the noble, literary, but debauched leader of the oligarchy, a man brave but cruel, of whom it is said that "no act of kindness or generosity is recorded of him." At the end of the Social War, Sylla, the consul 88 B.C., obtained the command of the army against Mithridates. This was opposed by the partisans of Marius, who, in Sylla's absence, nominated Marius to the command against that sovereign in the place of Sylla. Sylla, who had not left Italy, at once returned to Rome with part of his army, and Marius had to fly from Rome. Since Marius (107 B.C.) had enrolled as soldiers the rabble of the forum, men without property, and thus created a mere mercenary body of soldiers in lieu of the old citizen troops, the Roman armies became not so much the forces of the state as of the general who commanded them. These popular, brave, daring, and fortunate generals became practically the rulers of the commonwealth. Sylla having left for Asia with his army, Marius returned to Rome, favoured by the consul Cinna, 87 B.C. Then began a merciless slaughter of opponents for five days and nights without interruption, and after this there were daily executions for four months in Rome and in all Italy. "The sympathies of Marius lay

wholly with the best element which was left among the inhabitants of Italy. The villager of Arpinum, whose grandfather had not been a full citizen, felt with the remnant of the old rural plebeians; still more strongly, perhaps, did he feel with the unenfranchised allies. If the daring plebeian bearded the nobles to their faces, the stout yeoman looked with no favour on the law which distributed corn among the idle populace of the city.”¹ Marius was, no doubt, mad, and his death early in 86 B.C. was a relief to his party. Cinna died 84 B.C. On Sylla’s return, 83 B.C., the younger Marius, assisted by the Samnites, nearly took Rome, but were defeated at the Colline Gate, November 1. The city had never been in such peril since the conquest by the Gauls. This placed Sylla in possession of Rome and of the supreme power. Then began the work of vengeance. Next day from three to eight thousand prisoners were massacred: then twelve thousand prisoners captured at Præneste were slain (with the exception of the Romans and the women and children); the body of Marius was torn from its grave and thrown into the Arno; about two hundred senators and two or three thousand of the equites were put to death, besides thousands of the common people in Rome and also numbers in the cities of Italy. Etruria was so thoroughly ravaged, everywhere the old population perished, and the language lost; in all Italy cities were dismantled, the Samnite people annihilated, and the confiscated lands divided among 120,000 of Sylla’s soldiers. Sylla was appointed dictator for an indefinite period, empowered to re-form and re-construct the commonwealth. Sylla is one of the most marvellous characters in history. Beesley thinks that, when Sylla saw Marius “gradually floundering into villany, he more than felt the serene superiority of a natural genius for vice.”² He was luxurious, licentious, a scoffer, and yet superstitious, cynical, contemptuous of public opinion, without confidence in human nature, and yet without fear. All his legislation had for its object the revival of the old constitution and the old restrictions, although most of the old families had already perished. “Ten years sufficed to overthrow the whole structure of this reactionary legislation.” In the year 79 B.C. Sylla, after killing fifteen consulars, ninety senators, two thousand six hundred knights, and one hundred thousand Romans and Italians, and confiscating their goods, resigned his power, in the market-place of Rome, and returned to his dwelling fearless and unhurt; he amused himself with literature and in writing the memoirs of his own life, until his

¹ Freeman, “Essays,” second series, p. 281.

² The Gracchi, p. 80.

sudden death 78 B.C., aged sixty. "Stained with the blood of so many thousand victims, and tormented with a loathsome disease, he quitted the world without a symptom either of remorse or repining."¹ His character has been studied by historians who have no sympathy with his crimes or his vices. "The cold-blooded politic massacres of Sylla seems to us to imply a looser moral state than the ferocious revenge of Marius, or even than the bloody madness of Caius or Nero. That such a man should have done such deeds puts human nature in a far more fearful light than it is put by the frantic crimes of silly youths whose heads were turned by the possession of absolute power. . . . His crimes were greater in degree than those either of Cæsar or Buonaparte . . . but he had an object before him which was not wholly selfish; he was above the vulgar ambition of becoming a king and the father of kings . . . he had not been working and sinning only for his own gains or his own vanity; there was a kind of patriotism in the man, perverted and horrible as was the form which it took."²

10. After the gladiatorial rebellion, which was put down at last by Pompey 71 B.C. (a partisan of Sylla), a man cultivated and moral, "but destitute of the real generosity which makes and retains friends" . . . "feared by all, admired by some, trusted by few, and loved by none,"³ he became one of the leading men of Rome. Crassus, the great capitalist, was another. Caius Julius Cæsar was the third. Julius Cæsar, of high patrician descent, yet connected by marriage with Marius and Cinna, looked upon himself as the heir of their policy in its better aspects; reckless, lavish, and licentious, but literary and cultivated, "he was saved from being a monster of pride and selfishness by no moral principle, but only by the geniality of his temper and the kindness of his disposition."⁴ Pompey and Crassus obtained the consulship B.C. 70. In 67 B.C. Pompey was intrusted with extraordinary powers, by which he was able to put down the formidable piracies which had made the navigation of the Mediterranean unsafe. Next year his party recalled Lucullus, who was engaged in the war with Mithridates, and Pompey was appointed his successor. After defeating Mithridates, he put an end to the monarchy of the Seleucidæ in Syria, and extended the bounds of the Roman empire to the Euphrates, 63 B.C. In the absence of Pompey, Julius Cæsar, by degrees,

¹ Merivale, "Fall of the Roman Republic," p. 149.

² Freeman's "Essays," second series, pp. 282-287.

³ Merivale, "Fall of the Roman Republic," p. 169.

⁴ Ibid., p. 185.

allowed his opinions (which were not friendly to the oligarchic senate) to be known, and, by a large expenditure, kept up the attachment of the popular party in Rome. He was elected pontifex maximus, and, though deeply in debt, borrowed still more largely to insure his election. The conspiracy of Catiline, discovered and put down by the decision of the great orator Cicero, the consul for the year 63 B.C., ended with the death of Catiline in battle, 62 B.C. Cæsar, after commanding in Spain, 61 B.C., became consul 59 B.C., by the help of Pompey, and at the expiration of his term of office obtained Cisalpine Gaul, and Gaul beyond the Alps, as his sphere of command, 58 B.C. This was the result of a tacit understanding between Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, though as yet the triumvirate was not what it became at a later period, a regularly-appointed board for the administration of affairs. This first triumvirate was simply an understood compact by which the three parties bound themselves to advance the special objects of each other. The conception of this compact was due to the genius of Cæsar alone, 56-61 B.C. The views of the three were different: Pompey and Crassus aimed at such an ascendancy as would make them independent of the senate and of the populace of the forum; Cæsar had other and less selfish views—he saw that the city had become an empire, and that this empire could no longer be governed as a city or municipality for the benefit of the citizens. All the conquered peoples looked up to an autocracy. It was his ambition to be himself the man, and thus supply the want, the necessity of the empire. Such, no doubt, were the grounds by which he justified to himself his actions, and these have been too readily accepted by historians. “It was well for the world that a man of genius should arise at such a crisis to direct the general sentiment, and show how it could be realised.”¹ “Cæsar’s private means had been long exhausted; the friends who had continued to supply his necessities had seemed to pour their treasures into a bottomless gulf; so vast was his expenditure in shows, canvasses, and bribes, so long and barren the career of public service through which this ceaseless profusion had to be maintained. At this period, when the bold gamester was about to throw his last die, he could avow that he wanted two hundred and fifty million sesterces (above two millions sterling) to be worth nothing! Before he could enter on the administration of his province he had pressing creditors to satisfy and expensive preparations to make.”² To this impediment of debt there was another, a

¹ Merivale, “Fall of the Roman Republic,” p. 69.² *Ibid.*, p. 252.

decree of the senate to retain him at home. He borrowed of Crassus an amount equal to two hundred thousand pounds, and, once at the head of his troops, his foes would not dare to recall him. While Cæsar was carrying on the wars which led to the conquest of Gaul, Crassus was killed in the Parthian campaign at Carrhæ, 53 B.C. After this Pompey felt some jealousy of Cæsar's military glory and popularity, and, yielding to the oligarchic party, did not oppose the recall of Cæsar, while himself retained his office and power 50 B.C. Cæsar without an army, and Pompey with his army, would have placed Cæsar helpless at the mercy of his enemies in the senate. Cæsar, conscious of his power and popularity, determined to assert his right to justice and equal consideration, crossed the Rubicon 49 B.C., the legal boundary of Italy. A large party in Italy and in Rome sympathised with him. Italy was gained in sixty days. Pompey left for Greece. Cæsar, having first defeated the Pompeians in Spain, followed Pompey into Greece 48 B.C. The Battle of Pharsalia and the subsequent flight and murder of Pompey in Egypt left Cæsar the sole master of the (so-called) republic. Froude regards Pompey "as a weak, good man, whom accident had thrust into a place to which he was unequal; and, ignorant of himself and unwilling to part with his imagined greatness, he was flung down with careless cruelty by the forces which were dividing the world."¹ After settling the affairs of Egypt in favour of Cleopatra, and then defeating the successor of Mithridates in Asia Minor, Cæsar returned to Rome, 47 B.C. After a brief stay there he proceeded to Africa, and defeated the Pompeians at Thapsus (of whom Scipio, Juba, and Cato committed suicide), and returned to Rome, 46 B.C. Again he departed for Spain, and defeated the Pompeian party in Spain at Munda, Varus, Labienus, and thirty thousand of their army killed in the battle. Cnæus Pompey fled, but soon afterwards was killed. Cæsar again returned to Rome, 45 B.C., to celebrate his fifth triumph, and to carry on the reforms which he deemed necessary for the prosperity of the state. His measures were comprehensive and able: he revised the list of the recipients of corn, and reduced the number; he extended the franchise of Roman citizenship to Cisalpine Gaul, the Gallic legion, and all scientific men. To Transalpine Gaul he gave the Latin franchise. He restored the Roman senate, adding to it his friends, until it contained nine hundred members, many of whom were Gauls. The calendar was reformed; military colonies established in the provinces, of which Corinth and

¹ "Life of Cæsar."

Carthage were the most important; and endeavours were made towards mitigating the hardships of slave life. He entertained grand and gigantic schemes of first crushing the Parthians, then returning across the Tanais and Borysthenes, subduing the northern barbarians, and finally attacking the Germans in the rear, but on the 15th March, 44 B.C., he was assassinated in the senate-house by Brutus, Cassius, Casca, Cimba, Trebonius, and others. This murder might be cynically described, in the language of a modern French statesman, not merely as a crime, but worse, as a mistake, and a most unfortunate one. To use the expression of Cicero, "the tyrant is dead, but the tyranny survives." It survived and was perpetuated, and was too often exercised by men who, as the successors of Cæsar, were a disgrace to his name. Cæsar was no traitor to the republic, which had, before his time, ceased to exist except in name. Nor was he unfaithful to his colleague Pompeius. It was Pompey, whose jealousy permitted the recall of Cæsar to the position of a private citizen, while he himself had his army and retained all the authority of his position. Cæsar was willing to give up his army provided his rival did the same. Armies had ceased to belong to the republic, they now belonged to their leaders. In the possession of supreme power Cæsar honestly endeavoured to reform and recast the old régime, and to adapt it to the changed circumstances of the times. He had a heart, and never abandoned his friends as Pompey had done. "Whatever he undertook and achieved was penetrated and guided by the cool sobriety which constitutes the most marked peculiarity of his genius. To this he owed the power of living energetically in the present, undisturbed by recollection or expectation. . . . Cæsar was the entire and perfect man."¹ There are, however, other opinions of Cæsar's character worthy of consideration. Dr. Thomas Arnold, in his "History of Rome," remarks: "If from the intellectual we turn to the moral character of Cæsar, the whole range of history can hardly furnish a picture of greater deformity." In Froude's eyes he is a great political creator, a statesman with a single eye to justice and good government.² "Mommsen justifies the act of Cæsar, in substituting his own rule for that of the senate, by precisely the same reasoning which he employs to justify the senate of an earlier period for superseding the rule of the people. In each case the usurpation was rendered legitimate by exclusive ability to govern."³ Cæsar has the advantage of being, on the

¹ Mommsen, vol. iv. pp. 451-457. ² *Quarterly Review*, No. cxlviii. p. 68.

³ *Edinburgh Review*, No. cl. p. 512.

whole, better as a master than any of his competitors for power ; but neither he nor they can be justified, much less do they deserve eulogy. His death was followed by fourteen years of civil war, proscriptions, and misery.

11. The death of Cæsar left for a time Marc Antony, his lieutenant, at the head of affairs. The murderers, unable to oppose the popular feeling and the power of Cæsar's followers, fled from Rome to organise their armies in the provinces. Marc Antony had to compete with Octavius, the nephew of Cæsar, who, as his heir, claimed a position and a voice in the commonwealth. The great orator, Cicero, was opposed to Marc Antony, and at this time delivered his famous philippics in the senate against him. Marc Antony, checked at Mutina 43 B.C., found it necessary to come to terms with Octavius. The result was, not the re-establishment of the old oligarchy, but the formation of the second triumvirate (near Bonnonia) 43 B.C., consisting of Octavius, Lepidus, and Marc Antony. These three were to reign over Rome together; to possess the consular power in common for five years, and to dispose of all the magistracies. Their decrees were to have the force of law, without requiring the confirmation of the senate or people. In the disposal of the provinces the two Gauls fell to Antony, the Spains and provincia to Lepidus, Africa and the islands to Octavius. Proscriptions followed. The triumvirs framed a list of the names of those whose death would be regarded as advantageous to any of the three, and on this list each in his turn pricked a name. The consul Pedius was directed to put to death seventeen persons at once. This was done in the night. Antony's first victim was the orator Cicero. Froude speaks of Cicero as "a tragic combination of magnificent talent, high aspirations, and true desire to do right, with an infirmity of purpose and a latent insincerity of character which neutralised, and could almost make us forget, his nobler qualities."¹ Lepidus gave up his brother Paullus; after which, three hundred senators and two thousand knights were proscribed and perished. After thus securing Rome, by leaving no one able to raise resistance, Octavius and Antony defeated and slew Brutus and Cassius in two battles at Philippi 42 B.C., after these two aristocratic murderers, whom modern ignorance has styled patriots, had ruled over the East with such oppression and tyranny, that their defeat was received by the provinces as a blessing. The triumvirs then quarrelled. Antony seemed inclined to ally himself with Sextus Pompeius. Lepidus was

¹ "Life of Cæsar."

removed from the triumvirate, and an open rupture took place between Antony and Octavius. Antony was defeated at Actium 31 B.C., and retreated to Egypt, where he stabbed himself, and died in Cleopatra's arms 30 B.C.; her own suicide followed, and Octavius, better known as Augustus, returned to Rome, and is henceforth regarded as the first monarch of the empire of Rome. The system followed by the republic in appointing its prætors and consuls (on leaving office) to the government of distant provinces, with absolute power and with armies under their command, had borne its natural fruit. Pompey, Cæsar, and suchlike men, having once, for periods of years, exercised supreme power over nations larger and more populous than Italy, were naturally unwilling to submit to the authority of a degraded and selfish oligarchy as represented by the senate, or to an ignorant and greedy mob which had succeeded to the place of the Roman comitia. It was well for Rome that it fell into the hands of Augustus. Freeman defends the senate, and his remarks, so far as they apply to the general beneficial actions of the senate previous to the triumvirate, are just; but this was a very different senate under the dictatorship and murderous executions of the triumvirs. Upon this latter senate that of Augustus, renewed and reformed by him, was a great improvement, especially as it had no longer the power to plunder and tyrannise over the provincials. The time in which there had been free discussion in the old senate had long passed away, and there were few left who regretted the previous senates as assemblies "deserving the grateful remembrance of mankind."¹

12. "The hour has at length arrived for the full acquiescence of both nobles and people in the inevitable yoke impending upon them for a hundred years; but, if the hour has arrived, so has the man also. Octavius and his epoch were made for each other. At no other period could he have formed the monarchy on an immovable basis; but even at that era none but himself could so have fixed it. . . . The art of the last conqueror of the Romans lay in the concealment of his art, in persuading his subjects that the republic still continued to exist, while they were, in fact, no better than the slaves of a monarchical despotism."² All this is true, but the "despotism" was better than that triumviral anarchy and murder and a helpless senate. The "slavery" consisted not in the loss of constitutional government, but in the non-exercise, by a mob, of

¹ Freeman's "Essays," second series, pp. 337-339.

² Merivale, "Fall of the Roman Republic," p. 544.

suffrages, the abuse of which had ruined the republic. The position of Augustus was well defined in the expression of Tiberius, his successor: "I am master of my slaves, imperator of my soldiers, and prince of the citizens."¹ There was another side, by no means pleasing. From the will of the emperor there was, however, no escape. He might or not observe legal forms, or he might, by a quiet message, bid a man open his veins in his bath and die; or he might send his death-warrant to the greatest of his nobles by his soldiers, who could execute it without opposition. There was no safety in flight, for there were only barbarians outside the Roman world. The populace of Rome and the prætorian guards were the only powers which the emperors feared, and which were the only practical checks on his authority. Bunsen happily describes the imperial government as "a system of rule from above, without any degree of spontaneity from below."²

The Roman empire under Augustus contained a population estimated at from 85,000,000 to 120,000,000, one-half of which were slaves, or serfs, variously employed, some in trades, but all of them practically under the control of their masters. About 200 tribes or nations, exhibiting every variety of civilisation, language, and religion, were thus placed under a strong and generally equitable government. The army, a standing army of thirty legions, each averaging 12,000 men, in all 360,000, was stationed in the provinces, chiefly to guard the frontiers. Italy had 20,000 prætorian guards, whose head-quarters were at Rome. Five fleets were stationed in the Mediterranean and Black Seas and the British Channel. Gibbon gives the entire amount of the army and navy at 450,000. Excellent roads and regular posts kept up an easy communication between Rome and the distant provinces. The revenue of the empire has been estimated at from fifteen to twenty millions sterling (not including that portion of the cost of the armies and of the civil government of the provinces paid out of the provincial treasuries). In the administration of the government, Augustus and his immediate successors maintained the forms of the republic. He himself was dictator, imperator, tribune, censor, and pontifex maximus: all these offices united in him made him legally the sovereign of the empire. The consuls and magistrates were appointed as usual, but the offices were mere titles by which the friends of the imperator were rewarded. The senate was completely subservient,

¹ Merivale, "Fall of the Roman Republic," p. 547.

² *Edinburgh Review*, No. cxxix. p 330.

and the old assemblies of the people were by degrees discontinued. This mongrel race, demoralised by grants of corn and the idleness thus fostered by a mistaken charity, were truly what Cicero calls them, the "*fæx populi*"; they enjoyed their animal life cheered by the public games and spectacles, and could not regret the republican institutions, which were only remembered by the most aged; nor had they any wish to fall back upon a state of society in old republican Rome, in which every man who was a citizen had to work for his living, and fight gratis, or for a small pay, for the state. The government of the distant provinces was administered by Augustus and by the senate. Augustus had permitted the patronage and control of the senate over these provinces, which needed no armies for their defence; their governors were called proconsuls, and had no military power. Other provinces exposed to invasion, in which military governors were appointed by Augustus, were ruled by præses, legates, or proprætors, with regular salaries, and were under strict control, so that the provinces were great gainers by the transition from the oligarchic to the imperial government. The tyranny of the worst of the emperors, though a great evil to the senate and the higher classes of Rome, did not affect the populace or the provinces. A certain portion of the revenue was administered by the senate, but the larger portion by the emperor. His private revenue was derived chiefly from the public lands. Officers called procurators were appointed by the emperor to watch over and collect his revenues, and sometimes these men had the government of small provinces conferred upon them, as in the case of Pontius Pilate, who was Procurator of Judea. Egypt was governed by a Roman knight (*eques*) invested with almost regal power.

There was great variety of political status in the provincial towns of the Roman world, but, in all cases, a large amount of self-rule. Each conquering general, guided by a commission or instructions from the senate, had framed the law of each province, had fixed the amount of tribute, and had given or withheld special privileges to friends or foes. But the old forms of natural life were respected, and the provinces were left to manage their own local affairs as they pleased. Each province lived its separate life with its varying usages. The cities were either *coloniæ* or *municipia*, to which were granted the full Roman franchise. Others had the Latin rights, usually connected with the Latin race, and participating in its privileges. Others were free or federate cities, with the rights of freedom and immunity from taxes, guaranteed by special treaty. There were also stipendiary towns, subject to tax and tithe, but administered by their

own magistrates. Around each of these were grouped a number of villages, hamlets, cantons, more or less dependent on the central town. In towns of the higher class the magistrates held office only for a year: the duumviri (like the consuls), the two ædiles, two quæstors, or treasurers. The council (*ordo decurionum*) consisted of ex-magistrates, and others of local dignity and wealth. Popular meetings, in these cities, were held and votes taken of approval and disapproval, long after they had ceased in Rome itself. Popular contests were real, and accompanied by strong excitement (as in our own elections in England). These offices were rather burdensome than lucrative. In the decline of the empire, when the responsibility for the taxes was laid upon them, the burden was felt to be unbearable, and men were compelled by law to accept offices and obligations from which they endeavoured to escape.”¹

“There had been a general decline of population in the ancient world, which may be dated from the second century before Christ. The last age of the republic was, perhaps, the period of the most rapid exhaustion of the human race; but it was arrested under Augustus, when the population recovered for a time in some quarters of the empire, and remained at least stationary in others.”² Rome itself had a population of about 1,016,000,³ which may be arranged in four classes: the first consisting of the senatorial families, the equites, or knights, the functionaries, and citizens, whose incomes equalled 200,000 sesterces (equal to £1,700); the second class, inferior functionaries, bankers, merchants, traders, and artisans, who had their “colleges,” *i.e.*, clubs or guilds; the third class, the proletarians, rated according to numbers, who, having no property, paid no taxes, and lived upon the public largesses of corn. Their number in the time of Julius Cæsar and of Augustus was 320,000; the fourth class consisted of strangers and slaves. The free population and the slaves may be reckoned at half a million each; the garrison, under Nero, 16,000.

We must not conceal the cruelty of the Roman commonwealth towards the conquered. Witness the execution of Pontus, the gallant leader of the Samnites, 290 B.C. When Capua was taken, in the Second Punic War, the senators were beheaded, and the whole population, mainly a civilised and educated class, sold for slaves. Cæsar’s Commentaries abound in instances of cold-blooded cruelty which, at that

¹ W. W. Cope, “Early Empire.”

² Merivale, “Hist. of the Roman Empire,” vol. vii. p. 608.

³ According to Champagny, quoted by Sheppard, pp. 27-81.

time, were considered justifiable in war. Eight hundred cities were destroyed by him, provinces desolated, the populations reduced to slavery, thousands mutilated and drowned, and no matter to him, as they were not Romans. "He was chary of Roman life and Roman blood—he would spare it when it could be spared—but he would spill it like water when the spilling of it was necessary to his end."¹ The Veneti were severely punished for their resistance, the senate put to death, the people sold for slaves. At Avaricum (Bourges), out of a population of 40,000, only 800 escaped. And at Alesia (Alise) the same mercilessness was manifested. The brave Vercingetorix, who so nobly defended his people, and who at last gave himself up to Cæsar, inspired neither admiration nor pity. After an imprisonment of six years he was strangled, just as Cæsar's triumphal car was ascending the capitol. What a blot on the general magnanimity of Cæsar! But with him, as with all the Romans of his day, there was no respect for life, or for human rights, outside of Rome; and this led to an equal disregard of the life of the citizens of Rome itself. The instances here cited are but specimens of the recklessness of human life and the indifference to human suffering common both to the ancient Romans and Greeks. Neither must we forget "the inherent wickedness of the empire itself," to use the strong language of Freeman, which, though correct, must be taken in connexion with the fact that it was for the time a less evil than anarchy. "The Roman empire did its work in the scheme of Providence; it paved the way for the religion and civilisation of modern Europe . . . it may have been a necessary evil . . . a lesser evil in the choice of evils, but it was in itself a thing of evil all the same. It showed with ten-fold aggravation all that we look upon with loathing in the modern despotisms of Austria and Russia . . . whatever were its results, however necessary, it was in its own time, it was in itself a wicked thing, which for so many ages crushed all natural, all intellectual life in the fairest regions of three continents."²

13. The affairs of the Jewish nation, settled in Palestine (concentrated in the narrow limits of Judea), but mixed up with a Greek-Syrian population in the north (Galilee), form no part of the general history of this period. The conquests of Alexander and their division among his generals changed the condition of affairs in Egypt and Syria nominally, but left Judea as a sort of intermediary land, alternately subject to Egypt and Syria. The Jews remained unmolested

¹ A. Trollope, "Ancient Classics: Cæsar," p. 167.

² Freeman's "Essays," second series, pp. 335, 336.

placed under the power of Egypt, while inhabiting the rugged highland territory between the plains of the coast and the Jordan valley. The old Philistine cities, Gaza, Joppa, Accho, were rebuilt and settled by Greeks. So also Scythopolis and Cæsarea-Philippi to the north; to the east, Philadelphia and other towns beyond Jordan. After a contest of one hundred and forty years, Palestine became Syrian, 188 B.C. Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, endeavoured to destroy the Jewish religion and to establish his Grecian polytheism. (The sufferings of the Jews are exhibited in the books of Maccabees, and referred to in Hebrews, xi. 35-38.) Resistance began at Modin, 166 B.C., under a priest, Judas Maccabeus (the Hammer, called also the Asmonean, after his family name). Before his death, in battle, he had obtained an alliance with Rome, 161 B.C. Jonathan, his son, and Simon, the brother of Jonathan, secured the independence of the Jews 143 B.C. John Hyrcanus, son of Simon, maintained the national independence 141 B.C. He destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim 109 B.C. The Grecian tastes and the beginnings of the religious corruption are seen in Aristobulus I., who assumed the title of king 106 B.C., and in Alexander Jannæus, 104 B.C., and Hyrcanus II., 78 B.C. Aristobulus II. disputed the succession, and compelled Hyrcanus to resign. In this family quarrel Antipater, an Idumæan, and the Romans interfere. Hyrcanus was restored to the priesthood, but placed, not as king, but ethnarch of Judæa, 64 B.C., by Pompey. After the battle of Pharsalia, Julius Cæsar made Antipater Procurator of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, 48 B.C., Hyrcanus remaining High Priest. This was the beginning of the supplanters of the Maccabean (Asmonean) family. Herod, the son of Antipater, favoured by the Romans, became king 36 B.C. His cruelty and tyranny are well known. He died soon after the birth of our Lord, 4 B.C.

14. *India.* Buddhism continued to increase and rival Brahminism. In 247-244, Asoka, one of the successors of the great Chandragupta, was the leading protector of the Buddhists. Under him a grand council was held at Patna, 244 B.C., which revised the formulas of the system. It continued from this time to be the popular religion in India, and extended to Ceylon. The Greek kingdom of Bactria was destroyed by a Tartar tribe, 126 B.C. There were about eighteen native states of whose history in detail we know very little, and what is related of them is very doubtful. Vikramaditya, king of Ujjain, drove back the Scythian invasion 57 B.C.

China. The disordered state of China continued. The Chow Dynasty was superseded by the Tsin Dynasty, 255 B.C. In 246 B.C.

Che Hwang-te, the *first real emperor*, began to reign. His capital was Heen-yang (Segan Foo). He chastised the Heung-noo Tartars, and drove them to the mountains of Mongolia, put down rebellion, and ruled over all China proper. He began the great gigantic wall 214 B.C., and had all the books referring to the past history destroyed. On his death the empire was torn by dissensions until 206 B.C., when Kaou-te established the Han Dynasty (first at Lozong in Honan, and then at Changan in Shensi). His successor tried to recover the lost literature of old China, and partially succeeded. China was disturbed by the Heung-noo until 121 B.C., Woote subdued them. The Han Dynasty was ready to fall by the beginning of the tenth era.

Japan. The Mikado rulers advancing and pressing the Ainos further north.

15. LITERATURE. *Greek*: In philosophy we have to notice Arce-silaus, the founder of the Middle Academy, 278 B.C.; Pyrrho, of Elis, the Sceptical philosopher, 300-280; Carneades, the founder of the Third Academy, 213-129; Philo of Larissa, the founder of the Fourth Academy; and Antiochus of Ascalon, his pupil, 100-69 B.C. But, apart from the niceties of the philosophic school, the practical philosophy of the century and a half before Christ was either that of the Stoics, adopted by some of the wisest and best of the Romans, or that of Epicurus, modified to meet the growing taste for mere sensual enjoyments. Epicurus, who lived 340 to 270 B.C., was no sensualist, for while he taught that pleasure was the main end of life, he also taught that there could be no pleasure apart from virtue. There is no ground for the general misconception of the character of his philosophy. The *mathematical sciences* were patronised by the Ptolemies in Egypt; Euclid, the father of mathematics, 323-283 B.C.; Apollonius (conic sections) 250; Eratosthenes, mathematics and geometry, 175 B.C.; Hipparchus (162-127), the first cataloguer of the stars; Aristarchus of Samos, 280-264 B.C., anticipated the Copernican system, except the law of gravitation; Archimedes in Sicily, 212-146 B.C.; Aristophanes of Byzantium (under the Ptolemies, 213) invented the Greek accents; Aristarchus, a *grammarian* who studied Homer, 160-100, lived in Egypt. In *poetry* and Greek literature, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, 275 B.C.; the Alexandrine poets, Callimachus, 256, Apollonius Rhodius, 196 B.C., Theophrastus (the Characteristics), 280 B.C. Among the *historians* Berosus (History of Babylon), 300-280 B.C.; Polybius (History of Greece; a work "full of the most profound political wisdom"), 204-123; Arrian (History of Alexander), 100 B.C.; Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Roman History),

50 B.C.; and Diodorus Siculus, 60 B.C., who attempted a sort of universal history. *Latin*: The most ancient Latin is found in the song of the *Fratres Arvales*, an agricultural corporation adopted by the Romans from the Sabines, and in the *Laws of the Twelve Tables* (the decemviri), all of which had become obsolete in the second century before Christ. *Ennius*, a Greek, *was the first author in Latin literature*. He taught the Oscan and Greek languages, and was the friend and teacher of old Cato and the Scipios, 239–169 B.C. Livius Andronicus, Cneius Nevius Pacuvius, Accius, were *dramatic poets* 240–219 B.C. Nevius indulged in satire, which brought upon him the anger of the Scipios and the Metelli. Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus were *annalists* 225–119 B.C. Cato the Censor wrote on *husbandry*, 234–146 B.C. Plautus and Terence, the greatest of the *dramatists*, 190–146 B.C. The *Greek philosophy* was first introduced into Rome by the embassy sent by the Athenians, consisting of Carneades of the Academy, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic, and, although condemned by Cato and the old school, became popular among the Roman nobles. This study, and that of the Greek literature, was further promoted by the influence of the Achæan hostages, brought to Italy after the conquest of Achaia, 146 B.C., among whom was Polybius, the friend of Paulus Æmilius and of Scipio Africanus. From this time it became the fashion for all well-educated Romans to read, speak, and write the Greek language. The decay of the old Roman character has been attributed to the influence of the Greek philosophy, but this is a mistake. Roman integrity and simplicity had ceased to be prominent virtues of the Roman character long before the Greek philosophy was popular at Rome. Lucretius, the poet of the *Epicurean philosophy* and of the atomic theory, published his poem 57 B.C. The writings of Julius Cæsar (*Commentaries*), 100–45 B.C.; Cicero (*letters, orations, and philosophy*), 105–43 B.C.; Sallust (*history*), 86–46 B.C.; Varro (*agriculture and grammar*), 116–28 B.C.; and Nepos (*biographies*) 40 B.C. The *poets* of the Augustan age—Virgil, 71–19 B.C., Horace, 65 B.C.–8 A.D., Tibullus, 51 B.C., Catullus, 84–47 B.C., Ovid, 43 B.C.–18 A.D., Propertius, 24 B.C.—are well known. Mæcenæ was the great patron of literature, and Livy was the *historian*, 59–17 B.C.

JEWISH LITERATURE.—The foundation of Alexandria affected the literature of Judea. Thousands of Greeks were settled in that city and endowed with peculiar privileges. For them, and for the use of the Alexandrian library, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus 260 B.C., the translation of the Jewish Scriptures into Greek was commenced about 250 B.C., and perhaps completed by 200 B.C. This is called

the Septuagint, from a supposed company of seventy translators. There are also a series of writings in the Greek language which form the Apocrypha, often appended to the Old Testament, but not received as authoritative by the Protestant Churches. The most valuable of these are the Wisdom of Solomon, a philosophical treatise by some Alexandrian Jew, about 145 B.C.; the book of Ecclesiasticus, or, the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, written in Hebrew 280 or 219 B.C., and translated into Greek 230 or 180 B.C.; the two books of Maccabees (historical), probably written early in the first century B.C. Another apocryphal book not included in the collection appended to the Bible is the book of Enoch, supposed to be that quoted by the Apostle Jude; this book was written between 144 and 50 B.C. in the opinion of Ewald. The translation called the Septuagint had a very important influence in bringing the facts of the Jewish history and of the teachings of the prophets within the reach of the literary heathen. It became the version used exclusively by the Jews dispersed over the world, and even in Judea itself. The language of the Septuagint was the language mainly spoken by our Lord and his Apostles, and the language in which the Gospels and the Epistles were first written; though some think the Gospel of Matthew first appeared in the Hebrew-Syrian of that period.

State of the World at the Christian Era, 1 A.D.

EUROPE.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE comprised Gaul, Spain, Italy, Greece, Sicily, Thrace, Illyricum, Mœsia, Rhætia, with Crete and the Greek Islands; also Corsica and Sardinia.

SCANDINAVIA, with Germany, as yet inhabited by Teutonic tribes, pressed by Slavonians from the East.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS inhabited by Keltic races; a German emigration settled on the east coast.

ASIA.

ASIA MINOR and its petty kingdoms, with Syria, Armenia to the Euphrates, belonging to Rome.

ASIA, west of the Indus and east of the Euphrates, to the Parthians.

INDIA disturbed by the contests between the Buddhists and the Brahmins.

CHINA under the declining power of the Han Dynasty.

JAPAN under the Mikado rulers, gradually driving the Aionos northward.

AFRICA.

EGYPT and north Africa to Rome. The Berbers and other nomad races kept in check by the Roman power. The city of Carthage and territory adjacent had been re-colonised, 122 B.C., by the Romans.

ETHIOPIA had its own king at Meroë, and also in Abyssinia there were petty kingdoms, whose history is doubtful.

FIFTH PERIOD.

To the Final Division of the Roman Empire by Theodosius, 395 A.D.

I.—*The Empire to 395 A.D.*

I. THE firm establishment and long continuance of an empire comprising all the civilised nations of the world surrounding one great lake, the Mediterranean Sea, is a fact unparalleled in the past history of mankind, and one which cannot reasonably be expected to recur at any distant future. Its peculiar civilisation isolated it from all barbaric influences and sympathies. It was the world, the whole world, to the Roman, who could not conceive of any condition of society apart from the institutions of Rome. For four centuries the history of this empire is really the history of the world; with the exception of the Parthian and Persian semi-barbarous rule to the east of the Euphrates, and the vast and unexplored barbaric world to the north and east, occupying the countries now known as Scandinavia, Germany, Poland, Russia, and the vast region extending to the great wall of China. In this vast unknown region there were powerful tribes already beginning to press upon the Slavonic and German races, and preparing to occupy positions dangerous to the partially civilised races bordering on the Roman frontier. Long before, the Romans had had some experience of the bravery of the Keltic Gauls in the burning of Rome 395 B.C., in the war with the Cisalpine Gauls, 236–222 B.C., and in the fearful invasion of the Kimbri and Teutones, 113–101 B.C., from which they had been delivered by the victories of Marius. Thoughtful men might suppose that the barbaric power far beyond what had hitherto been encountered might be a source of trouble to the state, but no one

anticipated danger. So far, the barbarians had made raids simply for plunder, and the ability of the legions had on all occasions been equal to the task of repression and control. For four centuries the Roman world, except on its frontiers, knew nothing of war. There was internal peace and security; freedom of transit from Britain to the south of Egypt, and from the western Atlantic to the Euphrates; a general security of life and property such as had never been known before. Outwardly, there was what the world had never known before—a comity of nations united in one citizenship, the only palpable division being the predominance of the Latin language in the West, and that of the Greek in the East. The great lake, the Mediterranean, was the highway of commerce, the bond of union between the North and the South, the East and the West; the piratical fleets, which once had interfered with navigation, had been put down by the strong hand of Rome, and the Roman world had peace. Men with incomes derived from estates, the higher classes of Roman society, the financial companies which farmed the revenues, the trading classes, in fact, all who had property or position, might probably think that the golden age had commenced. How the slave, the gladiator, the serf, and the classes not included in the gifts of bread bestowed on the proletarian mob of Rome, regarded the world around them, we cannot tell; but we may imagine that, from *their* point of view, the prospect was by no means satisfactory. But then, as now, the prosperous classes were hardly aware of the pinch which was felt by the classes with which they seldom came in familiar contact. This increased and increasing harshness and selfishness of the Roman character, in the decline of the republic and during the empire, was, to some extent, combated and checked among the higher classes by the Stoic philosophy, and yet more largely and effectively in all classes by the spread of Christianity.

2. To assist the memory, it may be desirable to adopt the classification of the Roman emperors proposed by the able author of "*Italy and her Invaders.*"¹

(1) THE JULIAN AND CLAUDIAN EMPERORS.—Augustus, the Emperor, exercised an absolute despotism under the forms of the old republic (as already shown). One great event distinguishes his reign, the birth of our Lord at Bethlehem, shortly before the death of Herod the Great, king of Judea, under the protection of Rome 4 B.C. "Henceforward, the Roman empire acquires, in our eyes, a nearer interest; as a country to which we were before indifferent, it

¹ Thomas Hodgkin, 2 vols. 8vo., 1880.

becomes at once endeared to us, when we know it to be the abode of those we love. In pursuing the story of political crimes and miseries, there will be a resting-place for our imaginations, a consciousness that, amidst all the evil which is most prominent on the records of history, a power of God was silently at work, with an influence continually increasing, and that virtue and happiness were daily more and more visiting a portion of mankind which till now seemed to be in a condition of hopeless suffering. The reader who has accompanied us through all the painful details presented by the last century of the Roman commonwealth, will be inclined, perhaps, with us to rejoice in the momentary contemplation of such a scene of moral beauty."¹ But this period of the world's history was regarded by Livy as the beginning of a decline: "The day of action for doing and daring had gone by, and now the dead calm of the Pax Romana was spread over the earth." He hopes that "one reward of this my toil (his history) will be that, for a time at all events, I shall be enabled to forget the desolation which has come upon our nation, that has now reached a pitch of iniquity at which it can bear neither its own vices nor yet the remedies for them."² One great misfortune darkened the last days of Augustus, the defeat and destruction of Varus and his legions, numbering thirty thousand men, in the Teutoburg Forest in Germany, by the German hero Arminius, 9 A.D. This was deeply felt by the old emperor, and he was frequently heard crying out, "Varus, give me back my legions!" Tiberius succeeded, 14 A.D., an able but cruel tyrant. By his Procurator of Judea, Pontius Pilate, our Lord was crucified at Jerusalem, 30 A.D. While Tiberius "was most unpopular with every class at Rome . . . he was regarded by the provincials as a wise, a temperate, and even a beneficent sovereign. . . . It almost seems as if there had been one emperor in the capital and another outside the walls."³ The reason is, that in Rome there were numerous rich and influential families, many of them known to be opposed to the imperial rule, of whom the emperor was jealous, and from which jealousy they suffered. The asserted disgraceful excesses of the old Tiberius at Capri have possibly some foundation, but must be received with caution as the statements of personal enemies. Caligula was a madman, 37 A.D., but not without critical judgment, when he compared Seneca's disjointed sentences to sand without cement. Claudius, 41 A.D.,

¹ Dr. Thomas Arnold, "Encyc. Metrop.," vol. x. p. 380.

² "Ancient Classics: Juvenal," pp. 48, 49.

³ "Ancient Classics: Tacitus," p. 55.

had occasional glimpses of good sense and right feeling; he first admitted a Gaul into the senate, thus beginning the practice of infusing provincial blood into the Roman councils. Nero, who ruled from 54 to 68 A.D., began with promise of virtuous action, which was followed by the display of folly, and by the exercise of a capricious cruelty upon the wealthy and senatorial families at Rome. Under Nero the first persecution of the Christians commenced, after the fire which consumed a large portion of the city of Rome, 64 A.D. "Nero fiddled while Rome was burning," and charged the guilt of the fire to the Christians. In this persecution St. Paul, and probably St. Peter, suffered martyrdom, 64-68 A.D. In the opinion of Canon Farrar,¹ and others, Nero is the *typical* Antichrist of the Apocalypse. The tyranny of these emperors and of their successors met with no popular resistance, as it was mainly experienced by the higher classes, and was little known and cared for beyond the precincts of the court. The mongrel population of Rome were satisfied with their free grants of corn and the games and shows provided for them at the public cost, while the provinces had reason to be thankful for the jealous oversight of the imperial ruler, who would tolerate no injustice, at least, in his subordinates. With Nero the Julian and Claudian Cæsars became extinct 68 A.D. Of the Cæsarian family, numbering forty-three, thirty-two died violent deaths. After the brief rule and speedy deaths of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, Vespasian began the line of

(2) THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS.—Vespasian, the commander of the Eastern armies, began to reign 69 A.D.; he was compelled by the extravagance of his predecessors to replenish the treasury by increased taxation. Titus, his son, commander in the East, put down the rebellion of the Jews, destroyed the Temple and the city of Jerusalem, according to the prediction of our Lord (Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi.). Titus succeeded Vespasian, 79 A.D.; he is called "the delight of mankind." Domitian, his brother, who succeeded, 81 A.D., was an able but stern tyrant. It was but small comfort to the sufferers to know that "in all his cruelty and wickedness there was an intelligent purpose," that is to say, from his point of view.² With him the Flavian house came to an end. He was the last of the twelve Cæsars to whom that term has been specially applied.

(3) THE ADOPTED EMPERORS began with the aged Nerva, chosen by the senate, 96 A.D. With his reign commenced a period of

¹ "Life of St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 292. ² "Ancient Classics: Pliny," p. 26.

eighty-four years, which Gibbon terms the happiest of all periods in the history of the world. "If a man were called upon to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus, 96-180 B.C. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose character and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws."¹ Trajan, 98 A.D., was a conqueror who carried the legions beyond the Euphrates, humbled the Parthians, and extended the northern frontier by the annexation of Dacia. Hadrian, 117 A.D., "the most versatile and paradoxical of men," travelled over the whole empire, and suppressed with great severity an insurrection of the Jews. By his "Perpetual Edict," he simplified the rules and forms of law, and prepared the way for the codifications of the later emperors. Antoninus succeeded 138 A.D. "The consent of antiquity plainly declares that Antoninus was the first, and, saving his colleague and successor Aurelius, the only one of the emperors who devoted himself to the task of government with a single view to the happiness of his people . . . he equally deserved to be called the Numa of the empire, but his great merit . . . was his protection of the Christian."² Marcus Aurelius, 161 A.D., had a laborious and disturbed reign, through wars with the Parthians and the invasions of the northern tribes. A terrible plague, brought by the armies from the East, spread over the empire, followed by a long-continued scarcity by fires and earthquakes; the cruel persecution of the Christians followed the panic terror caused by these calamities. Niebuhr is of opinion that the ancient world never recovered from the loss of population occasioned by this pestilence, which had a second outbreak in the reign of Commodus, during which two thousand died daily in Rome. From this time the decline of the power of Rome began. The barbarian power was aggressor; that of Rome was purely defensive. The emperor, whom Lecky calls "the last and most perfect representation of

¹ Gibbon's "Roman Empire," chap. ii.

² Merivale, "History of Rome," p. 533.

Roman Stoicism,¹ was conscious even before the mass of his countrymen of the downward course on which the empire had entered. The despondency of the philosophic emperor is strongly marked in the book of 'Meditations' In the mind of Aurelius Stoicism became more than ever a matter of conscience and religion. . . . The fastidious pride of the Roman philosopher could not brook the simple creed on which the Christian leant, and by which he ruled his actions. To live for the state was the highest social duty in the eyes of the Romans, and especially in the eyes of the Roman emperors. While the people denounced the new believers as offenders against the majesty of the gods of Rome, Aurelius was not unwilling to punish them as offenders against her civil principles it is but too certain that the last and purest teaching of heathen morality issued in a deadly conflict with the truth in Jesus Christ."² Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius, succeeded 180 A.D.; his mad career ended with his murder, 192 A.D. Up to this period the prescription of law and usage had been carefully observed by the ruling power from Augustus (except by the mad emperors), each despot professed to be guided by the traditions and precedents of the republic. But the military revolution by which the empire was distracted established the direct supremacy of the army for succeeding generations. Thus we come to a new series of military rulers, dependent on the will of the army.

(4) THE BARRACK EMPERORS, the creation of the prætorian guards of Rome or by the armies on the frontiers. Some excuse may be found for the soldiery, in the small pay and the excessive price of the necessaries which the soldiers themselves had to provide. The full pay was eight pence a day, with deductions only five pence. All arts and manufactures had declined as the better instructed slaves died out, and all articles of manufacture became inferior and dearer. The cost of covering for the feet was equal to twenty-two francs; beef and mutton, two and a half francs the pound; pork, three francs sixty centimes; poor wine, one franc eighty the litre; a fat goose, forty-five francs; a hare, thirty-three francs; a hundred of oysters, twenty-two francs. This is the view of Michelet (i. 24), but surely some of these prices are under peculiar circumstances. The emperors were at last obliged to clothe and feed their troops. Pertinax, a brave ruler, perished in a mutiny of the soldiers. Didius Julianus purchased the empire from the mutineers, but soon

¹ "History of Christian Morals," vol. i. p. 316.

² Merivale, "History of Rome," pp. 539, 540.

perished. Septimius Severus, by the help of the army of Pannonia, became emperor 193 A.D., ruled sternly but wisely until 211 A.D. Caracalla, his son, a mad tyrant, conferred the citizenship upon the whole of the free population of the empire, "annihilating legal distinctions;" this act completed the work, which trade, literature, and toleration to all religions but one were already performing, and left, so far as we can tell, only two nations still cherishing a national feeling. The Jew was kept apart, by his religion, the Greek boasted his intellectual superiority 215 A.D.¹ Between Caracalla, who perished 217 A.D., to the reign of Diocletian, sixteen emperors reigned during a period of 65 years up to 282 A.D. Among these were Macrinus, Elagabalus, and Alexander Severus, the latter of these firmly opposing the corruption of his age; Maximin, 235-8 A.D., who repulsed the German and other barbarians; Philip, who in 248 A.D. celebrated the secular games in honour of the one thousandth year from the foundation of Rome; Decius, the persecutor of the Christians, who died bravely opposing the Goths, 251 A.D. These Goths, originally from Scandinavia, settled in the Ukraine, and took possession of Dacia, and then crossed the Danube into Mœsia. Gallus, 251-253 A.D., consented to pay them a yearly tribute. A great famine and plague over southern Europe, from 252 to 260 A.D., is said to have carried off one-half of the population. Valerian, after a series of wars with the barbarians, was taken prisoner by the Persians, 160 A.D. Gallienus, 260-268 A.D., was successful against the Persians and Germans; the latter advanced as far as Ravenna. At this time thirty aspirants for the empire were in the field; they were called "the thirty Tyrants." Among these, Odenatus, of Palmyra, and his wife Zenobia, also Tetricus in Gaul. Claudius II. defended the Alemanni and Goths, 268-270 A.D. Aurelian re-established the empire, but relinquished Dacia to the Goths. Alarmed by the invasions of Italy by the Marcomanni and Alemanni, he wisely enlarged and strengthened the walls of Rome. The Emperors Tacitus, Probus, and Carus, 275-282 B.C., were fully occupied in the defence of the frontier. Probus first began on a large scale to form settlements of the barbarians on the frontiers—on the Rhine, the Danube, in Thrace, Illyria, and in Britain. The army had received recruits from this source from the time of Julius Cæsar, whose Germanic legions won the battle of Pharsalia. The prætorian life-guards of Tiberius were Germans. "Many writers have condemned this plan of barbaric enlistment, and have seen in it one of the

¹ Bryce, "History of the Roman Empire," p. 6.

causes of the fall of the empire ; they do not see that it was a simple necessity. It may have taught the discipline of Rome, but without it Rome could not have held Italy for a week. The degraded rabble of foreigners and freedmen who filled her streets would not have stood a single shock of northern war.”¹ Frequent and serious seditions in the armies and the relaxation of military discipline emboldened the barbarians to make these inroads into the empire. The dislike of the Roman population for military life obliged the emperors to depend upon barbarian volunteers. By degrees, these came to form the largest and most effective part of the Roman legions ;² after Constantine, they formed the majority of the troops ; after Theodosius, a Roman soldier is an exception. The evils arising out of the absence of any fixed law of succession to the throne are obvious in the history of the emperors. From Augustus to Diocletian, nine emperors fell victims to private conspiracies ; eighteen were slain by a seditious soldiery ; only twelve died in peaceable possession of their dignities ; while thirty aspirants to the empire had fallen in the attempt. Diocletian, 284–305 A.D., the son of a slave, had risen to the consulship and the government of Moesia, and was felt to be the man needed to meet the emergencies of the state, distracted by rebellion within and threatened by the barbarians outside. Having chosen Maximian as his colleague, he celebrated with him the last triumphal procession ever held in Rome, 303 A.D. Milan was made the seat of the government for the west, and Nicomedia for the east. Diocletian is thus the first of the

(5) PARTNERSHIP EMPERORS. “Recognising the impossibility of properly ruling these vast dominions from only one seat of government ; recognising also the inevitable jealousy felt by the soldiers of the provinces of their more fortunate brethren, under the shower of donatives at Rome, he divided the Roman world into four great prefectures, which were to be ruled, not as independent states, but still as one empire, by four partners in one great imperial firm. This principle of partnership or association was made elastic enough to include also the time-honoured principle of adoption.”³ By taking a colleague and then appointing two Cæsars, Diocletian gave a fourfold personality of imperial rule, hoping to act with fourfold imperial power in four imperial positions, the immediate objects being to check the rising up of pretenders to the empire, and the

¹ Sheppard, pp. 171, 172.

² Bryce, “History of the Roman Empire,” p. 15.

³ Hodgkin, “History of Italy,” pp. 1, 16.

more effective defence of the frontiers against the barbarians. "The founding of the kingdoms of modern Europe might have been anticipated by two hundred years, had the barbarians been bolder, or had there not arisen in Diocletian a prince active, adroit and politic enough to bind up the fragments before they had lost all cohesion, meeting altered conditions by new remedies. By dividing and localising authority, he confessed that the weaker heart could no longer make its pulsations felt to the body's extremities. He parcelled out the supreme power among four persons, and then sought to give it a factitious strength by surrounding it with an Oriental pomp which his earlier predecessors would have scorned."¹ A pompous phraseology was introduced (too much of which is left to lower the purity of language and to lessen the reverence due to legal authority even in our day); for instance, our clemency; my eternity; the illustrious; the spectabiles; the clarissimi; the perfectissimi; the egregii, &c.; sickening and silly epithets. Diocletian's colleagues generally resided at Milan, or Arles, or Trèves; at the instigation of Galerius, Diocletian became a persecutor of the Christians, while Constantine Chlorus, the other colleague, was favourable to them. When Diocletian thought fit to abdicate and retire to Salona, he obliged his colleague Maximian to retire also, 305 A.D. After some confusion in the succession of the emperors and the Cæsars, Constantine the Great, the son of Constantine Chlorus, became sole emperor, 323 A.D. He is the first of the

(6) THEOLOGICAL EMPERORS. Constantine removed the seat of the empire to the new city of Constantinople, which he had founded and called by his name. "The important results of this measure have vindicated the wisdom of Constantine." The new city was fit to do a work which Rome was incapable of doing. As a city, as a fortress, as a local seat of government, it has been more eternal than old Rome; it never opened its gates to a slave or barbarian conqueror until 1453 A.D. It has been for fifteen hundred years an imperial city, and seems as if destined to be the seat of the empire of two worlds."² Constantinople secured the Eastern Empire, and perpetuated its existence for ten centuries after the Western Empire had fallen. A new organisation was given to the empire, and the civil and military appointments were separated.

3. The conversion of Constantine to Christianity was, no doubt, the result of his personal convictions. There might also be some

¹ Bryce, "History of the Roman Empire," p. 8.

² Freeman's "Essays," third series.

admixture of policy. Christianity, though at that time less pure than in the second century, had made itself felt as a power in the empire. Rome, the stronghold of paganism, was not friendly to the Constantines: the old paganism existed without life or zeal; the new religion was all life and activity; in faith and zeal every other system was not to be compared to it; and in intellectual energy it was more than equal to the pagan mind of the age. The lonely man, unhappy in his family and without the solace of those friendly relations with equals which could not be realised by the emperor, found consolation in the affection and admiration of the Christian bishops and clergy with whose interests he had identified himself. Of his sincerity there can be no doubt. The profound spiritual truths of Christianity were scarcely appreciated by him, but he found a firm foundation for his faith in the historical evidences afforded by the gospels and epistles, and in the traditions of the Churches. In his public and domestic life there is much that is painful to narrate. The deaths of his wife, of his son, and of his father-in-law and brother-in-law throw a shade over his character which cannot be removed nor even extenuated. These events help to illustrate the hardness of the Roman character in domestic relations; yet Constantine's severity, however guilty the sufferers may have been, cannot be defended. But, in justice to this great but imperfect character, we must remember that, while we know his crimes, we know but little of the malign influences to which he was subjected, or of his deep remorse, of which his heathen contemporaries speak. He went steadily forward in the main purpose of his later life, the advancing the interests of the Christian religion. "In rapid succession the act of toleration, the observance of Sunday, the public prayers in the army, the abolition of the punishment of crucifixion, the encouragement of slave emancipation, the prohibition of astrological divination, of cruel and licentious rites and gladiatorial games, became law. Every one of these acts was a gain to the empire and to mankind, such as not even the Antonines had ventured to attempt, and of these benefits none has been altogether lost. Undoubtedly, if Constantine has to be judged by the place which he occupies among the benefactors of mankind, he would rank, not among the secondary characters of history, but among the very first."¹ ". . . . It is one of the most tragical facts of all history (says John Stuart Mill) that Constantine, rather than Marcus Aurelius, was the first Christian emperor. It is a bitter

¹ Stanley, "Eastern Churches," p. 195.

thought how different the Christianity of the world might have been had it been adopted as the religion of the empire under the auspices of Marcus Aurelius instead of those of Constantine.”¹ This is the expression of a natural feeling ; but is not the power and reality of Christian truth more fully manifested in the subjugation of a character so wayward and imperfect as that of Constantine, than it would have been in the case of the philosophic emperor who was “not far from the kingdom of heaven”? He died 22 May, 337 A.D. “So passed away the first Christian emperor, the first defender of the faith, the first imperial patron of the Papal See, and of the whole Eastern Church, the first founder of the Holy Places—pagan and Christian, orthodox and heretical, liberal and fanatical, not to be imitated or admired, but much to be remembered and deeply to be studied.”² The empire was divided between his sons: Constantine II., who ruled over the west ; Constantius over the east ; and Constans the central provinces. By the death of Constantine, 340 B.C., and of Constans, 350 B.C., Constantius was left sole emperor. He was a persecutor of the orthodox party, but was manfully resisted by the great Athanasius, whose single-handed opposition to the Arian world has extorted the admiration of even Gibbon. Julian the Apostate succeeded his uncle Constantius, 361 A.D. Having no reason to love the religion of his uncles, he became, through the influence of pagan literature and philosophy, desirous of re-establishing the ancient idolatry ; Christians were removed from public employment, and all the influence of the government employed to decry Christianity, but with little effect. In other respects he was a brave and able ruler, whom Gibbon delights to honour as the opponent of the Christian faith, but was also compelled to censure for his pitiful superstition and vanity. He was killed in battle with the Persians, 363 A.D. The attachment to paganism, says Neander, lingered especially in many of the ancient and noble families of Greece and Rome, among old or new families who wished to be thought old, and who would be sure to take up the cause of ancestral evidence against modern innovation. Jovian, his successor, proclaimed universal toleration, and died a few months after his accession. He is the last of the Theological emperors.

(7) THE SOVEREIGNS OF THE SINKING EMPIRE, Valentinian I. and Valens, 364 A.D. The Huns having driven the Goths from Dacia, and compelled them to cross the Danube into the Roman territory, the fugitives were at first permitted to settle in Mœsia. These Goths,

¹ Quoted by Stanley, “Eastern Churches,” p. 185.

² *Ibid.*, p. 220.

properly supported by the Roman power, might have opposed an effective barrier to the attacks of the Huns, but, by the tyranny of the Roman governor, they were driven to rebellion, and over-ran Mœsia, Thrace, and Macedonia. Valens was defeated and killed by them near Adrianople 378 A.D. Theodosius the Great, his successor, made peace with the Goths, settling them in Mœsia, Thrace, and in Asia Minor. In the west, the family of Valentinian I., consisting of Gratian and Valentinian II., were destroyed by the rebels Maximus and Eugenius. Theodosius avenged their death, and became sole emperor, 394, 395 A.D. On his death, 395 A.D., the final division of the empire took place. The east and the west never again formed one empire; the separation was made permanent by differences in theological opinions and in the usages of the Latin and Greek Churches.

4. So far, outwardly, the empire seemed to be a permanent reality, as in the days of Augustus and the Antonines. It seemed to the men of that day identified with the existence of the social order and stability of the world itself. There was nothing in the relative positions of the empire and the barbarians outside which implied any superiority on the part of the latter. Under wise arrangements, the pressure of the barbarian forces on the frontier, by the judicious settlement of border territory, and by timely support of friendly and semi-civilised tribes against their fiercer enemies, might have become its military defence—its outward barrier at least. The real weakness of the empire arose from the pressure of taxation (which neutralised the advantages of a high degree of personal liberty and of self-municipal government in the provinces), the practical effect of which was to render the empire not worth the sacrifices necessary to be made in its defence. The central government of the empire had failed to carry out the end of all good government, the well-being of society; its fiscal laws were a barrier in the way of progress; the whole structure of Roman society was decaying and past repair. The temporary improvement of trade, manufactures, and agriculture under the early empire had long ceased. The provincials only knew the central government as an exactor of taxes, and they had no inducement to fight for, and die in defence of, the unity of the empire.

II.—*The Cause of the Decline of the Empire.*

5. The causes to which the decline of the empire may be traced had been operating for centuries. (1) *The numerical decline of the free*, especially the *agricultural population* first observable in Italy. In Italy the small landholders, the class from which the armies of the

republic were drawn, gradually disappeared, consumed in war, or driven by debts incurred by the wars, had sold their small farms to the larger proprietors. Thus agriculture gave place to pasturage, and the land was in charge of the slaves of the landholders. Infanticide had become common among all classes, as children were a burden to the luxurious inhabitants of the large cities as well as to the poor. In such an artificial state of society, whether in the old world or in the new, surreptitious checks upon population imply a hardness and coarseness of feeling indicative of a corrupt society hastening its own extinction. (2) *Latifundia*, or, in other words, the monopolising of the arable and pasture lands of Italy and the provinces by the large proprietors, chiefly the senatorial and official families. The public lands, the property of the state, were rented mainly in large portions to the capitalists, or the senatorial official. The laws to restrain and limit the extent of these properties, called the agrarian laws, which caused so much dissension in Rome under the republic, were evaded, and under the empire had become a dead letter. In process of time the nominal tenant claimed the proprietorship. These large territories laid out for the pasturage of cattle required fewer slaves, and excluded the free cultivator. (3) *The increase of the slave population*, not only on the large estates, but in the cities, as servants and artificers, was a serious evil. Some great families possessed in their households large numbers, either at Rome or in their suburban villas. No room was left for the free mechanic or manufacturer. It is calculated that at least one-half of the population of the empire was composed of the slave class; hence the rapid decline of the productive power of the empire, and the increasing poverty of all classes of the population. These slaves were men of the same colour as the free class. Their condition varied with their education and the character of their masters. In the rural districts there was no influence of opinion in favour of humanity; and even such a man as Cato the Elder could discuss merely as an economical question the advantages and disadvantages of working the slave to a premature death, or prolonging life by a liberal usage for the sake of the profit of the natural increase by births. Slave life had been lightly regarded. A million perished in the Servile War in Sicily; 60,000 in the rebellion of Spartacus, put down by Crassus. The establishments of the wealthy contained from 200 to 4,000. Some Roman families owned on their estates 10,000 to 20,000. The story in Tacitus of the execution of all the 400 slaves of one of the Cornelian families, because of the murder of the master by one of the slaves, illustrates the position of their

class. A slave was simply an animal, sometimes a highly educated man. A slave could live in hope of a considerate master or the prospect of manumission; this was the forlorn hope of the slave. The teachings of Christianity were received readily by the better class of the slave population in Rome. (4) *Proletaria* naturally follows latifundia and slavery; and to understand the meaning of these words, latifundia and proletaria, is to understand the history of the progress and decline of society in the civilised world. The population of Rome and of the larger cities, as Carthage, consisted partly of an idle class, maintained by supplies of corn from the state and amused by gladiatorial shows and public games. In these there was no support for law and order, but an element of danger equal to that of slavery. The government which fed and amused them had to watch them jealously as an inimical power. In Rome, Augustus fed 300,000 of this class. Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines increased the number to 500,000, and their successors had a still harder task to perform in supporting the multitude, who had neither property nor the knowledge of any useful art by which they might earn their living. These free-born state paupers were for the most part beggars, idlers, badly clothed, even in winter, with a tunic, rarely with a toga. What we call the middle class, which constitutes the healthy bulk of modern society, appears to have been confined to such a small number of unimportant individuals in the cities as to have escaped the notice of historians. (5) *The necessary increased and increasing expenditure of the imperial government.* For some years, during the later rule of the republic and during the reign of the early emperors, the accumulated wealth derived from the plunder of Macedonia, Carthage, Asia, and Egypt more than met the extravagance of the most reckless of the emperors. Some of the emperors were economical. Tiberius and the Antonines are said to have left in the treasury sums equal to twenty-six or twenty-eight millions of sterling money. The exact revenue derived from the taxes upon property, the poll-tax, the customs, and the tributes of the provinces cannot be ascertained, the estimates varying from fifteen to forty-six millions sterling, according to the nature of the calculations, whether based on gross amount paid by the people, or on the net amount transmitted to the treasury, deducting the cost of the provincial administration. The wars, which rendered necessary a large expenditure on the frontier armies, the cost of four emperors in the place of one, the largesses given to the soldiery, the bribes to the barbarians on the frontiers, added largely to the public burdens. A modern financier, by a wise and just arrangement of the incidence of taxation, might have rendered the

payment more easy. But we must not forget that for two or more centuries the wealth of the empire consisted mainly in the stock of the hoarded plunder gradually expended by the government. There was very little creation of fresh wealth either by agricultural or manufacturing industry. In modern times we can calculate the value of the national industry annually by its exports and imports. No one has attempted to guess the productive power of the industry of the Roman empire.

(6) A system of taxation, oppressive and unjust. The taxes levied consisted of (a) the customs duties on imports, &c. ; (b) a land-tax, made on the basis of a census and survey taken every fifteen years. The land was valued according to its produce (including the slaves and the cattle). This tax was partly paid in coin and partly in produce, as corn, oil, wine, wool, which articles were conveyed to the imperial depot at the cost of the tax-payer. There was no power to make reductions or compensations, and money was not accepted for articles payable in kind. Hence, in many cases, cultivation became unprofitable and fell into disuse. Within sixty years after the death of Constantine the government was obliged to relieve from taxation 330,000 acres in Campania, the most fertile land in Italy, equal to one-eighth of the whole surface. This land had become exhausted and unproductive through the neglect of manure ; (c) a capitation tax amounting to £9 per head, but by head is meant more than several heads counted as one, in the case of the poor, while the rich were counted not by units, but as heads, according to the amount for which they were deemed liable ; (d) a lustral or trade contribution on persons in professions, trades, &c., paid every fourth year ; (e) crown money (the aurum coronarum), exacted on any occasion of a public or private nature which could be put forth as an excuse for further taxation ; (f) the weight of taxation was felt all the heavier after the beginning of the second century, from the gradual disappearance of the gold and silver in circulation. The gold and silver of the empire was always going out in subsidies, or in articles of Eastern luxury, and there were no mines of the precious metals largely productive, and no manufactured articles the demand for which would have spared the bullion. The fiscal system of the empire rapidly overtook the profits of labour and of trade, and soon began to prey upon the capital of the trader and the cultivator, reaching the point of declension in which industry and enterprise are paralysed. (7) *The mode of levying the taxation* was peculiarly oppressive and unjust. A fixed amount, according to the census, was required from a town or district, which must be paid. Whatever failure might have occurred in production, either from the

seasons or from the abandonment of cultivation by impoverished landholders or occupiers of houses, or from any other cause, had to be made good by the solvent proprietor. So also in the larger towns in which corporations (*curia*) existed. The members of the *curia* (the *decuriones*) comprised the persons possessing property equal in value to twenty-five acres of land (more or less); these, the governing class, were made responsible for the amounts due by the community to the revenue, and they were empowered to levy the same from the inhabitants, and if these could not pay the *decuriones* must themselves find the amount. They had also to find horses and equipages for the judges and all civil and military servants travelling on the business of the state. As population and wealth declined year by year, the burden was felt to be intolerable even before the time of Trajan, but it had to be borne; there was no escape, as no member of the *curia* could remove from the city, or give up his official position, except by the abandonment of his property. No excuse was admitted, not even (in Christian times) a desire to enter the Church or the imperial army. Hence we may understand the gradual impoverishment of the landed proprietors and of the citizens as the normal condition of Roman life in the decline of the empire especially. An appointment to office in the *curia* was considered as nearly equal to a sentence of confiscation of property. Large numbers of the cultivators of Gaul especially fled to the forests and the mountains and became brigands. From the era of Diocletian, 300 A.D., these *Bagaudæ*, as they were called, became a cause of alarm to the ruling powers. Men with property began to doubt whether the evils of their position as Roman citizens were not greater than the advantages derived from their responsibility to the Roman government, and then, as a natural consequence, to look upon the barbarian rule as a lesser evil than the Roman tax-gatherer. It is a remarkable fact that the Italians and the provincials soon lost all fear of barbarian rule. The imperial mercenary troops and the barbarian chiefs might fight for the possession of the land while the population looked on with indifference. Judging from the picture of the oppression and misery connected with the collection of the taxes, drawn by Lactantius (300-325 A.D.), we need not wonder at this indifference towards the imperial rule. "It were impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every province and town; but the public distress, the universal mourning was when the scourge of the census came, and its takers, scattering themselves in every direction, produced a general confusion, that I can only liken to the misery of a hostile invasion, or of a town abandoned to the soldiery. The fields were measured

to the very clods, the trees counted, each vine plant numbered, cattle registered as well as men. The crack of the lash and cry of the tortured filled the air. The faithful slave tortured for evidence against his master, the wife to depose against her husband, the son against the sire In taking ages they added to the years of the children and subtracted from those of the elderly. Not satisfied with the returns of the first enumerators, they sent a succession of them, who each swelled the valuation as a proof of service done, and so the imposts went on increasing. Yet the number of cattle fell off and the people died. Nevertheless, the survivors had to pay the taxes of the dead.”¹ Constantine, the Christian emperor, endeavoured in vain to ameliorate these evils. The necessities of the state were imperative. Having swallowed up income and profit, they were now devouring the capital of the population. (8) *The deep corruption of life and manners in the Roman world.* “This taint was not found in the genuine old Roman character, but was imported into it from Greece. Looking back through the mists of pre-historic time, we can clearly discern the Aryan progenitors of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Goths, cherishing certain religious beliefs, and certain ideas of a strong and pure morality, which guarded the sanctity of the home. The Teutons, when they descended upon the dying empire, still preserved that precious Aryan inheritance intact. The Greeks had long since lost it, or bartered it away for other gifts—the products of their delicious climate, their sensibility to artistic impression, an analytical intellect, and a capacity for boundless doubt. In later ages, Rome, influenced by her Hellenic sister, had lost it too, and the corruption of her great cities showed, in all its hideousness, the degradation which might be achieved by a civilisation without morality and without God.”² The classical writers testify to the correctness of St. Paul’s description of the moral depravity of the ancient world.³ So also “the relics of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the satires of Persius and Juvenal, the epigrams of Martial, and the terrible records of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius. And yet, even beneath this lowest deep there is a lower deep, for not even in their dark pages are the depths of Satan so shamelessly laid bare to human gaze as they are in the sordid fictions of Petronius and Apuleius.”⁴ Family life, once a sacred thing, so that for 520 years a divorce had been unknown, became corrupt. “Women were

¹ Lactantius, “De Morte,” quoted by Michelet, vol. i. p. 241.

² Hodgkin, “History of Italy,” &c., vol. i. p. 520.

³ Romans i. 18-32.

⁴ Farrar, “Early Days of Christianity,” vol. i. p. 2.

married to be divorced, and divorced in order to marry again ; and noble matrons counted the years, not by the consuls, but by their discarded husbands.”¹ “The theatrical and amphitheatrical performances of that age, idolatrous in their origin and unspeakably immoral in their tendency,” fostered that indifference to human suffering, the result of which is obviously displayed in the toleration of gladiatorial combats. Augustus had in his time exhibited 8,000 gladiators and 3,500 wild beasts. In the sham sea-fights of Claudius 19,000 men fought in each. Titus in one day butchered thousands of Jews in the games at Berytus. In Trajan’s games 10,000 men had to fight each other. In all these cases the fighting was real, and there was great slaughter. The miserable condition of the slave populations also was a reproach to humanity. These cultivated heathens of Rome were “without excuse,” for although the Epicurean and the Sceptical philosophy had shaken the foundations of the old Roman morality, the Stoic philosophy, plainly and practically taught in the writings of Epictetus and others, had appealed to the moral sense and the higher aspirations of mankind. Pitiable, indeed, was the moral and intellectual position of the upper classes of Roman society. “They were destitute of faith, yet terrified at scepticism. They had long learned to treat the current mythology as a mass of worthless fable . . . but they were the ready dupes of every wandering quack who chose to assume the character of a mathematicus or a mage. Their official religion was a decrepit theogony ; their real religion was a vague and credulous fatalism which disbelieved in the existence of the gods, or held with Epicurus that they were careless of mankind. The mass of the populace either accorded to the old belief, which saved them the trouble of giving any thought to the matter . . . or else they plunged with eager curiosity into the crowd of foreign cults, among which a distorted Judaism took its place.”² Christianity had already begun to vindicate the unity and brotherhood of the human family in connexion with the great truth of God’s universal love and purpose of mercy towards all mankind. Such teachings, we know, were not without their influence ; they attracted especially the slave class and the freedmen, who found in the brotherhood of the Church that fraternity for which they yearned. Opinions and principles which man’s higher nature recognised as good by slow degrees changed the character of society. Their influence in our day, though checked by self-indulgence, by self-conceit, and by the intense

¹ Seneca, quoted by Farrar, “Early Days of Christianity,” vol. i. p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13.

absorption of men's minds in the pursuit of material interests, is on the increase, and will, we trust, at some future period renovate the world. (9) *No national patriotism found place in the empire of Rome*, nor could any provincial patriotism supply its absence. The provincials witnessed generally with indifference the supercession of the old officials, and made easy terms with their barbarian masters. No glorious forgetfulness of self, no efforts of despairing patriotism graced the extinction of the Roman empire in the West. Duruy, quoted by Merivale, truly remarks, "The old age of nations is rarely venerable, least of all that of Rome."

III.—Beyond the Roman World to the East.

6. THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE continued to be the enemy of the empire, as it had been of the republic. Originating in the revolt of an Indo-European race from the north, which had expelled the governor appointed by the Seleucidæ of Syria, 261–248 B.C., it remained under the Arsacidæ until 226 A.D., when the Parthian rule was set aside by one Artaxerxes, a native of Farz, who established the dynasty of the Sassanides as rulers over the Persian empire, and revived the old Persian faith of Zoroaster. INDIAN history during this period is very difficult to unravel. Buddhism (a reaction against Brahminism), which had established itself in India under King Asoka, 250 B.C., was holding its ground against its Brahminical opposers. In CHINA, the first Han Dynasty was supplanted by the Eastern Han Dynasty under Lew Sew, 23 A.D. This Dynasty fell 220 A.D., and China was for a long time (above three centuries) distracted by civil wars. From 221 to 265 A.D. is the epoch of the three kingdoms, Wei, Wai, and Shuh. In 265 A.D. the Dynasty of Tsin in Honan reunited the empire for a short time, when it was again divided. Buddhism was first introduced into China 65 A.D. Before we had any knowledge of Chinese history, China was the realised utopia of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. "They could point to one people whose pure and rational morality, purified from all the clouds of bigotry and enthusiasm, shone with an almost dazzling light and splendour above the ignorance and superstition of Europe . . . and to this semi-barbarous nation they habitually attributed maxims of conduct that neither Roman nor Christian virtue had ever realised."¹ THE BARBARIAN WORLD, outside the Rhine and the Danube, comprised the Germanic (Teutonic) tribes, the Sclavonic races in North Germany, Poland, and, further east, the Scandinavian races beyond the Baltic, and the

¹ Lecky, "History of Christian Morals," vol. i. p. 125.

Gothic tribes (Gepidæ, Ostrogoths, and Visigoths) north of the Danube, in Dacia. The Gothic tribes appear to have migrated from Sweden (which country is called by the old chroniclers "*officina gentium*"); perhaps affording but poor support for its population, the enterprising warlike class were driven to seek new homes by emigration. The Goths crossed the Baltic, and the last party received the name of Gepidæ (*the Loiterers*). They then settled in the Ukraine, forming three nations—the Ostrogoths, of which the Amali were the royal race; the Visigoths, of which the Balti were the royal race; and the Gepidæ. All these were Teutons of the Low-German race allied to the Dutch, Frijians, and Jutes, and Angles (our Saxons). After a severe contest the Emperor Aurelian gave up Dacia to them, 270 A.D., and they occupied Hungary (Dacia), Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. "This was a piece of real statesmanship. Had a similar policy been pursued all round the frontiers of the Roman empire, that empire, though in somewhat less than its greatest extent, might be still standing."¹ Here for a century they remained at peace with Rome, and adopting by degrees its civilisation. By the labours of Ulfilas (whom Constantine called "the Moses of the Goths") they were converted to the Arian form of Christianity, and with Christianity they received the art of reading and writing, and, soon after, a translation of the Scriptures into the Gothic tongue, 311–381. This was the beginning of a great change in the Gothic-Teutonic nations, all of which received Christianity in the fourth century except the Franks and the Saxons. There was every probability that the regions inhabited by the Goths as the friends of Rome would be the earliest civilised, and remain the firmest barrier against the outer barbarians; "but a strange and terrible event, which falsified all these reasonable expectations, changed the destiny of every country in Europe, from the Volga to the Straits of Gibraltar." The HUNS, a barbarous Tartar race (Mongolian or Finnish), who for ages had dwelt along the Lake Baikal to the Wall of China, and had been the undisputed lords of Northern Asia and a constant trouble to the Chinese, found their inroads checked by the erection of the Great Wall of China, 213 B.C. In the year 121 B.C. the Emperor Vouti defeated and broke up the power of the Tanjou (the Hunnish chief), and in 93 A.D. the Huns were driven westward. A large body of them settled in Sogdiana (east of the Caspian), and are known as the Euthalites or Nepthalites. Another division of them advanced to the Wolga, and occupied on its eastern banks a country called after

¹ Hodgkin, "*History of Italy*," vol. i. p. 63.

them "Great Hungary." Here it is supposed they were driven forwards by their implacable enemies, the Sinepi Tartars. On the banks of the Don they encountered the Alani, a pastoral people of Germanic and Slavonic blood, whom they conquered and absorbed into their own body. The Ostrogoths submitted, so also the Gepidæ. The Visigoths fled to the Danube, which was the boundary of the empire, and implored the protection of the Roman Emperor of the East, 376 A.D. Here was an opportunity of securing the services of a brave people as a barrier to the empire, by affording them assistance and treating them as allies. A warlike population more than a million in number crossed the Danube under terms the most insulting to a brave people; 200,000 of these were warriors; and these Visigoths might have been strengthened by the Ostrogoths, who desired to be received as allies. The treatment they received from the Roman government drove the men who might have been allies into rebellion. They defeated and slew Valens at Adrianople, 378 A.D., and ravaged the Roman provinces. The Gothic youth who had been given as hostages were, in the terror of the moment, treacherously murdered in Asia, to the great disgrace of the Roman government, and to the natural increase of the enmity of the Goths. An attempt on the part of the Ostrogoths to invade the empire was defeated 386 A.D.; this, with the quarrels of the Gothic chiefs, and the prudent policy of Theodosius, the colleague of Gratian, led to a peaceful settlement of the Visigoths in Mœsia and in Thrace. An army of 40,000 Goths was maintained by the government as "*foedorati*," 383-395 A.D. These concessions were deemed dangerous, and so they were. Their justification was necessity. Had the Romans supported the Goths against the Huns, the Goths might have retained their homes in Dacia, Wallachia, &c., and the horrors which the empire suffered from Attila and others might have been spared. With respect to the Goths, the fact that Alaric himself was manageable when there were statesmen who knew how to conciliate and rule, and that his successor was made to act as a friend rather than an enemy, are so many proofs of the imbecility of the Roman statesmen. The HUNS remained in undisputed possession of the territory abandoned by the Gothic tribes, and by the terror of their savage bravery compelled, in a few years, the submission of all the Germanic and Slavonic tribes from the Rhine to the Wolga.

The trade of the empire was mostly within itself. There was a regular but circuitous supply of articles of luxury from India and China, for which, as there were no commodities provided in the empire which had any market in these distant lands, the price was

paid in gold and silver, thus adding to the drain upon the bullion of the empire. There are notices of the beginning of silk manufacture in Italy, though probably later than the fifth century, a linen manufactory in Spain, and one of cotton in Malta. There were also about thirty-nine manufactories of arms in the empire. The chief trading cities were Alexandria, Rhodes, Ephesus, and Antioch, with Marseilles and Carthage. A considerable land trade through Germany and the tracts now known as Poland and Russia, with the Baltic nations, and from the Black Sea to Tartary and China. Through Egypt and her navy they had a trade with Arabia and India.

7. THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of this period is most important, as its main topic is the greatest of all events in the world's history—the incarnation, the life and teaching, the death and resurrection and ascension of the Lord Jesus Christ. The fact of the existence, the teaching, and the death of Christ, no rational man in the present age denies. In the opinion of the most learned and thoughtful of our scholars, there is no way of accounting for the phenomena of Christ and Christianity except by the admission of the truth of the facts and teaching presented to us in the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles, which form the New Testament. They cannot be ignored, as they are entwined in the history of the human race. Jesus Christ, in multiform manifestations, confronts us in every page of the modern history of mankind. “The most advanced sceptic cannot deny that, by His life and teaching, He has altered the entire current of history, and raised the standard of human morality. He closed all the history of the past, and inaugurated all the history of the future, and all the most brilliant and civilised nations worship *Him* as God.” His character has compelled the wonder and admiration of many of the wise of this world, who do not fully recognise His Godhead. “He was (says Renan) the individual who had made the species take the greatest step towards the divine; the Christ of the Gospels is the most beautiful incarnation of God in the most beautiful of forms; His beauty is eternal; His reign will never end. Kant testifies to his ideal perfection. Hegel saw in Him the union of the human and the divine. Spinoza spoke of Him as the truest symbol of heavenly wisdom; the beauty and grandeur of His life overawed even the flippant soul of Voltaire. Between Him and whomsoever else in the world (said Napoleon I.) there is no possible term of comparison. If the life and death of Socrates are those of a sage (said Rousseau), the life and death of Jesus are those of a God. He is (says Strauss) the highest object we can possibly imagine with respect to religion, the being without whose presence in the mind,

perfect piety is impossible. . . . Jesus, in His all but perfect life, stood alone and unapproached in history. James Stewart Mill spoke of Him as a man 'charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God to lead mankind to truth and virtue.' In his three essays he also speaks of Christ as 'the ideal representative and guide of humanity.'"¹ Some of these testimonies to Christ, the result of the power of truth, remind us of the occasion when "*unclean spirits . . . fell down before Him, and cried out, saying, Thou art the Son of God*" (Mark iii. 11). Christ, as set before us in the Gospels, is the enigma, the inexplicable mystery, which confronts the rampant infidelity of our day. The character and person of Christ stand out the invincible bulwark of the faith of the Christian Church. Whatever hypotheses may be adopted, apart from the admission of His divinity, they all fail to meet all the conditions of the problem; to use the language of our modern philosophy, they are 'unthinkable.' To suppose that 'Christianity owed its strength and success to Hellenic culture is so contrary to historic evidence,' that he who makes the supposition . . . shows himself disqualified for the task of reading history aright, and appreciating what are its moving forces. . . . Christianity confronted the thought of Greece with a greater thought by far, and brought satisfaction to the needs which the culture of Greece could awaken, but could not satisfy. . . . It also met those new wants of humanity which had been awakened for the first time in history by the wide dominion, the equal justice, and the common citizenship of the Roman empire."² No historical records occupy a more firm position than those of the New Testament. The Epistles to the Churches were, many of them, written before some of the Synoptic Gospels, all the Gospels, except the Gospel of St. John, before the destruction of Jerusalem, 69 A.D. The critical faculty of the early Christians could not easily be deceived, when they had already been convinced "of the certainty" of the facts by living witnesses who had been personally acquainted with the facts. Our conviction of the genuineness and the authenticity of the records rests on the Christian consciousness of these primitive Christians, of which the decisions of the councils of the Church are the undeniable evidence—the *evidence*, not the authority. Before the destruction of Jerusalem, Christianity had been preached in the leading cities of the Roman empire. In the generation preceding Constantine it is calculated

¹ Farrar, "Encyc. Brit.," ninth edition, vol. xiii. pp. 657, 670.

² *Spectator*, April 14, 1883.

that one-fourth of the population of the empire had accepted openly or secretly Christianity, that the zealous pagans were few in number, and that the majority of the population were either too ignorant, or too indifferent, to care for anything beyond the old pagan ritualism to which they had been accustomed (a form without power to interest or attract). This progress of the Church was accomplished in spite of the so-called Ten Persecutions—that by Nero 64 A.D., Domitian 81 A.D., Trajan 107 A.D. (in which latter the remarkable letter of Pliny vindicated the integrity of the Christians of Bithynia appeared); then follow the persecutions by Hadrian, 107 A.D.; by Marcus Aurelius, 163 A.D.; by Severus, 201 A.D.; by Maximin, 235 A.D.; by Decius, 249 A.D.; by Gallus, 252 A.D.; by Valerian, 258 A.D.; and by Diocletian, 303 A.D. The Roman government looked with suspicion on the exclusiveness and the unity of the Christian Church, which, from its organisation, appeared to them to be an “*imperium in imperio*,” representing also principles opposed to the religion and institutions of the empire. The attempts to ignore the exercise of a special divine influence on the labours of the Christian teachers because natural or, in other words, providential, causes co-operated in the spread of Christian truth, is a dispute about words. God’s providence is evident in the natural order of events, and is also recognised in the power exercised by Gospel truth on men’s consciences. “Middleton and Gibbon rendered a real, however undesigned, service to Christianity by attempting to prove that the rapid extension of the primitive Church was merely the natural result of natural causes. For what better proof could be given of the divine origin of any religion than by showing that it had at once overspread the civilised world by the expansive power of an inherent aptitude to the nature and to the wants of mankind?”¹ Lecky² also explains the progress of Christianity as due to the disintegration of the old religions and the general thirst for something to believe; and also to the singular adaptation of Christianity to the wants of the times, and to the heroism which it inspired. He considers that “never before was a religious transformation so manifestly inevitable. No other religion ever combined so many forms of attraction as Christianity, both from its intrinsic excellence and from its manifest adaptation to the special wants of the time.” The gradually increasing importance of Christianity as a system, and the rapidly increasing number of its professors, may be measured by the literary

¹ Sir James Stephen, “Essays on Eccl. History,” 12mo., p. 233.

² In his “History of European Morals,” vol. i. pp. 410-418.

movement among the philosophical class of teachers and satirists, the rationalists of expiring paganism, who were seeking to establish Neo-Platonism and other kindred philosophies in its place. To these the teachings of the Christian Church were the only barrier. Crescens, 161 A.D., Lucian, 170 A.D., Celsus, 180 A.D., Porphyry, and others, all of them able and learned, have anticipated most of what has since been written on their side of the question. The life of Apollonius Tyanæus, a Pythagorean philosopher, or rather a pretender to miraculous power and profound knowledge, who was born about 1 A.D. and died 96 A.D., has been invidiously placed in competition with the character of Christ. Christianity was not without men equally able and learned to defend its claims. These defences are known as "Apologies"—*i.e.*, defences, and were put forth by Quadratus and Miltiades addressed to Hadrian 122 A.D.; by Justin Martyr to Antoninus Pius, 148–150 A.D.; to Marcus Aurelius, 161–163 A.D.; also by Melito, 170 A.D.; by Origen, 235 A.D., and by Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth century. The Emperor Gallienus first recognised Christianity as a "*religio licita*" 259 A.D. Galerius published an "Edict of Toleration" 312 A.D. In the following years it was not only tolerated, but became, under Constantine, the established religion of the empire, 324 A.D. "When Constantine . . . took Christianity to be the religion of the empire, it was already a great political force, able—and not more able than willing—to repay him by aid and submission. . . . Suddenly called from danger and ignominy to the seat of power, and finding her inexperience perplexed by a sphere of action vast and varied, the Church was compelled to frame herself upon the model of the secular administration . . . and just as with the extension of the empire all the independent rights of districts, towns, or tribes had disappeared, so now the primitive freedom and diversity of individual Christians and local Churches . . . was finally overborne by the idea of one visible Catholic Church, uniform in faith and ritual."¹ Unhappily, there were Christians who applied the laws of the Jewish theocracy to the Christian system, especially in the trying periods of the Donatist and Arian controversies.

8. The secular benefit derived by the Church from the adoption of Christianity by Constantine were, no doubt, great, but they have been much exaggerated. It must be remarked that the Christian Church was a *power* which first created a public opinion in the Roman empire opposed to the avowed principles and practices of

¹ Bryce, pp. 10, 11.

the imperial government. It had accumulated and retained, by the connivance of the authorities, large possessions, and its revenues were readily supplied by the voluntary gifts of Christian believers. Already the bishop of each imperial city was the arbiter and judge in most cases of dispute in which the parties were Christians; he was the dispenser of charitable funds, aided by large numbers of clergy and laity equally charitable, and generally sympathising with the poorest, the slave not excepted. Constantine and his successors legalised these exercises of spiritual power and zeal, and to some extent increased their sphere of action. In Rome itself the bishop was transferred to the palace of the Lateran; the estates and property confiscated by Diocletian were restored; new places of worship of peculiar grandeur were built and endowed by the state, as the Lateran, the Vatican, St. Paul extra muros, St. Agnes, St. Laurence, St. Marcellinus, and St. Peter in viâ Laricanæ. The value of these endowments may be guessed by the ascertained revenue of three of these amounting to about twelve hundred pounds sterling. To the Church in general the benefits were yet more valuable. All the privileges claimed by the Church, and all the property possessed by the Church, were confirmed by the state, and the exercise of the jurisdiction of the Church in ecclesiastical matters was enforced by the civil law. Each church, with its bishop and subordinate presbyters, deacons, &c., formed a spiritual municipium. Although there was no formal state support for the clergy—so that, in some cases, the clergy were obliged to engage in trade—yet from the contributions of the faithful, and by the voluntary payment of tithes, the revenue of a bishop is calculated by Gibbon and others to have equalled six hundred pounds per annum of our money. The Church was permitted to receive and hold gifts of property and land, and this power was occasionally so absurd as to call forth severe edicts, one especially in 370 A.D. by Valentinian I., respecting which St. Jerome remarks: “I do not complain of the edict, but I grieve that we should have deserved it.” The clergy, however, were partially exempted from civil jurisdiction, and the privilege of sanctuary was granted to the Christian Church. The establishment of Sunday as a day of rest was a step which secured one day’s rest in seven to the labourer and an opportunity for attendance upon public worship. The right assumed by the clergy of exercising a moral censorship over all classes, even the very highest, seems to have been regarded as essential to their position, and was used freely towards all classes of offenders, as, for instance, the governors of provinces, the clergy often opposing them in cases of cruelty and

oppression, after the fashion of the old tribunes of the people. In the arrangement of the various bishoprics the Church followed closely the new political division of the empire introduced by Constantine. This led to a great variety in the relative ranks of the bishops, some becoming exarchs, or primates, or patriarchs. The chorepiscopoi (country bishops) were by degrees suffered to die out, as their humbler positions reflected painfully on that of the bishops generally. The revenues of the churches were distributed, one portion to the bishop, another to the clergy, a third to the cost of public worship, and a fourth to the poor.

The Christian religion rests upon the deep profound principles embodied in the moral constitution of the divine nature, the holiness of God, the irreconcilable difference between right and wrong, good and evil; the sense of sin, not merely as a disease, but as a wilful act of disobedience to the eternal law of right, so different from the laxity of pagan sentiment. "In the many disquisitions which Epictetus and others have left us, concerning the proper frame of mind in which men should approach death, repentance for past sin has absolutely no place, nor do the ancients appear to have realised the purifying and spiritual influence it exercises upon the character; and while the reality of moral disease was fully recognised, while an ideal of lofty, and indeed unattainable, excellence was continually proposed, no one doubted the essential excellency of human nature, and very few doubted the possibility of man acquiring by his own will a high degree of virtue."¹ In Christianity the spiritual procedure was simply "Repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ," while the leading dogmas, as in the Apostles' Creed, are included within a few lines. The first converts were mainly Hellenists and the literature Greek. When the learned began to formulate a theology and a moral philosophy, differences of opinion naturally arose. It ought to have been evident, from the writings of the New Testament, that Christian believers were bound by one common central truth, beyond which difference of opinion was to be tolerated as the natural result of the activity, the weakness and the strength of the human mind. Where the divine lawgiver had not imposed restriction, man had no right to call for a submissive uniformity. Differences of opinion, warm controversies were the natural results of attempts to explain beyond the letter of revelation, the great truths connected with the divine relations and purpose of mercy to the human race. Outside the Christian

¹ Lecky, "History of European Morals," vol. i. p. 205.

Church, there were influences exercised upon Christian opinion by Judaism, the Greek philosophy, and the mysticism of the Oriental theosophy. (1) There was an attempt to subordinate Christianity to Judaism, and to mix up the practices and ritual of Judaism with Christianity, by the Ebionites and Nazarenes. This violation of Christian liberty was powerfully opposed by St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. (2) Another class endeavoured to engraft into Christian theology the speculations of the Oriental Manichæanism and of the Neo-Platonic sects; hence the Gnostic heresies. These began with a sincere attempt to reconcile revelation with the speculations of the Oriental philosophy (1 Tim. vi. 20). Among the various forms of the Gnostic theory three principles may be observed: (a) the opposition of spirit and matter; (b) a demiurgos as Creator of the world different from the Supreme God; (c) the denial of the true humanity of Christ, whose body they held to be a mere phantom (hence they were called Docetes). All the early heresies partook more or less of this character. (3) Asceticism, as in the case of the Montanists, by some regarded as the Puritans, by others as the fanatics of the early Church. (4) Some, attempting to simplify that which is necessarily incomprehensible in the revelation of the divine nature, were led to entertain views similar to those of Arius, and to ascribe a measure of inferiority to the nature of our Lord, and then, step by step, to see nothing except the humanity in the nature of Christ. We may rejoice that the theologians of the early Church were able to withstand their rationalising opponents, even when supported by the imperial government. It is much to be regretted that the laity of the Christian Church are apt to neglect the study of its early struggles in the defence of its truths. Surely some acquaintance with the history of the Christian "dogma," the accepted teaching of the Christian Church, is necessary to every educated man. "The Arian controversy differed from all modern controversies on like subjects by the extremely abstract region within which it was confined. Arius was led to adopt his peculiar theory from a fancied necessity arising out of the terms Father and Son, as if these terms, used through the imperfection of language to designate distinctions in the unity of the divine nature, implied what is implied when used in relation to man. It was the excess of dogmatism founded upon the most abstract words, in the most abstract reign of human thought." The fears of the orthodox party were deepened by the danger lest the Arian view should lead to a recognition of two Gods, and thus lead to the revival of the old polytheism. In this fierce and long-continued controversy the great

Athanasius, fighting for the truth "contra mundum," has extorted the admiration of Gibbon. Dr. Newman remarks that "Athanasius stands out more grandly in Gibbon than in the pages of the orthodox ecclesiastical historians . . . and, as if to show how much insight depends upon sympathy, Gibbon is immediately more just and open to the merits of the Christian community than he has been hitherto. He now sees that the privileges of the Church had already revived a sense of order and freedom in the Roman government."¹ There have been men in high places who in the Houses of Parliament have unnecessarily exposed their ignorance of history in their ridicule of the phraseology of the Nicene Creed and the words used in this controversy *homoousian* and *homoiousian*, the catch-words, the one of the orthodox, the other of the Arian party, as if the question in dispute were "the mere theology of a syllable." It is a pleasure to quote from a high authority the deserved rebuke, "This technical language of theology has not been a gratuitous invention of ingenious divines, but a necessary development of thought. Each phrase is a record of some fierce controversy which had to be fought, if dogmatic truth was to be preserved."² The heresy of Arius was the occasion of the convening *the first general council* by Constantine at Nice, 325 A.D., in which the views of Arius were condemned. These general councils were "the pitched battles of ecclesiastical history;" that of Nice consisted of above three hundred bishops from every province of the Roman world, a full and fair representation of the theological learning of the age and of the ability of the clergy. The *second general council* (the first of Constantinople), called by Theodosius the Great, condemned the opinions of those who impugned the divinity of the Holy Spirit, 380 A.D. The persecutions of the Christian Church by the heathen emperors had called forth "the Noble Army of Martyrs," whose existence and noble self-sacrifice would remain unnoticed and forgotten except for the reference to them in the Te Deum in the service of the Anglican Church. It is very singular that most Christians shrink from the contemplation of the sufferings endured by men and women of old for Christ's sake. Perhaps their sacrifices are felt as a reproach to our ease and slothfulness. It is, however, well to remember, that among the thousands who faced death in the amphitheatre, by wild beasts or by the sword of the executioner, or by lingering tortures, there are to be found ladies of refinement and high family, as Perpetua and her companions in Africa in the reign of Caracalla. Justin

¹ Morison's "Life of Gibbon," p. 127.

² *Spectator*.

³ Stanley.

Martyr (the philosopher) died for Christ 150 A.D.; Polycarp, 166 A.D. The massacres at Lyons and Vienne took place under the philosophic and humane Marcus Aurelius; and Cyprian, the Bishop of Carthage, suffered 257 A.D., under Valerian. The highly-coloured statements and fables, which in the course of time have been permitted to disguise the history of these honoured martyrs, should not be allowed to lessen our reverence for the memory of the men and women who died for Christ. The persecution under Decius, 249 A.D., drove Paul the Hermit with others into the deserts of Thebais. After this, Anthony, Pachomius, and others, 305 A.D. *An anchoret or monastic life* arose, and was favoured in the East by the genial taste for a dreary contemplative existence. Hilarion established monasteries in Palestine, 328 A.D., and so by degrees over Europe. However useful monastic institutions may have been in the troublous times which accompanied the decline and fall of the empire, the experience of centuries led to their discouragement in Europe by Catholic sovereigns as well as by Protestant legislation. Many of the corruptions of Christianity and the absurd monstrosities of men like Symon the Stylite are traceable to the idiotic fancies of monks. Many of the monastic institutions in Europe were, however, for a time, the sanctuaries of learning and the vanguards of Christian civilisation, examples of learning and of labour in agricultural improvements—to them be all honour. In the East they have not been remarkable for their literary utility, or, in fact, for anything except a lazy, ignorant indolence; and their existence at this time is one of the hindrances in the way of the resurrection of genuine Christianity in Turkey and the East.

9. The outward form of the churches, as represented in their ministers and congregations, was at first of necessity congregational, the pastor being the bishop; but there was no isolation from the corporate body, the Church of Christ. Meetings of ministers naturally required a chairman. When some minister, from the superior importance of the Church over which he presided or from the possession of special talent, acquired a superior position as a centre of union, he became the bishop, and the title, at first common to all ministers, was confined to the perpetual president. These bishops became powers in their respective cities. "Thus there shaped itself a hierarchy of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops (after the model of the imperial arrangements in the provinces), their jurisdiction, although spiritual, enforced by the law of the state, their provinces and dioceses usually corresponding to the administrative divisions of the empire. As no patriarch yet enjoyed

more than an honorary supremacy, the head of the Church, so far as she could be said to have a head, was virtually the emperor himself. The clergy . . . were well pleased to see him preside in councils, issue edicts against heresy, and testify, even by arbitrary measures, his zeal for the advancement of the faith and the overthrow of pagan rites. But, though the tone of the Church remained humble, her strength waxed greater; nor were there occasions wanting which revealed the future that was in store for her. The resistance and final triumph of Athanasius proved that the new society could put forth a power of opinion such as had never been known before; the abasement of Theodosius before Ambrose, the Archbishop of Milan, admitted the supremacy of spiritual authority. In the decrepitude of old institutions, it was to the Church that the life and feelings of the people sought more and more to attach themselves; and when, in the fifth century, the horizon grew black with clouds of ruin, those who watched with despair and apathy the approach of irresistible foes, fled for comfort to the shrine of a religion which even those foes revered.”¹ A work, entitled “The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,” has been discovered by the Greek Bishop of Constantinople in 1883. It is referred to by Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, &c. The date of its composition is fixed at 100 or 110 A.D. The light thrown on the poverty and simple arrangement of the early Church, especially in remote and poor districts, is very interesting. The evangelists, called also prophets (teachers), seem to have exercised as itinerant overseers the power, given to Titus to set in order the affairs of the Churches and to ordain elders. To these evangelists the title of apostles was given; the elders were called bishops, who, with their deacons, were the chosen of their several congregations. “The tone of the directions implies an age of poverty and simplicity, when a man was to be regarded as a false prophet if he asked for money, or if, being a wandering missionary, he stayed in hospitable quarters on the second day.”² In Rome, the reputed see of St. Peter, the bishop held a position of peculiar dignity, through the grandeur of Rome itself. So desirable was the position, that in the contest for the elections of Damasus, 366 A.D., a fight occurred between the excited partisans in which 137 lives were lost; the luxury and outward state of the bishop and others called forth the severe criticism and sarcasm of pagan critics, who forget that these disasters originated in the

¹ Bryce, pp. 11, 12.

² “Expositor,” second series, No. xli. pp. 374–392, by Canon Farrar.

interference of the Arian emperor with the elections. But the claim of the Popes to a superior position over the Church at large, indirectly made by Victor 196 A.D., and by Julius, 347 A.D., were quietly but effectually checked for the time. By the interference of the secular power the first capital punishment for heresy was inflicted on Priscillian, in Gaul, under the rule of the usurper Maximus, at Trèves, 385 A.D. This act was strongly condemned by St. Martin of Tours, and the two persecutors were deprived of their bishoprics. Notions of the sanctity of celibacy, especially among the clergy, gradually grew. The Montanists are said to have professed a peculiar sanctity, and the possession of a large amount of spiritual insight and power. They were, probably, for the most part sincere, but strict, professors of Christianity, though some of them may have yielded to fanatical impulses. *The Donatist schism* in north Africa, which commenced 311 A.D., and lasted two hundred years, arose out of the violent attempts to enforce a rigorous discipline towards such as had been compromised in times of persecution. By both of these sects the peace and prosperity of the Church was interrupted; as also by the Meletian schism, which lasted from 325 A.D. to the end of the century. It is to be feared that the superstition and laxity regarding truth, which lingered among many of the Christian converts, exercised too great an influence over many of the bishops and clergy. The histories handed down to us of the discovery of the remains of martyrs in Milan lessen our confidence in St. Ambrose, the brave bishop of Milan. This feeling influenced Helvidius, Jovinian, and Vigilantius to oppose these superstitions, together with the false notions of peculiar purity attached to celibacy, which the Council of Illiberis, 303 A.D., had countenanced. Pope Siricius, the successor of Damasus, denied the validity of clerical marriages, though up to the eleventh century the clergy were generally refractory on this point, and St. Jerome is violent in his attacks upon Vigilantius and others. The toleration of paganism was not likely to continue, when professed Christians had no toleration for each other. In 384 A.D., they refused any outward mark of respect to the altar and statue of Victory in spite of the pleadings of Symmachus; and this refusal of any signs of respect to the tutelary divinities in the public ceremonies marked the abandonment of all connexion with paganism on the part of the government of the Roman empire.

10. THE LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD was the Latin and Greek of the old paganism, and the new Christian literature, for the most part Greek. After the Augustan age there was a great decline in the

literature of the age, especially between the rule of Marcus Aurelius, 161 A.D., and Valerian, 253 A.D. There is not a single writer in this period who can be called a poet, but many lawyers, antiquarians, and rhetoricians. Latin literature had almost ceased to exist; even the meditations of an emperor are in Greek. Athens, Tarsus in Cilicia, and Marseilles were favourite places of study for the youth of the higher classes. Books were generally accessible, being comparatively cheap from the facilities afforded by cheap educated slave labour, through which copies could be multiplied by dictation to a large extent. In Rome there was a sheet circulated—the “*Acta Diurna*”—a sort of government gazette. In Spain, Gaul, and Britain, Latin literature was eagerly cultivated. In the East, though the Latin was the language of the officials, yet neither the language nor the literature of Rome found much acceptance. Even in Rome, Greek was more generally spoken than Latin. The names of the leading authors are all that can be given in this brief compendium.

(1) *The poets*: Ovid, 14 A.D.; Phædrus, 14 A.D.; Lucan, Persius, Silius Italicus, 54–68 A.D.; Martial, 66–104 A.D.; Statius, 81–96 A.D.; Juvenal, 98–117 A.D.; Petronius, 161–180 A.D.; Ausonius and Claudian, 380 A.D. (2) *The historians*: Livy, 14 A.D.; Valerius Paternulus and Valerius Maximus, 14–17 A.D.; Tacitus and Suetonius, Florus, 98–117 A.D.; Josephus the Jew, 38–97 A.D.; Plutarch, 105–140 A.D.; Arrian, 103–150 A.D.; Pausanias, 125–176 A.D.; Justin, Quintus Curtius, 138–161 A.D.; Appian, 130–147 A.D.; Herodian and Dio Cassius, 180–238 A.D.; Diogenes Laertius, 200–222 A.D.; Ælian, 222–250 A.D.; Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, 360 A.D.; Ammianus Marcellinus, 390 A.D.; besides the Augustan Memoirs and others. (3) *The geographers and scientific writers*: Strabo, 21–25 A.D.; Pomponius Mela and Columella (agriculture), 41–54 A.D.; Pliny the Elder (an encyclopædic work), 60–79 A.D.; Ptolemy (the founder of the Ptolemaic astronomical system, which ruled until superseded by Copernicus in the fifteenth century), 126–161 A.D.; add to these Celsus (the opponent of Christianity who introduced the writings of the ancient Hippocrates into Rome), 15–20 A.D.; and Galen, the celebrated physician, 150 A.D. (4) *The legalists and jurisprudents*: Capito, 14 A.D.; Labeo, 14–42 A.D.; Sabinus, 25–50 A.D.; Scævola, 138–161 A.D.; Salvius Julianus, 130–148 A.D.; Gaius, 150 A.D.; Papinian, 180–212 A.D.; Ulpian, 210–228 A.D.; there was a legal school at Berytus until the sixth century. (5) *The orators, and sophists, and satirists*: Quintilian, 69–118 A.D.; Dion Chrysostom, 50–117 A.D.; Apuleius (satirist and romancer), 161–180 A.D.; Lucian (satirist), 165–182 A.D.; Longinus

(orator), 213-273 A.D. ; Philostratus (sophist), 182-237 A.D. ; Libanius (sophist), 346-395 A.D. ; Symmachus (orator), 380 A.D. (6) *The moralists*, &c. : L. Annæus Seneca (Stoic), 41-65 A.D. ; M. Annæus Seneca (rhetorician), 14-37 A.D. ; Epictetus, 90-125 A.D. ; Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 A.D. ; Babrius (*Æsop's fables*) in the first century ; Pliny, junior, 98-117 A.D. ; Lettus and Aulus Gellius (miscellaneous), 138-161 A.D. ; (7) *The philosophic writers* : Philo the Jew and Apion, 20-40 A.D. ; Apuleius (a Platonic), 150 A.D. ; Ammonius Saccus (eclectic), 175-250 A.D. ; Plotinus, 230-270 A.D. ; Iamblichus, 309-329 A.D. ; Porphyry, 249-305 A.D. ; were of the new Platonic school. The Emperor Julian, 363 A.D. Both heathen and Christian literature were influenced more or less by the fashionable eclectic Neo-Platonic philosophy. It traced all things back to the Absolute One (not a theistical, but a pantheistical, deity) ; it rejected all objective revelation. Man could only be brought to a saving knowledge of God by a subjective intuition, called the ecstasy wherein man's soul (the subject) and the absolute (the object) are so united as to lose their personal identity. This state is attainable by asceticism and contemplation (to which was added later magic rites). The Neo-Platonic trinity consisted of the reason, the soul, and the Absolute One, inexpressible and inconceivable, from whom all things are derived by radiation, &c., &c. Neo-Platonism accepted the religious conceptions of all nations as far as suited its system. It was the creed of philosophers lifted in their conceit above the vulgar crowd and despising the illiterate. It is obvious how such a system, which imposed no obligations, and which had no proof but a man's own fancies, would suit the minds dissatisfied with the vulgar polytheism, and not disposed to accept the teachings and responsibilities of Christianity. Neo-Platonism represents a mode of thought which may be traced through various creeds and ages, resting on a deeply-seated belief that we possess foundations of knowledge beyond the mere senses. Lecky thinks that the philosophical systems, as modified by the Platonic and the Egyptian Oriental schools, helped to effect a great religious reform among many in the pagan world by the revival of religious reverence, the inculcation of humility, prayer, and purity of thought, and by accustoming men to associate their moral ideals with the deity rather than with themselves.¹ Its philosophy "affirmed that to know is to be, and the Neo-Platonists maintained the potential omniscience of mind . . . and at length the virtual omniscience of spirits. Thus was taught

¹ Lecky, "History of Christian Morals," vol. i. p. 396.

by Plotinus, says M. Matter, the learned historian of the Alexandrian school, 'the famous system of the identity of being and thought, the greatest temerity of our age;' thus was the Platonic realism carried to its utmost height, and as thus developed it stood forth, like its modern duplicate, the 'German realism,' as either a naked absurdity, or express and complete pantheism. Plotinus thought that the reason, of which each man is conscious, is not a faculty of the individual soul, but a ray or flash of the universal reason at once common and particular; diffused through the universe, and yet entire in each soul, in each life, in each impulse, in each act."¹

The leading Christian writers were *the early apostolical fathers*, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp; also Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenæus (140-180 A.D.), Tertullian (167-180 A.D.) in the second century; Clement of Alexandria, Origen (whose "Hexapla" remain in part a proof of his learning and piety), Hippolytus of Portus, Cyprian of Carthage, in the third century; with Arnobius, Lactantius, Hilary of Poitiers, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nazianzen (355-390 A.D.), Basil of Cæsarea, Cappadocia (355-380 A.D.), Athanasius of Alexandria, Ambrose of Milan, Ephrem Syrus, in the fourth century. The literary merit of the writings of the Christian fathers is, at least, fully equal to that of their Greek and Latin contemporaries in the second, third, and fourth centuries. In learning and research there are no pagan writers of their age equal to Irenæus, Eusebius, Hippolytus, and Origen; Donatus, the grammarian (about 333 A.D.), and Servius, grammarian (390-400 A.D.).

State of the World, 395 A.D.

EUROPE.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE contained all of Europe bounded on the east by the Rhine and south of the Danube, also England, Wales, and the south of Scotland. Ireland and the north of Scotland remained in their primitive state.

THE BARBARIAN world, east of the Rhine, consisted of Germanic and Slavonian tribes, the Germans especially pressing into the Roman territories in Gaul, Rhætia, and Pannonia; and

¹ *London Quarterly Review*, vol. xv. pp. 589, 590, by Dr. Rigg.

south of the Danube the Goths, driven by the Huns, occupied Mœsia. Beyond, in the far east, were a large number of barbarian tribes, Huns—Bulgarians, Alani, Avars, Magyars, &c.—ready to follow in the wake of the Sclavonians and the Huns.

SCANDINAVIA was occupied by the Gothic races, the ancestors of the present Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes.

ASIA.

ASIA MINOR to the Euphrates and Syria were under the Roman empire.

THE PERSIANS overturned the Parthian power 226 A.D., and founded the dynasty of the Sassanidæ, which occupied the place of the old Persian empire, of which it professed to be a revival.

INDIA troubled and divided by the Brahmin and Buddhist contests.

CHINA divided into several independent states.

JAPAN under the Mikados rapidly driving the Aionos northward.

AFRICA.

EGYPT and North Africa under the Roman empire.

ETHIOPIA and Abyssinia under petty barbarous chiefs of whom nothing is known. Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia by Frumentius about 330 A.D.

SIXTH PERIOD.

From the Division of the Empire to the Revival of the Empire of the West by Charlemagne, 800 A.D.

FOR the sake of perspicuity the narrative follows the history (1) of the Western Empire to its end in 476 A.D., then (2) the settlement of the barbarous conquerors in the new nationalities—Gaul, Spain, Britain, North Africa, and lastly in Italy itself; (3) the nature and character of these barbarian invasions; (4) the affairs of the Eastern Empire up to the Saracenic invasion; (5) the rise and progress of the Mahometan Saracens; (6) the rise of the empire of the German Franks under Charlemagne; (7) the Eastern Empire to the time of Charlemagne; (8) Scandinavia and the eastern plains north and west of the Black Sea and the Danube; (9) the ecclesiastical history; (10) the literary history of this period.

2. (1) *The Western Empire* lingered outwardly for eighty-one years. Stilicho, a Vandal, married to Serena, a niece of Theodosius, ably governed under the child Honorius (aged eleven years), who remained all his life “a crowned nothingness.” The rivalries of Stilicho with Rufinus, the guardian of Arcadius (Emperor of the East), led to an estrangement on the part of the two empires, which lasted to 408 A.D., though Rufinus himself fell by a conspiracy in 395 A.D. The first step which led to the dissolution of the Western Empire was taken by Alaric, the commander of the Visigothic federate troops (“*foedorati*,” holding lands on military tenure), under the late Theodosius, who, knowing the feebleness of the two successors of Theodosius and the comparative inefficiency of their military forces, and proud of the willing allegiance of a nation of warriors, disdained to remain in a subordinate position. In accordance with the usages

of his forefathers, the Visigothic warriors raised him upon a buckler and held him aloft in the sight of all men as their newly-chosen king, 395 A.D. Alaric and his people had already adopted the Arian form of the Christian faith, and, with all the faults as well as the virtues of a semi-civilised people, were the first to begin to lay the foundation of the new nationalities which were to raise their heads above "the level waste of the Oriental despotism and effete civilisation of the Roman empire." The new king, taking counsel with his people, decided to carve out for themselves new kingdoms rather than through "sloth to continue the subjects of others."¹ In one or two expeditions Alaric first plundered Greece and the Peloponnesus; but, when the united armies of the East and West under Stilicho were about to attack him, the Eastern emperor, fearing the power of Stilicho more than that of Alaric, commanded Stilicho to desist from the further prosecution of the war, and to withdraw with the legions of the West within the boundaries of the Western Empire, 395 A.D. Next year, however, Stilicho cleared Greece from its Gothic invaders, but permitted Alaric and his army to escape from Arcadia and to retire with his plunder northward, through Epirus, 396 A.D. "There was danger for Rome in driving Alaric to desperation. There was danger privately for Stilicho if the dead Alaric should render him no longer indispensable."² The "sublime cowardice" of the Eastern emperor rewarded the rebellion of Alaric, by appointing him "Master-general of Illyricum," and for four years "the Visigothic king was using the forms of Roman law, the machinery of Roman taxation, the almost unbounded authority of a Roman provincial governor, to prepare the weapon which was one day to pierce the heart of Rome itself."³ In the year 400 A.D., Alaric appears to have formed an alliance with Radagasisus, supposed to have been an Ostrogoth chief, a recent emigrant from the Euxine, a savage idolater filled with special hatred towards Roman civilisation. Radagasisus invaded Rhætia, while Alaric besieged the Emperor Honorius in Milan. Stilicho drove back Radagasisus and then defeated Alaric at Pollentia (near Turin), 402 A.D., prudently, however, entering into a treaty with him; for such was the necessity of the empire that Stilicho was compelled to withdraw some of the legions from Britain and the Rhine, and thus left the frontier too weak to resist the barbarians who were ready to enter Gaul. Radagasisus, with 200,000 men, again invaded Italy, passing through Lombardy into Tuscany by the

¹ Jornandes, quoted by Hodgkin, vol. i. p. 251.

² Hodgkin, "History of Italy," vol. i. p. 257.

³ Ibid., vol. i. p. 259.

route of the Apennines, where he was defeated, his army dispersed, and himself beheaded by Stilicho, 405-6 A.D. Court intrigues and the jealousy of Stilicho's alliance with Alaric led to the murder of Stilicho at Ravenna, by order of Honorius, 23 Aug., 408 A.D. This jealousy of Stilicho was probably increased by the great barbarian irruption across the Rhine into Gaul, 31 December, 406 A.D., the beginning of the permanent settlement of the barbarians in West Europe and North Africa. Though opposed by the Franks (on the north-east frontier), who were the friends and allies of the empire, the Vandals, the Alani, and Suevi over-ran Gaul. The Vandals and others passed through, after three years, across the Pyrenees into Spain, while the Burgundians, 60,000 in number, were permitted to occupy Eastern Gaul. The brutal conduct of the Roman legionaries towards the Gothic auxiliaries immediately after the death of Stilicho deprived the empire of the help of 30,000 brave soldiers who, maddened by the massacre of their wives and children, repaired to Alaric, crying for vengeance on their assassins, 408 A.D. Alaric crossed the Julian Alps, passed on towards Rome. Thrice Rome was threatened, and at length (24 Aug., 410 A.D.) was captured and plundered with great slaughter. In their alarm the Romans had put to death Serena, the widow of Stilicho, and the pagan party had partially renewed pagan rites and worship; but in the great carnage the influence of Christianity over the conqueror was displayed—the churches were places of refuge, and the city was not materially injured. The news of this event spread alarm and terror through the Roman world. St. Jerome, in his cell at Bethlehem, was busied with his Commentary on Ezekiel, when suddenly "a terrible rumour from the West was brought to him," which filled him with grief and consternation. St. Augustine, in North Africa, "aroused by the mistakes of some, and the blasphemies of others," began his great work on the "City of God," as a vindication of Christianity from the charge of having caused the fall of Rome. Within a week after the capture of the city, Alaric, with the spoil and a long train of captives, passed through Campania and Calabria, intending to sail from Reggio to attack Africa, the granary of Rome; he died, however, at Cosenza, from the effects of the climate, and was buried in the bed of a river, Basento.

3. Adolphus (Ataulfus), the successor of Alaric, was attached to the Roman civilisation, and in love with Galla Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, and therefore disposed to act in unison with the court of Honorius. In 412 A.D. he left Italy and took possession of Southern Gaul, putting down several usurpers who aimed at the power of the empire, five in number, and then earned

the hand of Galla Placidia, in 414 A.D. His murder by a servant restored Galla Placidia to her family, by whom she was married to Constantius, the favourite and colleague of Honorius, 417 A.D. Constantius died 421 A.D., Honorius 422 A.D. Valentinian III., the son of Constantius and Galla Placidia, succeeded, under the guardianship of his mother. The rivalry of Ætius and Boniface, men who were the support of the empire, which was the result of the envy of a faction in the court, led to the loss of North Africa, through the invasion of the Vandals from Spain, invited by Boniface, 429 A.D. Placidia died 450 A.D. "Her love for Ataulfus, her grief at his death, &c., point her out as the one sweetest and purest figure of that dreary time."¹ The year after her death Italy and the West had to suffer the calamity, of all the greatest, the ravages of the Huns. These barbarians, having occupied the territory in which the Goths had formerly settled, along the Euxine to the Danube, had established their rule to the north-east over Hungary and the neighbourhood, and over all the Teutonic and Slavonic tribes from the Elbe to the Wolga, the chief seat of their ruler being at Tokay or Buda. They had made occasional inroads upon the Eastern Empire, and had received from Theodosius II. an annual payment of £14,000 sterling. Large numbers had served as auxiliaries in the armies of the empire, and had profited by their discipline. But in 447 A.D. Attila, sole monarch of the Huns, ravaged the country to the south of the Danube up to the walls of Constantinople, exacted £240,000 as the arrears of tribute, and tripled the amount of the annual payment to £84,000. Unable, however, to make any impression on the strongly-fortified and all but impregnable city of Constantinople, Attila contemplated the invasion of the West, sending first to each of the two emperors a Gothic messenger with the insulting order, "Attila, thy master and mine, bids thee to prepare a palace for his reception." Thus for several years the great Hun remained "hovering like a hawk over the fluttered dovecots of Byzantium and Ravenna, and enjoying the terror of the Eastern and Western Augustus alternately."² By an alliance with Genseric, king of the Vandals, Attila hoped to attack the empire on the south in the Mediterranean, while, by one of the Frankish chiefs, he expected Frankish assistance in his invasion of Gaul. Genseric, however, was not ready, and Attila was left to his own resources. In 451 A.D. his huge army of Huns, of Slavonic tribes from the East of Russia, and of the Teutonic tribes in Germany, moved onward. It is very probable that the inroads of this

¹ Hodgkin, "History of Italy," vol. i. p. 468.

² Ibid., vol. ii. p. III.

army upon North Germany hastened the emigration of the Anglo-Saxon tribes to England. Metz was taken and burnt, Paris was threatened, but, by the wisdom of Ætius, the governor of Roman Gaul, who had conciliated the Franks, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Armoricians, all these warlike barbarians united with the Roman forces in opposition to Attila. A great battle was fought at Chalons (or rather at Mery-sur-Seine) in which, after the slaughter of 162,000, Attila was checked, and found it expedient to retreat through Germany towards Hungary. Europe was saved from the degradation of a Hunnish Calmuck settlement, and secured for the permanent occupation of a Teutonic race. This victory was the last that adorned the annals of Rome. "If the empire of the Huns had spread over Gaul and the temperate regions of Europe, the Huns might have adopted the agricultural life, but the vices of the race, stamped upon it by servitude, would have been perpetuated as they have been in Russia, as they have been wherever Tartars have ruled. It is indeed with wonder and admiration that we contemplate the most formidable power which ever affrighted the world dashed to pieces against the last ruins of an ancient civilisation."¹ But Attila soon recovered from the losses of his Gallic invasion, and in 452 A.D. invaded Italy, destroyed the city of Aquileia, and caused that emigration from the cities of the Po which led to the foundation of Venice, near the mouth of the Po. The consternation of Rome and Ravenna was extreme. Even Ætius despaired. The Romans in Italy had hoped that the dissensions of their barbarian invaders would sooner or later bring them to submit to the imperial rule; and now to find an Alaric followed by an Attila was to them a severe disappointment. To the site now occupied by Peschiara an embassy was sent from Valentinian III. and the people of Rome, headed by Pope Leo I. Attila was shaken in his determination to attack Rome—the fear lest, succeeding as Alaric, his success might, as in Alaric's case, be followed by his death. He contemplated also the possibility of the arrival of the armies which Ætius on the one hand, and Marcian, the Eastern Emperor, on the other, were preparing to lead against him, so that he yielded to the intercession of Leo, and Rome was saved. Attila visited Ravenna as a friend, and soon after died suddenly in his Pannonian home, 453 A.D. His empire fell to pieces after the Battle of Netad, 454 A.D., in which the Teutonic races were conquerors, and free to act on their own account against the empire. Ætius was now no longer necessary to Valentinian III., and he

¹ Sismondi, "Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i. p. 170.

was accordingly assassinated in the palace (as Stilicho had been), at the close of the year 454 A.D. He was called "the last of the Romans," and had retarded the extinction of Roman rule for thirty years. In March, 455 A.D., the emperor was assassinated in the campus martius, and the family of Theodosius the Great was extinct. Maximus, an elder senator, succeeded, and forced the widow of Valentinian to marry him. She invited the Vandals under Genseric. On the day the Vandal fleet appeared off Ostia, 21 June, Maximus was murdered by the domestics of the palace. On the third day after the death of Maximus, Genseric and his yellow-haired Vandal giants appeared at the gates of Rome, ready, as he said, "to destroy the city with which God was angry." Through the intercession of Pope Leo I., Genseric was content with being allowed without resistance to plunder the city fourteen days. The gold, the silver, and the copper were taken from the palaces and the churches, and all the treasures that could be discovered in the possession of the inhabitants were taken away, but Rome itself was uninjured. The empress and her daughters, with a large number of captives (sixty thousand), were carried to Africa.

4. The history of the nominal emperors from this time is a very pitiful one. Raised, ruled, and deposed by the generals of the barbarian mercenaries, they were the mere puppets of the day. The patrician Ricimer, a Swabian (*Suevian*) by birth, son of the daughter of Wallia, King of the Visigoths, not daring himself to assume the purple, was the creator of these "phantom emperors," and, disdaining to obey those whom he considered as his own creatures, displaced them before they were well seated on the throne. Avitus, a noble Roman of Auvergne, succeeded Maximus. "He was the key-stone of a great and important political combination (which, had it endured, would certainly have changed the face of Europe, and might have anticipated the empire of Charles the Great) in favour of a nobler nature than the Frank, and without the interposition of three centuries of barbarism."¹ This was to be accomplished by an alliance with the Burgundians, and the Visigoths of Gaul and Spain, by which the Suevi of Spain should be subdued, and the influence and territory of the Goths and Burgundians should be largely extended in Gaul. This scheme was naturally opposed to the views of Ricimer (a *Suevian*), and Avitus was deposed 456 A.D. Majorianus, his successor displayed some warlike activity, but was deposed 460 A.D. Libius Servius died 465 A.D. Authenius, son-in-law of the Emperor Marcian, and the

¹ Hodgkin, "History of Italy," vol. ii. p. 395.

father-in-law of Ricimer, was beheaded, after a brief civil war, by Gundobad, the brother of Ricimer. Five months after, Ricimer himself died, 472 A.D. Gundobad appointed Olybius, who died 472 A.D., then Glycerius, who was dethroned by Nepos, supported by the power of the Eastern Empire, Gundobad retiring to Burgundy, 474 A.D. Orestes, a Roman who had been employed by Attila in embassies to the empire, had become influential enough with the soldiery to dethrone Nepos, and place his son Augustulus, a child, on the throne by the name of Romulus Augustulus, 476 A.D. The Vandal *foedorati*, who had long served in the Roman armies, which now were filled with barbarians of all nations, demanded of Orestes one-third of the land of Italy. This demand being refused, Odoaker, the Herulian, was proclaimed king. Orestes was taken prisoner at Placentia, and beheaded, 28 August, 476 A.D. The child Augustulus was spared, and spent his life in comfort in Campania, with a pension of £3,600 a year. So ended the Western Empire, acknowledged as such, up to the last day of its existence, by Gaul, Spain, Britain, North Africa, and Italy. We must keep in mind the fact that since the time of Alexander Severus and Probus, 222 to 276 A.D., there had been large accessions of a barbarian population into the empire, and that the armies of the empire were mainly composed of them. "The question is whether Rome was conquered by the barbarians in the ordinary sense of the word conquered? We know it was not . . . the fact that the struggle lay between barbarians who were within and friendly to the empire, and barbarians who were without it, and hostile rather to their more fortunate brethren than to the empire which employed them, is implicitly involved in Gibbon's narrative, but it is not explicitly brought out. Romanised Goths, Vandals, and Franks, were the only defenders of the empire against other tribes and nations who were not Romanised."¹ The Burgundians, before their entrance into Gaul, had made themselves masters of the more useful arts of civilised life, and when settled in their territory behaved kindly and liberally to the Romanised Gauls.

5. (2) *The settlement of the barbarians in the new nationalities.* GAUL was the first of the western provinces occupied by the Teutonic hordes from Germany. The great migration (31 December, 406 A.D.) of the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals, though opposed by the FRANKISH tribes already (as the allies of Rome) settled in the north-east of Gaul, was a successful one. These savage tribes never returned

¹ Morison "Gibbon," p. 132.

beyond the Rhine, but ravaged Gaul for more than three years, and then passed the Pyrenees into Spain. Meanwhile, as already related, the BURGUNDIANS, by permission, settled in the east of Gaul, sixty thousand in number, occupying from the lake of Geneva to the junction of the Moselle and the Rhine, their chief towns being Lyons, Geneva, Basle, and Autun. After this, Ataulfus, king of the VISIGOTHS, by the good-will of the Western Empire, took possession of southern Gaul, as already related. After the defeat of Attila at Chalons 451 A.D., in which the Franks took their share, as allies of the Roman Ætius, with the Burgundians and Visigoths, the Franks appear to have occupied the territory of Gaul to the Seine. The Roman Syagrius, after the assassination of Ætius, governed the districts around the Oise, Somme, Marne, and Seine. The Armoricians (ancient Gauls) occupied Bretagne. The union of Gaul was at last effected by the FRANKS under Clovis and his successors, Syagrius was conquered 486 A.D. The Armoricians became tributary 497 A.D. The Gothic territory was much limited, and in 534 A.D. Burgundy was added to the Frankish kingdom, as was the rest of Gothic Gaul, 538 A.D. All what is now called France was then nominally united under the Franks of the Merovingian dynasty. The kings of this dynasty divided France among their children six times between the years 511-687 A.D., when the defeat of the Neustrian (western) Franks by the Austrasians under Pépin d'Héristal, mayor of the palace, gave the preponderance to Teutonic (Austrasian) over Roman (Neustrian) Gaul. These divisions appear to have been based on military considerations. The race of Clovis had become so physically and morally degraded that all the powers of government were exercised by Pepin and his descendants. Pepin established the seat of government at Héristal on the Meuse or at Cologne, and re-established the ancient national institutions, especially the Malluna, the annual assembly of the nobles in the spring. At this meeting the Merovingian king presided in person, being conveyed in a car drawn by oxen. He was clothed in regal robes, his long hair and beard floating to the wind, and opened the assembly on a throne of gold. He received ambassadors, and gave the answers as directed by the real king, the maire du palais. This being done, the king (roi fainéant) was re-conveyed to his villa of Maumagues (between Compiègne and Noyon), to be there guarded as a dignified but secluded king. In the civil wars, which had ended in the battle of Testry 687 A.D., the Germanic Frisians, the Alemanni and Suevians in Suabia, and other minor peoples, had made themselves independent of Frankish authority, but were soon

compelled to submit to the authority of Pepin. To this family it is owing that Central Europe is German, and not Romanised or Slavonicised.

SPAIN.—The barbarian Vandals, Alani and Suevi, after desolating Gaul about three years, passed the Pyrenees into Spain, 409, 410 A.D. Their ravages were dreadful, towns pillaged and burnt, the country laid waste, the peaceable inhabitants massacred without distinction of age or sex: these were but the beginning of evils, as they were followed by famine and pestilence; the very wild beasts, starved in their forests, made war on the human race, and the famine compelled the survivors to feed on the bodies of the dead. These statements must be received with great allowance, as generalisations drawn from a few special facts; but, after making every deduction, they leave the impression of the infliction of a more than ordinary degree of misery upon the population of Spain. The Visigoths settled in southern Gaul took possession of Catalonia, and aimed at the conquest of Spain. The Alani and Suevi were in due time united to the Visigoths; the former in 418, the latter in 487 A.D. The Vandals passed over into Africa 427 A.D., and all Spain became entirely Visigothic. From 511–522 A.D. the two Gothic kingdoms of Spain and of Italy (the Ostrogoth) were united for a long period under Theodoric as regent for his grandchild. The Spanish Goths renounced Arianism 585 A.D. The portion of Gaul which was governed by the Visigoths was wisely relinquished to the Franks in 538 A.D., and in 629 A.D. all the points occupied by the Eastern Empire in Spain were in possession of the Gothic kings.

BRITAIN was abandoned by the Romans 409 A.D. For forty years the British petty kings held out against the Picts, but at length they invited the aid of a Saxon tribe from Jutland, commanded by Hengist and Horsa, 449 A.D., who landed at Ebbsfleet in the Isle of Thanet (Kent). The Picts were defeated, but the Saxon allies remained, and, aided by fresh and continued accessions of their countrymen, began the conquest of the land. The Britons made a stubborn resistance. In Gaul and Italy, the conquering barbarians with little difficulty quartered themselves on subjects who were glad to buy peace by obedience and tribute; but in Britain the Saxons (*i.e.*, the English) had to make every inch of Britain their own by hard fighting. "In the forest belts, which stretched over vast spaces of country, they found barriers which in all cases checked their advance, and, in some cases, finally stopped it. . . . It is only by realising in this way the physical as well as the moral circumstances of Britain that we can understand the character of its earlier conquest. Field

by field, town by town, forest by forest the land was won. . . . There is no need to believe that the clearing of the land meant so impossible a thing as the general slaughter of the men who held it. Slaughter there was no doubt on the battlefield, or in towns like Anderida, whose resistance woke wrath in their besiegers. But, for the most part, the Britons were not slaughtered, they were defeated and drew back. Such a withdrawal was only possible by the slowness of the conquest. . . . It took nearly thirty years to win Kent, and sixty to complete the conquest of southern Britain. . . . And the conquest of the bulk of the island was only wrought out after two centuries of bitter warfare. . . . What strikes us at once in the New England is this, that it was the one purely German nation that rose upon the wreck of Rome. . . . Roman Britain was almost the only province of the empire where Rome died into a vague tradition of the past. . . . Its law, its literature, its manners, its faith went with it. . . . The New England was a heathen country; homestead and boundary, the very days of the week bore the names of the new gods of the conquerors.”¹ The following kingdoms were established, each of which had to make good its hold upon the land by a vigorous contest with the Britons:—Kent, 455 A.D., Sussex, 477 A.D., Wessex, 495 A.D., Essex, 527 A.D., Bernecia, 547 A.D., and Deira, 560 A.D., were united in 590 A.D. as the kingdom of Northumberland; East Anglia, 575 A.D.; Mercia, 586 A.D. This heptarchy sometimes elected a temporary chief. Christianity was first introduced into Kent by St. Augustine 596 A.D. The Britons were left in possession of Cornwall, of Wales, and of the western land of the island stretching through Cheshire and Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland, &c., but this latter part of the territory north of Wales was in due time lost to them.

NORTH AFRICA, including the present Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco.—This long, narrow tract, from Tangiers to Tripoli, was extremely populous and rich. So great was its export of wheat that “it deserved the name of the common granary of Rome and mankind.” (Gibbon). It was filled with monuments of Roman art and magnificence. Count Boniface, in a fit of anger, occasioned by the insults of the court of Placidia, the regent of Valentinian III., invited Genseric the Vandal, conqueror of Spain, to pass over into Africa, offering him an advantageous settlement there. Genseric, accompanied by fifty thousand effective men, landed in Africa, where he found allies in the Donatist sectarians, who regarded him as a

¹ Green’s “History of the English People,” vol. i. pp. 30–33.

deliverer from the tyranny of the orthodox Catholics, and also in the Moors and the independent tribes, 429 A.D. The Vandals, where they found resistance, gave no quarter; the cities which opposed them were destroyed; every species of indignity and torture was employed to force from the captives the discovery of their hidden wealth. Count Boniface, when too late, repented, and saved Carthage and Hippo for a brief period from the power of Genseric, but in 539 A.D. Carthage was captured, and the Vandal conquest was all but complete. The moral benefit of this capture is described by contemporary chroniclers. "In this city, rich in all the appliances of the highest civilisation, in schools of art, of rhetoric, and philosophy, . . . houses of ill-fame were swarming in every street, haunted by men of the highest rank. . . . the darker sins of Sodom and Gomorrah practised, avowed, gloried in. . . . Into this city of sin marched the Vandal army, one might say when one reads the history of their doings, the army of the Puritans. With all their cruelty, with all their greed, they kept themselves unspotted from the licentiousness of the splendid city. They banished the men who earned their living by ministering to the vilest lusts, they rooted out prostitution with a wise yet not a cruel hand. In short, Carthage under the rule of the Vandals was a city transformed, barbarous but moral."¹ The conquest of North Africa by the Vandals proves that the barbarities ascribed to them have been (as Gibbon suspected) much exaggerated. They appear, on the whole, to have been no worse than the other barbarians.

ITALY.—The Roman Empire in the west had fallen, not by an invasion of the Heruli, but by a mutiny of its own mercenary troops. The Germans had become not mere auxiliaries in the wings of the army, but were the backbone of the legion itself.² "A deputation from the senate of Rome proceeded to Constantinople to lay the insignia of royalty at the feet of the Eastern emperor, Zeno. The West, they declared, no longer required an emperor of its own, one monarch sufficed for the world. Odoaker was qualified by his wisdom and courage to be the protector of their state, and Zeno was entreated to confer upon him the title of patrician and the administration of the Italian provinces. . . . Odoaker, taking the title of king, not of Italy but of his own people, continued the consular office, respected the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of his subjects, and ruled for fourteen years as the nominal vicar of the

¹ Hodgkin, "History of Italy," vol. i. pp. 518-520.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 513-521.

Eastern Empire. . . . There was thus, legally, no extinction of the Western Empire, but only a reunion of East and West.”¹ This is Bryce’s favourite theory; practically, however, it appeared obvious to all that the Western Empire was quite extinct. Odoaker had been compelled, by the necessities of his position, to satisfy his barbarian soldiers by the grant of one-third of the lands of Italy, a measure which probably inflicted little misery, owing to the large extent of waste and uninhabited territory at that time. “All the country north of the Alps to the Danube and Italy itself had been reduced to the condition of a desert, the race of its Roman inhabitants nearly extinct. In Italy the existence of the people for a century past had been entirely artificial, principally supported by largesses of corn which the emperors had continued at Rome, Milan, and other large towns. With the loss of Africa and the ruin of Sicily by the Vandals these supplies ceased, and Odoaker did not attempt to renew them. The desolation of Italy is frequently expressed in the contemporary letters of the bishops and clergy. Pope Gelasius (496 A.D.) speaks of Emilia, Tuscany, and other provinces in which the human race was almost extinct; St. Ambrose of the towns of Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Piacenza, which remained deserted, together with the adjacent country. Those who have seen the Campagna di Roma in our own days have witnessed the desolation of a country ruined by bad laws even more than by foreign aggression. Let them imagine the gloomy scenery which now surrounds the capital extended over every part of Italy, and they will have some idea of the kingdom of Odoaker.”² The rule of Odoaker continued until, by the treachery of the Byzantine court, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia were incited to take possession of Italy under their leader Theodoric, 489–493 A.D. This monarch, whose rule at one time extended from Illyricum to Spain, over Italy and southern Gaul, seemed likely to place Italy in a high position among the new nationalities. He brought with him an addition of about a million of people into a country which had been so fearfully devastated, and to these people one-third of the land was given. The Roman towns retained their municipal institutions and were governed by their own laws. Theodoric, deservedly called the Great, desired to found a dynasty; his government was alike tolerant to the Catholics and the Arians; he anticipated Charlemagne in his ability as a governor; he found Italy a desert and left it a garden. Boetius, Symmachus, and Cassiodorus were his ministers. Unfortunately, the enemies

¹ Bryce, p. 36. ² Sismondi, “Fall of the Roman Empire,” vol. i. pp. 171–173.

of Boetius and Symmachus, by false accusations, procured their condemnation and death, and the last days of Theodoric were embittered by remorse. After his death, 526 A.D., all was disorder and ruin. The Emperor of the East sent Belisarius, 536 A.D., and in 552 A.D. Narses with armies to re-conquer Italy. In these sixteen years, ending in 553 A.D., great destruction of life and of cities took place. At one time the Goths appeared likely to preserve their position. The king Totila besieged Rome (then held by the troops of the Eastern Empire), and took it 17th December, 546 A.D., and razed its walls, and forced the population to leave, *so that for six weeks Rome was without an inhabitant*. The re-union of Italy to the Eastern Empire, which had cost so many lives and so much of the treasure which the Eastern Empire could ill spare, lasted only the brief period of fifteen years. The Lombards, having conquered the Gepidæ by the assistance of the Avars (566 A.D.), abandoned Noricum and Pannonia to the Avars and moved towards the Italian Alps. It was not an army, but an entire nation which descended the Alps at Friuli in the years 568–571 under Alboin. The exarch at Ravenna, who governed Italy for the empire, made no resistance. In the towns and country under the Lombard government the Roman population were allowed to be governed by their own laws, as under the Ostrogoths. Pavia and the towns generally resisted. Some towns accustomed to self-government and defence as municipalities, maintained their independence. Genoa, Pisa, Rome, Gaeta, Naples, Amalfi, Bari, were filled by crowds of fugitives. So also the islets on which stood Venice. Meanwhile, in Rome itself, the titular consulship was abolished (541 A.D.) to save the cost of £80,000, which custom had enforced upon each of the elect to pay for the games, &c., expected by the people. Soon after the senate ceased to exist. The cities which maintained their independence had their curia and municipal institutions. The Eastern Empire placed in its Italian possessions a duke over each curia, who became a mere republican magistrate, commanding a mere republican militia, “reviving in the breasts of the Italians virtues which had been extinct for centuries.”¹ “It is to this era that we owe the origin or revival of many among the renowned cities of mediæval times. Then also Venice, Ferrara, Aquileia, Chiusa, and Sienna—then also Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Bologna, and Milan first gathered within their walls the means of wealth.”²

¹ Sismondi, “Fall of the Roman Empire,” vol. i. p. 241.

² Shephard, p. 302.

6.—(3). *The nature and character of these barbaric invasions of the Western Empire* requires to be studied in order to be understood. We must consider the chronic misery of the middle and lower classes of the old empire: the middle classes possessing small properties, the comparatively few of the citizen class who were free, and the great majority living in the condition of agricultural serfs, or slaves held by their owners in cities, all of them ground down by a taxation which for generations past had been consuming the capital of each proprietor, diminishing every year his means of support and increasing his inability to meet the demands of the tax-gatherer. The first outbreak of the barbarians was, no doubt, accompanied by great loss of property and of life, the desolation and misery of all classes of the population, and the overthrow for a time of all law and order. But it would be some consolation to the majority of the middle and higher classes, that the onerous obligations of Roman citizenship and liability to fiscal exactions had departed for ever, while the labourer and the serf simply changed their masters. Robertson has given a laboured rhetorical declamation, ending with a very strong assertion: "If man were called to fix upon a period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius the Great to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy," 395 A.D. to 571 A.D. There was no doubt much suffering, but it was not all caused by the barbaric invaders. The runaway slaves, the brigand Bagaudæ of Gaul, the criminal classes liberated by the flight of the imperial authorities, did their fair share, and probably more, in the work of murder and plunder. The barbarians were comparatively few in number compared with the Romans and the Romanised population, and we find them in a very brief period of time living together in peace, each under their own laws, and each party in possession of warlike weapons as well as the other, which makes it more than probable that the change from the imperial ruler to the barbarian had not been accompanied by such atrocious barbarities, the memory of which would have stood in the way of friendly union. The barbarians in their warfare seldom equalled the atrocities of Count Tilly in the Thirty Years War, or the yet more cruel devastations of the Palatinate by Louis XV. Smyth, in his "Lectures on Modern History," i. pp. 33, 34, makes some pertinent remarks, which deserve consideration. He supposes a thoughtful observer, cognisant of the ruin around him, speculating on the situation and fortunes of the human race. "The civilised world is sinking before these

endless tribes of savages from the north. . . . What can be the consequence? Will the world be lost in the darkness of ignorance and ferocity? Or will the wrecks of literature and the arts that may survive the storm, be fitted to strike the attention of these rude conquerors, or sufficient to enrich their minds with the seeds of future improvement? or, lastly, on the other hand, may not this extended and dreadful convulsion of Europe be, after all, favourable to the human race? Some change is necessary; the civilised world is no longer to be respected; its manners are corrupted, its literature has long declined, its religion is lost in controversy or debased by superstition. There is no genius, no liberty, no virtue; surely the human race will be improved by the renewal which it will receive from the influence of these free-born warriors . . . and, regenerated by this new infusion of youth and vigour, will no longer exhibit the vices and the weakness of this decrepitude of humanity." Now, if the subsequent history of the world could have been revealed to him, could he have realised the diffused humanity and knowledge, the political freedom, the social advancement and happiness of mankind, the general triumph of law, reason, and benevolence in our modern civilisation (in spite of its manifold deficiencies)? would he not have rejoiced in that gracious providential government of the Great Ruler of nations, through which the evils and sufferings of the barbarian settlement in Europe had been overruled for the benefit of the highest interests of the human race? One benefit has been acknowledged by Hume: "If our part of the world maintains sentiments of liberty, honour, equity, and valour superior to the rest of mankind, it owes these advantages to the seeds implanted by those generous barbarians"; the moral gain has been great. Milman remarks: "In one important respect, the Teutonic temperament coincided in raising the moral tone. In all that relates to sexual intercourse, the Roman society was corrupt to its core, and the contagion had spread to the provinces . . . Whether as a reminiscence of some older civilisation or as a peculiarity in their national character, the Teutons had always paid the highest respect to their females, a feeling which cannot exist without high notions of personal purity, which it generates, and which in its turn tends to generate."¹

In one respect especially the barbarian revolutions favoured simplicity of manners and personal industry; they threw the population upon the land. The conquerors at once took a certain portion of the soil for themselves: the Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards one-

¹ Milman, vol. i. pp. 282-284.

third; the Burgundians and Visigoths two-thirds; the Anglo-Saxons, the old English, took all, and drove the Britons before them into Wales; the provincials, from their ability to be useful, were generally well treated by the barbarian rulers, and, in a country where the land was far more extensive than the needs of the population, the loss of a portion of an estate would not involve absolute ruin to its proprietor. The king or chief took the public lands for himself, and as suzerain apportioned it as fiefs to be held subject to military service. So also the subordinate chiefs. By this means the land was occupied by a free population, and the possession of land became an object of solicitude. Under the Greeks and Romans the cities were everything; the small landholders and working farmers, nothing. Now, the chieftains of all ranks and the great chief, the suzerain, the sovereign, the king, the emperor, were compelled to live chiefly in their own domains, from whence they drew their means of support. Meanwhile the Roman provincials, improved by the admixture of the barbarian races, became accustomed to defend themselves and their country. The new condition of affairs produced in time a new people. Every new conquest brought to the conquered country a number of vigorous soldiers ready to take up the plough or the spade. Unfortunately the temptations to the large landholders of dispensing with the free agricultural tenants and replacing them by slaves returned more or less in intervals of security from invasion. Thus the free men, if not rich enough to hold slaves, began to look upon labour as degrading, and sold their small holdings, resuming their position in the armed band of some powerful chief. Fortunately the large proprietors were compelled to live on their properties as there only could they be supported by the produce; and they were soon taught by the ravages of barbarian tribes, Teutons, Slavs, or Northern, the necessity of having free men settled on their estates, on terms of military tenure. In due time the feudal system, which was at first the great consolidator and defence of the population, was fully established in Europe.

7.—(4). *The Eastern Empire up to the Saracen invasion.*—This empire is also called by historians the Lower Empire, the Greek Empire, the Byzantine Empire, by which names its identity with the old Roman Empire is kept in the background. Until our day there seems to have been a most unphilosophical contempt exhibited by historians for the annals of an empire which connects modern history with antiquity. Gibbon speaks of them as “one uniform tale of weakness and misery,” related by “servile historians.” Even Lecky has fallen into the same error. Voltaire, from pure ignorance, regards them as “a worthless repertory of declamation

and miracles disgraceful to the human mind." Within the last half-century the writings of both Finlay and of Freeman have enlightened our ignorance, and it is not likely that henceforth the sneers of literary prejudice will be adopted by our historians on the authority of Gibbon. It is only fair to quote largely the eloquent and powerfully convincing remarks of Freeman, in which irony and sarcasm are made the vehicles conveying truths which cannot be gainsaid. "The popular belief is . . . that from the fifth to the fifteenth century an empire of some kind maintained itself in Constantinople, though during the whole of that time it remained in a dying state. It was ruled, by common consent, that a power, which bore up for a thousand years against greater difficulties and fiercer assaults than any other power ever had to strive against, must necessarily have been weak and contemptible—in the favourite slang, 'effete'—from the beginning." In reference to the past history of the empire, "the result has often been only to throw fresh scorn upon some of the most wonderful pages in the history of the world." . . . "It was ruled that the men who preserved the fabric of Roman administration through so many ages, the men who beat back the attacks of the most dangerous enemies through so many ages, who after each period of decay brought back a fresh period of renewed power and glory, must all of them have been fools and cowards, given up only to luxury and sloth." . . . This shows "how little they knew of that mighty empire which for so many ages cherished the flame of civilisation and literature when it was well-nigh extinct in Western Europe; which preserved the language of Thucydides and Aristotle, and the political power of Augustus and Constantine, till the nations of the West were once more prepared to receive the gift—and despise the giver." The general historian was content to pass by the uninteresting revolutions "of that worthless and decrepit power which survived every surrounding state, whose legions in one century restored the imperial sway from the Euphrates to the ocean, and in the next planted the Roman eagles upon the palaces of the Great King—the power which endured the first onslaught of the victorious Saracen, which defended its frontiers for three glorious centuries, which won back province after province, and made the successor of the Prophet tremble before the arms of the triumphant Cæsar."¹ "Because the empire of the Paleologi was an utterly worn-out state, people forget the interval of six centuries, and leap to the conclusion that the mighty monarch of the Iconoclast and Macedonian Dynasties from 717–1056 A.D., was

¹ Freeman, "Essays," third series, pp. 232–234.

the same. . . . Never did any power hold up so long as this despised Lower Empire against such ceaseless and restless attacks. Never had any power so vast a frontier to guard and such countless and restless foes to guard it against . . . but men were never lacking to defend her . . . to drive back her foes, and to win back her lost provinces." It was "a conservative power, producing a never-failing succession of able men . . . but few great men, and not above one or two of the heroic type, for there was no scope for founders or creators. . . . The government went on without any definite rule of succession. . . . Every soldier in the army, every official might, either by his crimes or his merits, take his place on the Byzantine throne."¹ This, however, was a source of weakness. Its strength was the common Christianity of the Greek Church, and the attachment of the Greek people to the political and religious ruling power of their race, the status of the emperor.

8. Arcadius, who succeeded Theodosius in the East, was all his life under the tutelage of favourites or women; but the Isaurian rebels were subdued and the Bulgarians repulsed. The family of Theodosius the Great ended with Pulcheria, the daughter of Theodosius the Younger, who married, 450 A.D., Marcian, who died 457 A.D. Leo the Thracian was then raised to the throne, through the influence of the patrician Asper; he has been called the Great, and is the first sovereign who was crowned by the clergy, a precedent from which the inference was drawn that this rite was necessary as an expression of the will of deity. Justin, a Thracian peasant, began a new dynasty, and reigned from 518-527 A.D., and after him his nephew, Justinian the Great, more remarkable for his legislative Pandects, for the erection of the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, and for the victories of his generals by which Italy was re-united to the empire and north Africa also. Italy soon reverted to the Lombards, but north Africa remained until conquered by the Saracens in the seventh century. Belisarius is called by Freeman "the greatest of generals," yet he admits that "all Justinian's conquests were, beyond all doubt, an anachronism in themselves, and a deadly blow to the empire . . . when he sent his armies forth to subdue Italy, and allowed every wandering tribe from the north to insult him with impunity in his capital," 254-7 A.D. "Each of the thirty-eight years of his reign was marked by an invasion of the barbarians, and it has been said . . . that each invasion cost 200,000 subjects to the empire . . . earthquakes overturned many

¹ Freeman, "Essays," third series, pp. 235-264.

cities, one of which, May 26, 516, overthrew Antioch with 250,000 persons. The plague, received from Pelusium, raged from 542 to 594 A.D. with more or less destructiveness."¹ Slavonic tribes occupied the north-west provinces, and Greece received a large body of Slavonic invaders, who held Peloponnesus for two hundred and fifty years. Heraclius, the governor of north Africa, relieved Constantinople from the tyrant Phocas, 610 A.D. Such was the weakness of the government that the Avars and the Slavs from the north and the Persians from the east encamped near the Bosphorus for ten years. By a great effort Heraclius carried the war into Persia itself; his campaigns are worthy of a place beside those of Hannibal."² Suddenly, however, a new power, the most formidable of all the enemies of the Eastern Empire, made its appearance. Arabia, united under the successors of Mahomet, began the Saracenic conquests in Asia and Africa.

9.—(5) *The rise and progress of the Mohometan Saracens (from Arabia).*—From time immemorial, the bulk of the Arabian populations have been nomads, as the Bedouins of our day—warlike and restless, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them. In some fertile oasis, especially in the south, we read of kingdoms, as Yemen, &c., and a few towns, as Mecca, Medina, &c. The care of cattle, &c., was their chief employment, with the exception of predatory excursions into the territory of their neighbours and tribal wars among themselves. They had never been united as one people, under one government, until they came under the influence of their great reformer, Mahomet, who claimed to be a prophet from God, sent to supply the deficiencies of the Jewish and Christian revelations, and to compel by force submission to the simple creed of the new dispensation—"There is one God, and Mahomet is His prophet." It is impossible to doubt the sincerity and honesty of the new reformer in the beginning of his mission, and it is painful to notice the gradual deepening of his zeal into a wild, narrow fanaticism, and the gradual deterioration of his once pure, self-denying life by a course of sensuality and cruelty. He was probably self-deceived, and fancied, during his epileptic attacks, those visions of the eternal world and of his personal intercourse with heaven which we find implied in the Koran. His success was easy and natural after once he had obtained the help of a warlike tribe. After his flight from Mecca, 622 A.D. (the date of the era the

¹ Sismondi, "Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i. pp. 214-216.

² Freeman, "Essays," third series, p. 237.

Hegira), the converts had simply to relinquish idolatry. Polygamy was regulated, not proscribed, and the duty of a continuous war in order to propagate the new faith, with the prospect of a present reward in the shape of dominions, wealth, and luxury, was eagerly embraced. In fact, so unsettled and so disunited in feeling were the Arab tribes in the time of the prophet, and after his death, that foreign war was absolutely necessary to prevent internal wars. Their union was maintained under the victorious khalifs, the successors of Mahomet. The Eastern world was invitingly open. Persia was at its lowest ebb after the victories of Heraclius, and the provinces of the Eastern Empire outside of Asia Minor, with Egypt, were, and had been for generations, in a state of chronic discontent with the dominations of the Greek Church, to which a large proportion of the population, though Christians, but of sects such as Nestorians, Monophysites, Jacobites, Copts, &c., were opposed. The rapid extent of the Mahometan conquests is thus easily explained, when, in addition to the distracted state of the Byzantine and Persian empires, we take into consideration the policy of the early khalifs to enlist the avarice of the Arab tribes, as well as their fanaticism, on the side of war and conquest. The armies were held together by a species of political communism; the surplus revenues were divided among all the Moslem community. In Omar's time a census was taken of the Arab tribes and families, and a fixed yearly sum paid to each tribe. A number of the lowest class received a thousand dirrhems, about forty pounds sterling. The great object was to maintain and increase the pure Arab race, and to bind it, by the enjoyment of the plunder of the conquered nations, to the faith and obedience of the ruling power. The cry of plunder and conquest reverberated through the land. Whole tribes, with their wives and children, issued forth to battle, and even as the tale of cities captured, of booty rich beyond compute, of fair captives distributed on the field, and, above all, at the sight of the royal fifth of the spoil, and of the slaves sent to Medina, fresh tribes took their arms and went."¹ In the early battles, the spoil to each horseman was equal to £40, besides arms, &c., and sometimes to £60. Of the spoils of battle, four parts were at once divided among the warriors and one-fifth reserved for the Treasury; pensions were paid to the widows and children of the soldiery—in fact, the whole Arab nation was subsidised. Large numbers left Arabia and settled in the conquered territory, estimated at 500,000 before the death of Omar.² Under Abu-Bekr, Omar,

¹ See Van Kreuser's History, &c., "Under the Kaliphs," *Edinburgh Review*, No. clv. p. 38.

² Muir's "Annals of the early Khalifs."

Othman, Ali, and their successors, all Asia, from the Mediterranean to the Indus, with Egypt, 636-640 A.D. North Africa was not subdued until after a resistance of sixty years, 704 A.D. The Gothic kingdom of Spain was partly conquered 711 A.D. Dissensions as to the true succession in the Khalifat to some extent impeded the action of the warlike generals. The Shiites regard Ali as the true successor of Mahomet, and execrate the three who preceded him as usurpers. On the death of Ali, 660 A.D., his son Hassan was set aside in favour of Moawiya, who began the dynasty of the Ommiyades, who ruled until 750 A.D., when supplanted by Saffah, the founder of the Abbasside dynasty. The seat of the khalif was first at Mecca, then at Damascus, then at Kufa, but was removed by Al-Mansor to his new city of Bagdad, 762 A.D. Haron Al-Rashid, famous for his magnificence and love of the arts and of literature, began his reign in 786 A.D., and was the contemporary of Charlemagne. In our day full justice has been done to the favourable side of the character of Mahomet and of his system. Some of the Mahometans, who, by the liberality of a Christian government in India, have been enabled to acquire a knowledge of modern history (outside the Mahometan world), have made their pretensions ridiculous by such tirades as the following:—"Three great evils have befallen the human race, three great disasters which have materially retarded the progress of the world, and put back the hour-hand of time for centuries. The first is the failure of the Persians in Greece; the second is the unsuccessful siege of Constantinople in the eighth century by the Saracens; and the third is the unfortunate result of the Battle of Tours between the Moslems and Charles Martel."¹ Syed Ameer Ali had a predecessor in his literary speculations. Anacharsis Cloots, "the representative of the human race," whose vagaries furnished amusement and disgust during the French Revolution of 1789 A.D., &c., wrote a work entitled "*Certitude des Preuves du Mahometan*," 1780 A.D. Historians charitably suppose that he was mad; the excuse for Syed Ameer Ali is simply ignorance—sheer, "incorrigible ignorance." The remarks of R. Bosworth Smith, though far too exaggerated, and unsupported by some of the facts of the history of Mahomet, are a little nearer the truth. They exhibit, too, the striking difference between the incapability of the Eastern mind to generalise from any one fact of Western history, compared with the calm judgment of the educated mind of a Western scholar friendly to his hero. "The religion that he taught is indeed below

¹ Syed Ameer Ali, "*Life of Mahomet*," 12mo., 1873, p. 341.

the purest form of our own . . . there is the protest against polytheism in all its shapes; there is the absolute equality of man before God; there is the sense of the dignity of human nature; there is the simplicity of life, the vivid belief in God's providence, the entire submission to His will; and last, not least, there is the courage of their convictions, the fearless avowal before men of their belief in God, and their pride in its possession as the one thing needful. . . . If Christians generally were as ready to confess Christ, and to be proud of being His servant, as Mahometans are of being followers of Mahomet, one chief obstacle to the spread of Christianity would be removed."¹ Sismondi remarks that "almsgiving is a most important duty enforced by Mahomet, but the *rule* has been substituted for the sentiment. The man who has scrupulously performed the duty of almsgiving is not the less hard and cruel to his fellow men."² Muir's "Life of Mahomet" is the fullest and fairest account of the prophet and his times.³ Bishop Thirlwall thinks better of the prophet than of his system, observing that "Mahomet was not a Mahometan, any more than Wilkes was a Wilkite."⁴ The revival of the military spirit among the Christian nations was one result of the aggressive character of Mahometanism.

10.—(6). *The rise of the Empire of the German Franks under Karl der Grosse* (Charlemagne).—The family of Pepin (the mayor of the palace under the Merovingian Austrasian kings, happily for Europe, governed France with a vigorous hand. Already the Saracens, having conquered North Africa, had also conquered the Gothic kingdom of Spain, with the exception of the petty region of Asturias, still held by Don Pelayo and his successors, 710–11 A.D., they then claimed Septimania as part of the Spanish monarchy, but were defeated at Thoulouse in a great battle by Eudes, Count of Aquitaine, 718–721 A.D. In 731, under Abder-rabman, they had advanced as far as Sens with three hundred and seventy-five thousand men, intending to settle in France, had defeated Eudes, destroying his army, and were marching towards Poitiers. Charles Martel, the son of Pepin, encountered them at the junction of the Clain and Vienne; after six days the battle commenced. The Saracens were defeated; three hundred thousand said to be slain; the survivors fled. Charles Martel (the hammerer) had truly hammered the infidels. Several campaigns followed, in which they were

¹ "Mahomet and Mahometans," pp. 231, 232.

² Sismondi, "Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i. p. 292.

³ Muir, 4th edition, 8vo.

⁴ Bishop Thirlwall, "Letters to a Friend," p. 106.

gradually driven southward, but Septimania was not finally wrested from them till 759 A.D. by Pepin the Short. Had not Charles Martel won this battle, it appears impossible for France to have avoided subjugation. With her (Sismondi thinks) that Europe probably would have been conquered, for there were no people in the rear of the Franks in a condition for war. No other Christian people; none other that had made any progress toward civilisation; none, in short, which either by its valour, its policy, its means of defence, or the number of its troops, could indulge any hope of victory if the French were conquered.¹ This notion, though supported by Gibbon as well as Sismondi, seems to be questionable. The temporary success of the Saracen hordes might have delayed the consolidation of Gaul, but the Frank and the German armies and leaders were fully equal to the duty of defending their nationality and their Christianity. It is, however, very singular that, twice in Gaul, the battle in defence of European civilisation has been fought (first by Ætius and his barbarian allies near Chalons, 451 A.D., against Attila; and again by Charles Martel, at Poitiers, 732 A.D.). The title, as well as the power of the king, were conferred upon Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, 752 A.D. This was not merely a transfer of the royalty from the Merovingian to the Carolingian dynasty. It was a real revolution, a national one, on the part of the Frankish trans-Rhenan aristocracy and population; a final carrying out of the German influence, and practically a re-conquest of Gaul (according to Sismondi) and an effectual check to the influence of Romanising effeminacy. By this event the power of the clergy was largely increased, as they and the Pope had a large share in the change of dynasty. No one then, nor any historian since, has expressed any regret for the Merovingian race of kings. The most wretched specimen of barbarians without any redeeming feature, exhibiting all the vices of gross sensuality accompanied by cruelty, and followed by degrading superstition. From Clovis we see in them the utmost degradation to which the human race can be brought. The last of the race, the "rois fainéants," were so brutalised by vice as to be without memory or forethought, or will of their own.

Pepin made two expeditions into Italy at the request of Pope Stephen, who came over the Alps to invite him, 753 A.D., and defeated Astolphe, the King of the Lombards, who had just taken the exarchate (Ravenna) from the Eastern Empire. This exarchate Pepin gave to the Pope; this was the beginning of the Pope's

¹ Sismondi, "Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. ii. p. 48. ² Ibid., vol. i. p. 132.

temporal power, 754-756 A.D. The opposition of the Popes to the Lombards was not merely to Lombards, but to any rule in Italy which overshadowed their own influences. From the time of the Carolingians to that of Victor Emmanuel, a period of more than eleven hundred years, the pontiffs were ever consistently opposed to any powerful Italian kingdom. At present Italy is united and the Pope simply the head of the Church, but this always has been effected in spite of the opposition of the Pope and clergy. Charlemagne (Karl der Grosse) succeeded Pepin 768 A.D. His dominions extended from the Pyrenees to the lower Rhine, including Holland, and from the Channel to the Enns (beyond Salzburg in Austria). The Alemanni, Bavarians, and Thuringians, in Germany were, and had been, subject to the Franks. Beyond these were Saxons and other German tribes, sundry Slavonic tribes, and the brutal Avars (Hungary). Charlemagne's great work was the securing the peace of his German dominions, by the thirty years' war with the barbarous and warlike Saxons, and by the humbling of the yet more barbarous Avars on the south and east. He had also to check the Arabs of Spain, and established a new province, "the Spanish March," for the security of his south-western frontier. During the forty-three years of his reign the aspect of affairs changed, not only through Germany, but through all Europe. With him the ancient history of Germany ends; except for his interference, the uncivilised Slavonians would have checked the growth of the civilisation of the West, and these barbarians must have yielded to the Huns (Avars), who would probably have renewed the savage times of Attila. How great was the danger to the small civilised portion of Europe from the warlike and savage hordes to the East, may be inferred from the long and severe contests which Charlemagne's successors had to carry on with the Hungarian and Slavonic tribes, although their power had been most broken by his victories over them. The beginning of the civilisation of Germany and of Central Europe was the work of this great man. His first expedition beyond the Alps in 772 A.D. was followed by the conquest of the Lombard kingdom. These Lombards, a Teutonic people, much abused by the historians of the Papacy, were the most likely of any of the barbarians since Theodoric to have established a settled government in Italy. But the war, with the barbarian tribes on the Eastern frontier were the main occupation of Charlemagne. Though aggressive, they were in fact defensive. "He felt that, if he did not succeed in destroying the barbarians, they would destroy him. He did not propose to them the terrible choice, 'submit or

die,' until they had stubbornly and fiercely rejected the milder term, 'Be quiet and live.'" In 772 A.D. the war with the Saxons had already commenced which lasted thirty-two years. These Saxons lived after the fashion of their ancestors, without any supreme chief, except in war. They were a community of free men in free dwellings, on the whole rather troublesome by their predatory excursions than dangerous; their impunity amid their forests and morasses, in which they had erected powerful defences, rendered it difficult to obtain redress by those who had suffered from their lawlessness, so that their subjugation was essential to the consolidation of Germany and the safety of Western Europe. There was no mercy on either side in these wars. On one occasion four thousand five hundred warriors were beheaded by Charlemagne, and ten thousand distributed as slaves in Gaul and Italy. From more than one canton as many as one-third of the inhabitants were driven southward and westward and settled amid a population hostile to them. "The final success of Charlemagne's long war against the Saxons afforded the first example since Julius Cæsar of the superiority of the military discipline, which cannot exist without some civilisation, over the ruder valour of savage tribes. He carried his victorious arms into the countries which had for centuries poured their destroying bands over the prostrate south, and from that moment the progress of improvement in Europe, though occasionally disturbed, was never interrupted by the irruptions of northern invaders."¹ In 786 A.D. the Lombard duchy of Benevento submitted to Charlemagne. The wars with the AVARS began soon after, and lasted until 803 A.D. The power of this people was, from their position, dangerous to the peace of the west and south. Being a nomad race, they built no cities, but intrenched themselves in camps or rings in the marshes of Hungary. Their leading ring, near Buda-Pest, was a huge village or wood covering a large district, encircled by hedges of trees with their branches interlaced, in circumference about thirty-six or forty-five miles. The Avars were a tall, handsome race, excellent archers, all clothed, with their horses, in complete chain armour. Though ingenious in metal-work, &c., they were faithless, avaricious, and remarkably cruel. From their position at Buda they were able at any time to plunder and ravage, eastward to Constantinople or westward to the Rhine. By the persevering vigour of Charlemagne they were driven further east, and in 796 A.D. the head ring at Buda-Pest, the capital residence of

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxv. p. 502.

the Chagan, which they had deemed impregnable, was taken, and the whole nation driven beyond the Raab, which Charlemagne made the eastern boundary of his empire. After repeated rebellions, requiring fresh expeditions, they ceased to disturb the empire, 803 A.D. These successes secured the admiration of the Khalif Haroun-al-Raschid, who began a friendly exchange of presents, 798 A.D.

In order to secure his eastern boundary, Charlemagne established a line of posts ; marquisates, under marquises or margraves, from the Adriatic to the Elbe, were formed, each margrave dwelling in a strongly fortified burg peopled by German settlers. An attempt was made to unite the Maine and the Danube by a canal, but failed from defective skill in the engineers. It was well that the unsettled state of Germany prevented Charlemagne from pursuing his conquests over the Avari to the gates of Constantinople. In 799 A.D. Leo III., the Pope, came to Paderborn to solicit help from Charlemagne against the rebellious citizens of Rome. This help was given in 800 A.D., and on Christmas Day Charlemagne was crowned by the Pope "Emperor of the Romans." This Roman title thus assumed by a Germanic-Frankish king is a proof of the deep feeling of attachment to the legality of the old imperial government by even the partially Romanised barbarian tribes, whose chiefs desired to govern by imperial titles. The general feeling is expressed by Lactantius, "When Rome, the head of the world, shall have fallen, who can doubt that the end is come of human things, ay, of the earth itself?" How the King of the Franks obtained the supplies of men to fill and keep up the ranks of his armies is a difficult point to determine, considering the then state of Frankish Gaul. In the centre, the Frank and the Roman Gallic population was but thinly scattered ; the nobles occupied whole provinces which they used as grazing farms ; the freemen, in their small hereditary properties bordering on these vast estates, felt themselves in an inferior position, and were tempted to renounce their allodial farms and submit voluntarily to their powerful neighbour, receiving in return protection. In southern Gaul the population was numerous but unwarlike, being mainly Roman Gallic. They were regarded with distrust, and were not largely employed in the armies or in offices of trust. But in the provinces on the Rhine the Teutonic population had preserved their language, had retained their allodial possessions, and possessed but few slaves. There were among them a few great lords and their dependent feudes or feudatory vassals. War, however, was to these Teutons a great burden ; it took away the

freeman and the vassal. Pepin and Charles Martel had to grapple with this difficulty; they introduced fresh supplies of free settlers, but the drain upon the population was far too great. Already five thousand proprietors constituted a gentry, which, by the absorption of the small properties, monopolised the land of Frankish (Roman) Gaul. The supplies which kept up the armies of Charlemagne must have been drawn largely from wandering barbarians seeking employment as soldiers as the only occupation suited to them, and from the conquered barbarians themselves, who, from their love of war, were generally as ready to fight for their conquerors as they had been to fight against them.

II.—(7) *The Eastern Empire from the time of the Saracenic invasion to Charlemagne.*—The loss of territory through the Saracens has been already stated. Nothing but the impregnable position of Constantinople, defended by the Greek fire, inextinguishable except by vinegar and salt, and the loyalty of the Greek population in Asia Minor, saved the empire and gave it the opportunity of recovering its losses, as far as recovery was desirable. Constantinople was besieged three times—669, 717, 719 A.D. Italy, Syria, Egypt, North Africa were well lost, and the loss was gain. “The work of the seventh and eighth centuries was to lop away . . . the outlying provinces (Italy, Syria, &c.), and to make the empire far more nearly coexistent than before with the lands where the Greek tongue and Greek civilisation had really established themselves.”¹ . . . “these losses were distinct gains to the empire as a power. They changed the unwieldy empire of Justinian into the empire of Leo the Isaurian, still vast, still scattered . . . but comparatively compact, incomparably stronger, and gradually becoming identified with the leading nations within its borders.” The settlement of the Slavi in Servia and Croatia, 640 A.D., and the kingdom of the Bulgarians, founded south of the Danube, 680 A.D., did not affect the strength of the empire: they occupied territories already wasted, except when Greece was ravaged and possessed by Slavic tribes. Leo III., the Isaurian (the Iconoclast), 718–741 A.D., defended the empire, and Constantinople especially, against the attack of the Saracens, with 120,000 men and 1,800 ships. The ships were burnt and the walls defended by the use of the Greek fire. Freeman regards him as “the highest type of the conservative politician.”² In his age the empire was not yet Greek, but becoming so. From that time it became a Byzantine empire, with its Roman polity and

Freeman's “Essays,” third series, p. 254.

² *Ibid.*, p. 236.

its Greek intellect. Under the regency of Irene (Constantine VI.), Haroun-al-Raschid, the Arabian khalif, penetrated as far as Nicomedia, but, despairing of taking Constantinople, he received tribute and retired. Constantine VI. was set aside by his mother, who was the reigning ruler of Constantinople contemporary with Charlemagne.

12.—(8) *Scandinavia and the Eastern Plains north and west of the Black Sea and the Danube.*—(a) SCANDINAVIA was regarded by the ancient geographers as a large island separated from the continent of Europe by the Baltic Sea. The earliest inhabitants are supposed to have been Kelts (in Jutland at least, whence the Cimbri, known to the Romans, but by some these are regarded as Teutons). Gothic races at an early period settled in Jutland, the Islands, and in Norway and Sweden. They did not find the Finns and Lapps already settled, as was once supposed. It is now discovered that these Finns and Lapps reached the north of Europe by the high north route from Siberia, and that they and the Teuton Goths first came in contact near the Arctic circle. The Gothic migration from the fabulous Ars-Gard in Asia to Sweden was headed by Odin at some period very remote, though some think so low as between 300 B.C. and 50 B.C., in which probably a series of migrations took place from the south-east. All the old royal races of *Norway, Sweden, and Denmark* claim descent from Odin. The coast of Norway, abounding in deep secure inlets (fiords), was especially suited to a sea-going people, and the land, rugged and hemmed in by lofty mountains, was only to a small extent fit for agriculture. Sweden was covered with dense forests and morasses; and the provinces of Scania and Gothland, on the whole fertile, were apparently first cleared by settlers from Denmark, and naturally attached to the Danish kingdom. It was composed of Swethiod (on both sides of Lake Mälär) and of Gauthiod (on both sides of Lake Wetter). There are two lines of kings, those of the Swedes and those of the Goths, which occasions great confusion in its early history. The territory of Sweden gradually increased, but it did not occupy the east of the Gulf of Bothnia till the twelfth century. The Yngling Dynasty reigned in Sweden; the Skiolding in Denmark; the *Sæmages* in Norway, at Drontheim: that is to say, some one chief of the royal race was regarded as superior nominally. In or about 630 A.D., Ivar Vidfadme, king of Denmark, reigning at Lethra, conquered the Yngling Dynasty, at Upsala, and it is said that his family reigned over both countries until about 803 A.D. The Battle of Brarella,

between Sigurd and Harald Hildetand, 794 A.D., closes the mythic age of Scandinavian history, 613 A.D. (Olaf Trætelia, driven from Upsala, passed on to the west of the Lake Weneren, cleared the forests, and founded a kingdom which embraced part of Norway, but was afterwards absorbed by Norway and Sweden.) At that time *Sweden* beyond Upsala was all forest and morass. The Scandinavian historians speak of regular government under the Odin dynasties, and glow over the Temple priestly court, first at Sigtuna, then at Upsala, in Sweden. Of this regular government we see no trace: petty kings innumerable, powerful enough to rob and fight, but unable to command obedience and enforce law. *Denmark*, "the darkly wooded land," was the most civilised, through its vicinity to Germany; generally, elsewhere, a legalised anarchy. The safety-valve for the pent-up warlike energies of such a people was to be found in the piratical expeditions of the *Vikings* or Northmen, which were a terror and misery to civilised Europe for more than two hundred years. Norway alone could send out of its fiords 336 ships, each carrying 60 to 70 armed men. (b) The *Venedi* and other *Slavonic* tribes dwelling east of the Oder occupied North Germany and Poland; (c) the *Avars*, who had partly taken the place of the Huns, had been curtailed of their territory west of the Danube by Charlemagne; (d) a kindred tribe, the *Magyars*, were dwelling from Transylvania to the Euxine; (e) to the south of these, on both sides of the Danube, was the *Bulgarian* kingdom, founded 634 A.D.; (f) Slavish tribes occupied *Servia* and all the coasts and mountains of *Illyria* down to the *Morea*, practically independent of the Eastern Empire. The breaking up of Attila's Hunnish empire, and the departure of the Ostrogoths, Gepidæ, and Lombards had left the Avars as the leading tribe, until humbled by Charlemagne; (g) far to the north of the Euxine were the *Khazars* (a Calmuck tribe) and the Patzinacites; (h) the *Russians* (a Slavonic tribe driven to the north by the Khazars) had founded Novogorod on the Ilmen, and Kieef on the Dnieper. The wars of Charlemagne, by breaking the charm of Avarian superiority, had prepared the way for the nationality of *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, the *Croats*, the *Serbs*, &c. We read of one Samo, a Frankish warlike merchant, who, nearly two centuries before Charlemagne, opposed the Avars, and controlled the trade path between Constantinople and the West, and who was regarded as king by the Bohemians and Carinthians, 630 A.D. All these details are as near the truth as can be gathered from the obscure and conflicting accounts of the annalists of this age; (i) there was also a kingdom of *Biarmeland* to the north of the Russians, extending from Lake Onega to the Ural

Mountains, and from Perm to Archangel. The people were a Finnish race, to some extent civilised, as they lived in towns, and cultivated the ground. Traders came in the summer, not only for peltry, but also for the productions of India and China, received through the Khazars by the Caspian Sea. This territory was united to Russia in the twelfth century. (*j*) Beyond these, on the east side of the Uralian range, were the *Igours*, or *Issedones*, who from a remote period had been acquainted with letters and astronomy. They had been conquered by the Huns, and part of them settled in Biarmeland, at Perm; the rest were conquered by the Keraïtes, a dominant race in Central Asia (125 A.D.), ruling at Karakorum.

India.—Three Dynasties in North-West India are distinguished by their opposition to Scythian invasions—the *Sahs*, of Surashtra, from 60 to 70 B.C. to 235 A.D.; the *Guptos*, of Kanauj, from 319 A.D. to 450 A.D.; the *Valabhi* (in Cutch and Malwa), from 480 to 722 A.D. All these were engaged in wars with the barbarian tribes from the north-west. The state religion generally in India was Buddhism; but by the year 800 A.D. the Brahmins obtained the ascendancy, and the Buddhists were expelled.

China, after centuries of civil war and rival kingdoms, was partially united by the *Suy Dynasty*, 590 A.D., under Yang Keen, who established a library of 15,000 volumes. The *Tang Dynasty* began 618 A.D., under *Tai-tsung*, who over-ran Tartary, and extended his power to Khoten, and Kashgar, to East Persia and the Caspian Sea. A Nestorian priest introduced Christianity 635 A.D. After this, alternate able and weak emperors destroyed the imperial prestige, and prepared the way for a new dynasty.

13.—(9) THE ECCLESIASTIAL HISTORY of this period.—Amid the calamities which accompanied the fall of the Empire in the West Christianity remained uninjured, the major part of the barbarians having accepted Christianity previously, and the others soon after their settlement in the empire. The dignity and influence of the bishops of the Christian Church were greatly increased. In the loss of all rule and authority, and the absence of all confidence in the local magistracy during the last years of the empire, and after its dissolution, the Christian bishop remained the sole representative of law, the only one respected and trusted by the people. His position was independent of political changes: his sympathies were with the people, with whose social condition he was well acquainted, and who recognised in him a friend and benefactor. Especially was this the case of the Bishop of Rome, upon whom the absence of the emperors placed no

small share of the burden and responsibility for the peace of that city. The dignity of the see arose out of its associations with the supposed primacy of Peter and with the seat of the imperial government, which, in the absence of the emperor, was best represented by the bishop—the Pope. The precedence voluntarily yielded and recognised was soon claimed as a right. Innocent I. was Pope 402–417 A.D. Upon his mind “appears first distinctly to have dawned the vast conception of Rome’s ecclesiastical supremacy, dim as yet and shadowy, yet full and comprehensive in its outline. While Honorius was losing the provinces of the empire, Innocent was asserting his almost despotic spiritual authority over them: his influence was felt in the Eastern Church, and it is to his credit that he supported the cause of the eloquent Chrysostom against the corrupt imperial court of Constantinople, 403–407 A.D. The secret of the power of the Roman bishops lay in their complete identification with the spirit of the age. This sympathy with the general mind of Christendom constituted their strength. They became the masters of the Western Church by being the representatives, the centre of its feelings and opinions.”¹ Following the example of Innocent, one of the greatest of the popes, LEO I., THE GREAT (so called justly), obtained from Valentinian III. an edict, 445 A.D., in which he admits “the primacy of the Apostolic See of Rome,” and commands the whole world to acknowledge it as “its director and governor”; adding that the papal decisions (in Church affairs) “have the force of law, and are to be enforced by the secular authorities,”² as “thereby only can the peace of the Church be preserved.” Leo I. was the real founder of the papacy. “It is in this spontaneous chieftainship that we recognise one of the most effective elements of the subsequent political greatness of the Romish Bishops. The decaying mass of civil institutions became as manure at the root of the papacy.” After the success of Leo’s interview with Attila, we need not wonder that, having saved the existence of Rome, men regarded him as its rightful governor. “He stood equally alone and superior in the Christian world.”³ Other popes persevered in carrying out the policy of Leo. Gelasius (452–498 A.D.) maintained with vigour the same policy, the key-note of which was the superiority of the spiritual over the secular power. GREGORY I., THE GREAT (590–604 A.D.), relieved from all control of the emperors of the

¹ Milman, “History of Christianity,” vol. i. pp. 87–121.

² Evremond, vol. i.

³ Milman, “History of Christianity,” vol. i. p. 178.

East by the Lombard conquest of Italy, opposed the title of "Universal Patriarch," assumed by the Bishop of Constantinople, and at the same time defended the independence of the city of Rome from the attacks of the Lombards. Gregory III. (726-737 A.D.), annoyed by the iconoclastic policy of the emperors of Constantinople, repudiated the jurisdiction of that court, on the ground that "the Pontiff of Rome is the only arbiter and judge of the Christian community, both in the East and in the West," and, in the name of St. Peter, "whom every region in the world worshipped as God upon earth." Under Gregory the Great the ritual of the Church assumed a more perfect and magnificent form, which was increased by following pontiffs. At this time the Church of Rome possessed large estates in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Dalmatia, Illyria, Gaul, and even in Africa and the East, of which Gregory was a faithful administrator. From the papal estates in Sicily came the chief supplies of corn which fed the diminishing, yet still vast, poor population of Rome. In the great controversies which agitated the Eastern Church the popes up to Gregory II. (715 A.D.) were subject to some severe and unjust treatment from the emperors at Constantinople. Gregory II. began the contest with Leo the Isaurian, 729 A.D., which was carried on by his successors. Gregory III., by his resolute action, "marks the period of transition from the old to the new political system of Europe : they proclaimed the severance of all connexion with the East Latin Christendom is forming into a separate realm, of which the Pope is the head. Henceforth the Pope, if not a temporal sovereign, is a temporal potentate."¹ But the next point, *territorial sovereignty*, was soon achieved. Ever since the extinction of the Western Empire had emancipated the ecclesiastical potentate from secular control, the first and most abiding object of his scheme and prayer had been the acquisition of territorial wealth in the neighbourhood of his capital. He had, indeed, a sort of justification, for Rome, a city without either trade or industry, was crowded with poor, for whom it devolved on the bishop to provide. Yet the pursuit was one which could not fail to pervert the purposes of the popes, and give a sinister character to all they did."² By the help of the Franks the popes were freed from the Lombards and the Eastern Emperors. This help was most pertinaciously sought, and backed by arguments suited to the end designed. Stephen II., 754 A.D., in his letter to Pepin and his sons, reminds

¹ Milman, i. 217.

² Bryce, "History of the Roman Empire," pp. 42, 43.

them of "the promise which they made to St. Peter, the doorkeeper of heaven, to restore the exarchate to St. Peter." In 755 A.D., in a letter sent "by the order of the Apostle Peter," both St. Peter and the Virgin Mary are represented as conjuring Pepin, &c., to immediate action on pain of eternal punishment. Pepin compelled the King of the Lombards to give up Ravenna, Emilia, Pentapolis, to the papacy (755 A.D.), which claimed all that had been held by the Eastern Emperors. In Rome itself we still read of a republic and senate, yet always in connexion with the pontificate, which was supreme. Pope Stephen assumed that Pepin, having accepted the crown at his hand (at St. Denis, 754 A.D.), had sworn fealty to the pontiff. In 774 A.D. Charlemagne ratified the donations of his father Pepin. "The diploma which contained the solemn gift was placed upon the altar of St. Peter . . . the original has long perished. It is said to have comprehended the whole of Italy, the exarchate of Ravenna, from Istria to the frontiers of Naples, including the island of Corsica."¹ Pope Honorius I., in 776 A.D., was tempted for the first time to put forth the claims to an extensive dominion, supposed to have been granted by Constantine to Pope Sylvester, together with "supreme power over all the regions of the West."² There can be no doubt that the great sovereigns connected with these grants thought it desirable to admit and further the papal power in all ecclesiastical affairs, and were also anxious to secure a territorial status for the Pope, by whom alone the clergy could be protected in the independent discharge of their clerical duties. No one at that time could foresee the evils ultimately arising out of this papal supremacy, while the present advantages were so obvious, that whatever public opinion existed was in its favour. Pope Leo III. designed the new suburb on the left bank of the Tiber, which was afterwards carried out by Leo IV., 847-855 A.D., and called "the Leonine City."

14. The Western Church was fully employed in the task of imparting the rudiments of Christian truth to the pagan population of the old empire, increased by addition of a large pagan population, which entered along with the Christian Burgundians and Visigoths. It had also to grapple with the Arianism of these Burgundians and Goths, and to bring them to the orthodox faith. *Missions to the German tribes* were carried on by Boniface and others 715-755 A.D. Boniface founded the monastery at Fulda, and was murdered by the heathen at Dockheim in Frisia 755 A.D. St. Columban, a British

¹ Milman, i. 261.

² Greenwood, iii. 24-32.

missionary, also laboured in Germany 573–615 A.D. He founded the Abbey of Bobbio in Lombardy 612 A.D. This British Church was actively engaged in missionary labour; it had missions in Scotland and Ireland. Ninian (410–432 A.D.) was the apostle of the Picts. Palladius and Patrick laboured in Ireland in the fifth century; St. Columba founded the monastery of Iona 520–596 A.D.; he was the leading spirit among the CULDEES (*i.e.*, cultores Dei) of the old British Church, which had been established before the Saxon conquest of England. Pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine on a mission to the Anglo-Saxon King of Kent, 596 A.D., which, in the long run, was successful. It is said the Nestorians had a mission in North China so early as 630 A.D.

The doctrinal controversies chiefly arose in the Eastern Church, though *the Pelagian controversy* was, for the most part, confined to the West. Pelagius endeavoured, sometimes unguardedly, to vindicate freewill as against absolute predestination. By the influence of St. Augustine (of Hippo) and of St. Jerome, the decision of the Church was in favour of the Augustinian theory, which we now call Calvinism, 390–400 A.D. In the East the controversies had special reference to the divine nature and the relation of the three persons in the Trinity. *The third general council at Ephesus*, 431 A.D., condemned Pelagius and the speculations of the Nestorians on the relations and conditions of the divine and human nature in Christ. In *the fourth general council at Chalcedon*, 451 A.D., the Monophysite heresy of Eutychius, which confounded the godhead and manhood of Christ into one nature, and the opposite heresy of Nestorius, which appeared to divide the godhead and manhood of Christ, were alike condemned. This council admitted the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and asserted an equal position for the Bishop of Constantinople. *The fifth general council (the second of Constantinople)*, 553 A.D., confirmed the acts of Justinian the emperor on some points of doctrine. The Emperor Zeno endeavoured to moderate extreme opinions by his edict of union (*the Henoticon*), 482 A.D. *The sixth general council*, 680 A.D. (*the third of Constantinople*), condemned the Monothelite heresy, and declared the faith of the Church to be that “there were two wills and modes of operation in Christ, corresponding to his two natures; that these were without division, and without opposition or confusion, the human will being always subordinate to that which is divine and almighty.” Gibbon sneers at the topics discussed in these councils, regards the disputes “alike scandalous to the Church, alike pernicious to the state” (chap. xlvii.). So also Sismondi (the able Pro-

testant rationalist) speaks of "the theological subtleties . . . the examination of them fatigues the reason, and appears a sort of blasphemy against that inscrutable Being, who is thus submitted to a kind of moral dissection."¹ The points in discussion are here misstated. They did not refer to the essence of the divine nature, but to the exact meaning of the Holy Scripture as to the person of the Christ. The councils give their reply to the question, "What readest thou?" They set on one side as altogether irrelevant all *à priori* assumptions drawn from the name of father and son as used to express human relations, and confined themselves to the language and teaching of Scripture. These questions were forced upon the Church by individual speculators. Possibly, as Gibbon remarks, that all parties "were more solicitous to explore the nature than practise the laws of their founder"; but this human infirmity is no reason why the combined wisdom of the ruling minds of the Church should not labour to clear away the fogs and mists by which subtle minds had darkened the simplicity of the Christian creed. Their decisions are founded on the teachings of the gospels and the epistles, and as such, and not merely because so ruled by the councils, they have been received almost universally by the Christian Churches. We have reason to be thankful for this timely exercise of the acuteness of the great theologians of the fourth up to the seventh century, by which the plain declarations of Scripture have been cleared from the obscurities of a philosophy falsely so called. *The seventh general council (the second of Nicea)*, held 787 A.D., permitted the religious veneration of images, and declared that the elements in the Lord's Supper are not figures, but the very body and blood of our Lord. This decision settled the long dispute begun by the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, 717-726 A.D., who had forbidden the adoration of images, though opposed by John of Damascus. This worship was also opposed by the Emperor Charlemagne, in a council at Frankfort and in a treatise put out by his authority; but the mass of the population both in the east and the west preferred the use of sensible objects in worship,² and being supported by the Roman pontiffs, through an undue sympathy with the weakness of the great majority of Christians, carried out the decision of the seventh general council, *a council not acknowledged by Protestant Churches.* *The Paulician heresy*, which appears to have grafted upon a very imperfect Christian theology some Oriental

¹ "History of the Fall of the Roman Empire," i. 271.

² Exodus xxxii. 9.

notions of the eternity of matter, a duality of deities, the rejection of the sacraments, 660 A.D., spread through Asia Minor and beyond, and gave some trouble to the Eastern Empire. The seceders from the Eastern Greek Church, whose views had been condemned by the councils, the *Nestorians*, *Monophysites*, *Jacobites*, *Armenians*, *Copts*, &c., were chiefly found in the districts which, in the seventh century, had been conquered by the Mahometans. They were thus left free to hold and spread their views unmolested. In this period "will worship," pure human inventions in the shape of self-mortifications, were fostered by the superstition of the people; the ridiculous shape it sometimes assumed was no hindrance to its popularity. St. Symeon (Stylites) was the first of the *pillar saints*; he lived thirty-six years on the summit of a pillar (forty miles from Antioch), and was regarded as "an ornament and honour to religion" by Theodoret the historian. He died 459 A.D. *Monachism*, which had obtained a complete domination over public opinion in the East, was spread in the West by St. Martin of Tours, who died 400 A.D.; and by John Cassian, who died 432 A.D.; also by St. Honoratus, Bishop of Arles, 426 A.D.; and by St. Vincent of Lerius, who died 450 A.D. St. Vincent is the author of the great test of Catholic truth, accepted by the early Church—namely, "antiquity, universality, and common consent." *The monastic institution* derived fresh importance among the barbarous kingdoms. St. Benedict of Nursia (Umbria), 480–543 A.D., founded the famous monasteries of Subiaco and Monte Casino (Calabria), and carried out great reforms, which gave increased influence to the Benedictine order. This order, by its literary labours, has maintained the high character of its founder. Pictures began to be objects of more than ordinary reverence in the Church, and the Virgin Mary began to be invoked as a mediator; relics and holy places were much praised and honoured. *The use of liturgies* in public worship and the *adoption of the creeds*—the Nicene, that of the Apostles, and the (so-called) Athanasian Creed—were universal. The Apostles' Creed followed the Nicene. The Athanasian probably originated in the school of St. Augustine. It first appeared in Gaul about the middle of the fifth century. Waterland ascribes it to St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles, 430 A.D., others to Vigilius of Thapsus (Africa), 484 A.D. A remarkable reform in the monasteries was carried out by Benedict of Aniane, 774–784 A.D., who adopted the great reform of his predecessor, St. Benedict of Nursia. In the east the Nestorians laboured with great zeal to extend Christianity in Persia, India, and China. A monument found in Sigan (China) proves that Chris-

tianity was introduced there in 636 A.D., and that a Christian community existed until 780 A.D., when they were stamped out by persecution.¹

15.—(10) LITERARY HISTORY from 395–800 A.D. Literature was checked by the troubles and unsettlement of the barbarian invasion of the empire. The *Latin language* became gradually corrupted, though mainly used in the courts, the tribunals, and in the churches in west Europe and Italy. It was maintained and preserved in the Christian Church by the use of the old Italic version, and then by the Vulgate of St. Jerome, and the Latin liturgies and service. “Jerome’s translation is a wonderful work. . . . It almost created a new language. . . . The Vulgate was, even more than the papal power, the foundation of Latin Christianity.”² In the seventh century the sermons were in the Latin language. In or about 750 A.D., the rustic patois in Gaul was rapidly superseding the Latin as the language of common life, and in 816 A.D. a council at Tours directed that the homilies should be explained in the rustic dialects, and in the language of the Franks. Thus, by degrees, the foundation was laid for the modern languages of France, Italy, Spain, as well as in England and Germany. Schools were established by the clergy in common with the churches and monasteries; the education was framed on the old “trivium and quadrivium,” a course of seven sciences—viz., “grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.” This was the curriculum of the schools from the sixth century. In Ireland, through the labours of the missionaries, there were some glimpses of light in the sixth and seventh centuries, also in England and Scotland. Theodore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a Greek of Tarsus, with his friend Adrian, 668 A.D., did much to keep up the knowledge of Latin, and perhaps of Greek, from which Bede of Yarrow, “the venerable” historian, 622–735 A.D., and Alcuin of York, the friend of Charlemagne, 735–804 A.D., probably profited. Among the Lombards in Italy and the Merovingians of France literature declined. Some think the fifth and sixth centuries to have been the very darkest of the dark ages.

But in spite of this decline some few adorned literature. St. JEROME who, in 386 A.D., left Rome, after revising the old Italic Bible; while at Bethlehem he made his new translation “The Vulgate,” 405 A.D.; he died September 30, 420 A.D. Vincent of Lerius, already referred to as the author of “The Commonitorium,” in

¹ Mosheim, Soames, ii. 61, 62.

² Milman, i. 24.

which he laid down the rule, "Teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est," a valuable, but not infallible, test of truth, 434 A.D. ST. AUGUSTINE, the great theologian of the West, became Bishop of Hippo, 395 A.D., and died about 430 A.D., during the siege of the city by the Vandals; "he organised Latin theology, brought Christianity into the minds and hearts of men by his impassioned autobiography, and finally, under the name of 'the City of God,' established [the idea of] that new and undefined kingdom at the head of which the Bishop of Rome was hereafter to place himself as sovereign." The treatise itself contemplated no such external or visible autocracy, but it prepared the way for it in the minds of men.¹ Then followed the writings of one who, from his high position and personal influence, was listened to. Pope Leo the Great, in 451 A.D., wrote his treatise on the Incarnation. "It may be admitted that a clearer and more logical analysis of Scripture, and of Scripture only, could hardly have been penned," equally hostile to the theories of the Nestorians and Eutychians.² Pope Gregory I. (the Great), 590-604 A.D., a sincere but narrow theologian, jealous of secular literature, thought that images, &c., in the churches were, in the absence of books, a valuable means in popular instruction, and that relics of saints and martyrs ought to be honoured; he thought that there were sins which might be forgiven in the life to come, and that masses on earth might lessen the amount of punishment in the intermediate state. The sacramental ritual of the Romish Church was established by him, and now remains; his superstitious tendencies have proved most injurious to the spirituality of the Latin Church. BOETIUS the philosopher and, for a time, the friend of Theodoric, the King of the Goths, in Italy, when in prison, while awaiting his death on a charge of treason, 524 A.D., wrote his famous work "De Consolatione," &c., in which he collects all the comfort that philosophy can give to one in his trying position. By his use of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle, he helped to recommend their philosophical studies to the clergy and scholars of his day. Besides these leading names, there were, in Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris, the poet, 438-468 A.D.; Gregory of Tours, historian and theologian, 540 A.D.; Hilary of Arles, the opponent of Leo I. on questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, 429-449 A.D. In Britain, Gildas, 500 A.D.; Cædmon, 600 A.D.; Sampson Nennius, 600 A.D.; Bede, historian, 673-735 A.D. In Spain, Orosius of Tarragona, historian and theologian, and a friend of St. Augustine and St.

¹ Milman, i. 79.

² Greenwood, vol. i. 365.

Jerome, 390–417 A.D. ; Isidore of Seville, theologian and historian, the greatest luminary of the Visigothic court, 595–636 A.D. ; St. Ildefonso, theologian, 600–667 A.D. ; St. Julian of Toledo, theologian and historian, 667–691 A.D. That these, with many others of less note, were able in that distracted period to engage in literary pursuits, while surrounded by barbarian influences, is remarkable.

In the East the *Neo-Platonic Philosophy* had ceased to be taught in Athens, 529 A.D. Synesius, the philosophic Bishop of Ptolemais (Cyrene), who claimed to be a descendant of Hercules, used his powers as bishop to put down the oppression of the Governor of Libya, 410 A.D. Warburton calls him “a no small fool . . . a platitude as extravagant and absurd as any.” Being scarcely even a nominal Christian, he is a great favourite with Gibbon, who says that “the philosophic bishop supported with dignity the character which he had assumed with reluctance.” With more reason he is applauded by Kingsley as a noble muscular Christian bishop. ST. CHRYSOSTOM, of Antioch and Constantinople (400–438 A.D.), the great and eloquent theologian, had to combat and suffer for faithfulness to his office ; Theophylact (602–628 A.D.) and Syncellus (700 A.D.) are the historians of the Eastern Church ; Cyril of Alexandria (412–444 A.D.) with John of Damascus (700–750 A.D.) are, with Chrysostom, great authorities in the Greek Church. One grammarian at Constantinople may be noticed, Priscian, who lived 468 or 525 A.D., whose name is often used as the representative of “grammar.”

From the accession of the Abasside dynasty of khalifs in Bagdad the cultivation of science was assisted by the patronage of the khalifs. Translations of all the scientific books of the Greeks were made into Arabic. The dynasty was remarkable for its free and liberal notions, so different from those of the early khalifs, and has been charged with a secret sceptical indifference towards the teachings of orthodox Mahometanism.

State of the World at the close of this Period.

EUROPE.

SCANDINAVIA. Denmark and Sweden—*i.e.*, south of Lake Mälar—united under the King of Denmark. Norway a separate kingdom.

BRITISH ISLES. England was rapidly approaching to the union

of its heptarchy under Egbert. Scotland had (1) the Picts (Caledonians) on the north and east ; the seat of their king was either Inverness or on the Tay ; they are supposed to have been partly Teutons and partly Kelts. (2) The Scots (Irish Gaels) who came from Ireland and settled in Argyleshire, 250 A.D., and began the kingdom of Dalreada, 500 A.D. (3) The Strathclyde Welsh occupied all the west of England, north of Chester, and west of Scotland ; their capital, Dumbarton. (4) Lothian, the south-eastern portion of Scotland, was occupied by northern tribes connected with the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria ; chief town, Edinburgh on the Forth. Ireland, at a very remote period, appears to have had settlers of a highly civilised character, quite different from any population known in historic times, probably Carthaginian. The present race appear to have been Kelts and Berbers from Spain, afterwards mixed up with a few Teutons ; they were called Scots, and Ireland was known as Scotia until the eleventh century. The Irish were always, with few exceptions, a wild and lawless people, nominally under the rule of four principal and a large number of petty chiefs. St. Patrick was their first Christian missionary in the fifth century.

GERMANY, west of the Oder, under Charlemagne ; eastward, the Slavons, the Avars, &c.

GAUL, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, under Charlemagne.

ITALY : North Italy, the Duchy of Benevento, the Exarchate. Corsica, under Charlemagne ; by grant to the Pope, Rome, &c. ; Duchy of Benevento, a fief under Charlemagne ; much of the south of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia under the Eastern empire, besides the Exarchate.

SPAIN : Galicia, the Asturias under the successor of the Gothic Don Pelayo from 714 A.D. ; there was also a small Christian kingdom in Murcia, but it was absorbed by the Mahometans, 756 A.D. Charlemagne had possession of a strip of territory south of the Pyrenees which was called the Spanish march (as a check on the Mahometans). Abderahman, of the family of the Ommiyade dynasty, which had been supplanted, 750 A.D., by the Abassides, took refuge in Spain and founded the khalifat of Cordova, which ruled over two-thirds of Spain.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE still possessed the territory from the

Adriatic, south of the Danube to the Black Sea ; but Illyria and Greece were partly occupied by Slavonic tribes only nominally subject to the empire. The north-west corner was Servia, a Slavonic state also nominally bound to the empire. The Bulgarians north of the Danube revolted from the Avars, 619 A.D., and crossed the Danube, and founded an independent kingdom in Moesia in 678 A.D. ; in 815 A.D., re-crossed the Danube, and founded the South Bulgarian empire, north of the Danube.

NORTH and WEST of the Black Sea were the Avars in Hungary, &c. (much humbled by Charlemagne), the Magyars (Transylvania), the Khazars extending to the Caspian, the Patzinacites, the Russians to the north of these, the kingdom of Biarindan beyond and further north than the Russians ; but all these barbarous races were more or less nomads, and their positions and their very names are continually changing, so that it is difficult to identify them.

ASIA.

ASIA MINOR and Crete still part of the Eastern Empire.

ALL ASIA, from the Mediterranean to the Indus, under the Khalifs of Bagdad (the Abassides).

INDIA. Buddhism in the ascendant, 600–800 A.D.

CHINA. After great discord, the Suy Dynasty, 590 A.D. ; much troubled by the barbarians. The Tang Dynasty, 618 A.D.

AFRICA.

EGYPT under the Khalifs of Bagdad.

NORTH AFRICA to the far west, as yet under the Khalifs of Bagdad ; very soon to be separated. The Edrisites in Fez, 782 A.D. ; the Aghabites in Tunis at Kairwoon, 800 A.D.

SEVENTH PERIOD.

From the Empire of Charlemagne to the Crusades, 1096 A.D.

I.—*The Empire of Charlemagne.*

1. THE revival of the Roman Empire in the West was not intended to be a mere continuation of the line which ended with Romulus Augustulus. The new empire was that which was supposed to be identified with the great power to which the western nationalities had always been accustomed to look with respect and deference. Constantinople and the Eastern Emperors were to a great extent outside of the sphere of practical action in the West. Rome, in its dangers and trials from Alaric, Attila, and others, had received no help from Constantinople. The interference of Justinian had destroyed the Gothic monarchy, which had bid fair to identify itself with the nation, and had thus prepared the way for the Lombard rule, which had proved more annoying than any other barbarian government. A woman, too, was governing in Constantinople; her character commanded no respect, and she could afford no protection. The feeling of the day is represented by the "Old Annals" of Lauresheim, quoted by Bryce, p. 53: "And because the name of emperor had now ceased among the Greeks, and their empire was possessed by a woman, it then seemed both to Leo, the Pope himself, and to all the holy fathers who were present in the selfsame council, as well as the rest of the Christian people, that they ought to take to be emperor Charles, King of the Franks, who held Rome itself, where the Cæsars had always been wont to sit." There were other reasons; one assigned by Hallam, i. 123, was the investing Charlemagne's dignity with the character of sacredness in the eyes of his barbarian

subjects, who had been accustomed to hear of emperors as superior to kings ; his rule was thereby changed at once from a dominion of force to a dominion of law.¹ Another, given by Maine, in his work on Ancient Law, pp. 103, 107, "The barbarians knew nothing of territorial sovereignty ; their kings ruled over Franks, Burgundians, Lombards, &c. To be something more than this there was only one precedent in the title of Emperor of Rome ; the moment a monarch departed from the special relation of chief to clansmen, he must take the full prerogative of the Roman emperor, or he had no political status whatever."² The power and rights of the new emperor were differently interpreted by the two parties foremost in the transfer of the imperial dignity. Charles, no doubt, considered his power over Rome the same as that which he exercised over his other conquests. The Pope supposed the emperor to stand simply as the defender of the papacy in the exercise of the Pope's spiritual and temporal rule. Charles, as Roman emperor, and his German successors claimed and exercised for ages great privileges, implying a primacy over the sovereigns of Europe until the year 1806 A.D., when Francis II. of Austria announced to the German Diet his resignation of the imperial crown. "If the name of the Roman empire still presented to the inhabitants of Europe, after so long an interruption, ideas of greatness and superior power, it was not a vain flattery which caused the title of emperor to be renewed, in order to bestow it upon Charlemagne. Since Diocletian . . . none of his successors could be compared to the King of the Franks, either for the extent of his states or for the strength of his armies. The new Empire of the West was not, however, composed of the same provinces as the old: the Saracen had despoiled Christianity of Africa and Spain, and Charles had only re-conquered a small part of the latter. But to make amends he had regained on the north a territory nearly equal to that which the empire had lost in the south. All Germany obeyed him as far as the mouths of the Elbe and the Oder ; and that half-savage country furnished Charles more valiant soldiers than the ancient emperors could have drawn from Numidia or Mauritania."³ "No claim can be more groundless than that which the modern French, the sons of the Latinised Kelt, set up to the Teutonic Charles."⁴ "French history, as it is commonly presented to Englishmen, exists only through a systematic

¹ Freeman's "Essays," p. 175. ² Student's "History of France," pp. 83, 84.

³ Sismondi, "History of the Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i. pp. 268, 269.

⁴ Bryce, p. 71.

misrepresentation of imperial history. Till all French influences are wholly cast aside and trampled under foot, the true history of the 'holy Roman empire can never be understood.'"¹ The empire of Karl der Grosse (Charlemagne) was the Teutonic empire which stands between two long periods of tumult and disorder, the empire to which the France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland of our day may trace their origin. Of all the Teutonic races which occupied north-eastern Gaul, east and west of the Rhine, the Austrasian Teutons were "the true-born Rhenish Franks," and with them the Thuringians, the Alemanni, the Bavarians, and the Burgundians; to these Karl der Grosse was most intimately allied. The Neustrian Teutons were to a large extent already Romanised. The seat of the new empire was at Aix-la-Chapelle, in Germany, the most convenient position as the head-quarters of a ruler whose whole life was spent in defending and extending his northern and eastern frontiers. "The unity of the empire was a boon required by the exigency of the time, and that by means of it Charlemagne preserved Christendom from the encroachments of paganism, at that time still prevailing in the east, and from those of the Mahomedans equally powerful in the south, besides refining the barbarian manners of the age, by the introduction of the arts of civilisation and of scholastic learning, form his great and all-sufficing exculpation."² The grand idea of the holy Roman empire, re-established by Germans, though never realised fully, was for ages dear to the German people (the noble families). The power of CHARLEMAGNE, by which this idea was for a long period partially realised, was the result of extraordinary labour. In the course of his life he had made fifty-three campaigns, of which eighteen were against the Saxons, one against the Thuringians, one against the Bavarians, one against the Aquitanians, five against the Lombards, five against the Saracens in Italy, seven against the Saracens in Spain, two against the Avars, four against the Slavi beyond the Elbe, three against the Danes, and two against the Greek empire in Italy. Germany gained by Charlemagne to Christianity and civilisation, and proved in her day to be the most powerful bulwark against the barbarians of the north and east, is the greatest result of his labours. It may yet be to our, or to a future, age the great barrier in the way of Slavonic aggression, headed by Russia.

2. *The empire of Charlemagne* consisted of (1) Austrasia (the north-west of Gaul and part of Germany), on both sides of the

¹ Freeman, "Essays," first series, p. 301.

² Menzel, vol. i. p. 231.

Rhine: chief towns, Aix-la-Chapelle; Metz on the Moselle; Duilia (Düren on the Rhine); Landen (west of the Meuse); Héristal on the Meuse (the estate and residence of the elder Pepin); Trèves; Magontia (Mayence); Ingleheim on the Rhine, where the emperor had his favourite palace; Frankfort; Wurtzburg; Theodoris Villa (Thionville) on the Moselle; Laon; and Wormatia (Worms). (2) Neustria, bounded by the Meuse, the Loire, and the ocean to the west of Austrasia; it included Brittany, which was under control of the empire: the chief towns were Paris (the favourite capital of the Merovingians); Sithin (S. Omer); Bononia (Boulogne); Soissons, and Tours on the Loire. (3) Burgundy, including part of east Gaul and all Switzerland: chief towns, Lyons and Geneva. (4) Aquitania, including Vasconia (Gascony); Septimania, the Spanish Marches; Corsica and the Balearic Isles: chief towns, Tolosa (Toulouse); Bordeaux; Barcelona; Nîmes; Narbonne. (5) Frizia: Deventer, on the Yssel, the chief town. (6) Saxony (to the borders of Denmark): chief towns, Buckholz; Badenfield; Paderborn; Bremen; Hamburg. (7) Alsatia, Alsace: chief town, Strasburg. (8) Alemannia (Baden), Wurtemberg, and part of Switzerland: chief towns, Constance, St. Gall, Chur. (9) Bavaria: chief towns, Ratisbon; Saltzburg. (10) Karinthia: chief town, Villack. (11) Avaria, north-east of Karinthia, between Ems, skirting the Danube to the Theiss, called the Austrian frontier, now Austria. (12) Italy, with the subject Duchy of Beneventum. (13) Friuli (Istria, Liburnia, Dalmatia), Friuli, now Udine, Capo d'Istria, belonging to the Eastern Empire. (14) The Croats, as far as the river Celtina, near Spalatro; Venice, though independent, did homage to Charlemagne, 806 A.D. The SCLAVONIC tribes beyond the Elbe were controlled by the establishment of the Eastern Marches, or border districts, which extended from the Elbe all along the Bohemian and Carpathian Mountains to the Theiss, the lower Danube, the Save, and the Dalmatian mountains on the Mediterranean. But this vast empire, in which so large an amount of warlike, unsettled, discontented barbarians had been incorporated, had within itself the seeds of its dissolution. The conquerors were even more exhausted than the conquered, for the diminution of the able-bodied warrior population increased yearly the difficulty of recruiting the armies, and the consequent inability to maintain powerful armies at once in the south, the east, and the north. The Danes, the Slavi, the northern pirates in the mouth of every navigable river, the Saracens in Italy and the south of France, the Bretons, and the Avars troubled the empire on every side, and, though repulsed, were not fully repressed. We gather from the

monkish and other contemporary chroniclers that the forced union of Gaul was a discordant one, as the amalgamation of the races had not as yet welded them into one people. Charlemagne himself could not always bring the forces of the empire to the particular point where immediate action was needed, nor could he more than for a time repress the tendency to localise the present resources of the empire, regardless of the claims and necessities of the outlying and exposed frontiers. The idea of an empire something beyond a mere mass of subject tribes; an idea that amalgamated the masses into a state¹; an idea not Teutonic but Roman, was premature. Society was averse to it. To some extent, however, all the practical advantages of orderly government, the partial rule of law, the growth of a middle class and of a strong free population, as well as safety from barbarian inroads, were realised in the nations which arose out of the dismemberment of the Carlovingian empire. In the internal government of this large empire, Charlemagne could do little but watch the administration of the laws already existing among the various nations. He republished, with a few corrections and additions, their ancient laws; and his capitularies, while they bear testimony to a savage and cruel state of feeling, prove the anxiety of the emperor to ameliorate the condition of society. Slavery was on the increase in the shape of serfdom. Some estates, one especially given to the learned Alcuin, had attached to it twenty thousand of these bondmen. In the interior of the empire, the security from war and from barbarian invasions had led to the discouragement of the free proprietors; their necessity, as soldiers ready on the spot to defend the territory, being less evident, the great landholders purchased the small properties and managed their estates by serfs or slaves. By royal judges, called *Missi Dominici*, the emperor endeavoured to amend the administration of the law and to put down local oppressors. In the territories belonging to the crown there was a strict economical management enforced. All the serfs and slaves, and those who rented farms, were placed under a manager, who regulated minutely the care of the cattle and the poultry-yard; the exercise of the mechanical arts by the men and the spinning and weaving of the women: these regulations affected one fourth of France, and were, no doubt, followed by all the great proprietors in the remaining three-fourths of the territory. Sismondi² remarks: "How hard must have been the condition of the renters, and the slaves and serfs, while thus ruled in all the details of

¹ Bryce, pp. 73, 74.² "History of France."

domestic life, and thus deprived of all free will and hope." It is, however, very probable, that in practice these minute regulations would be modified, and that the serf and the slaves had compensations which made life tolerable to them; and it is all but certain that this class gradually rose, step by step, to the position of small proprietors, and became what in French are called "the peasantry" (a word which has no right to be used in English history). Charlemagne was a patron and friend of learned men and of literature. He encouraged trade, opened out roads, protected the Jews and the foreign merchants, and was an admirer of the fine arts, especially architecture and music; he died 814 A.D., revered by all civilised and even barbarian Europe. His character grows in the estimation of our modern philosophical historians, who have studied his position and actions from a higher and more comprehensive position than the historians of the eighteenth century, who attribute his conquests to his ambition and bigotry, and regard the ravages of the Normans as carried on by way of revenge for his conduct towards the Saxons.¹ Lecky does justice to this great man. "Of all the great rulers of men there has probably been no other who was so truly many-sided, whose influence pervaded so completely all the religious, intellectual, and political modes of thought existing in his time. Rising in one of the darkest periods of European history, this great emperor resuscitated with a brief but dazzling splendour the faded glories of the Empire of the West; conducted for the most part in person numerous expeditions against the barbarous nations around him; promulgated a vast system of legislation; reformed the discipline of every order of the Church; reduced all classes of the clergy to subservience to his will; while, by legalising tithes, he greatly increased their material prosperity, contributing in a measure to check the intellectual decadence by founding schools and libraries, and drawing around him all the scattered learning of Europe; reformed the coinage; extended the commerce; influenced religious controversies, and created great representative assemblies, which ultimately contributed largely to the organisation of feudalism. In all these spheres the traces of his vast organising and far-seeing genius may be detected, and the influence which he exercised over the imaginations of men is shown by the numerous legends of which he is the hero. In the preceding ages the supreme ideal had been the ascetic . . . in the romances of Charlemagne and of Arthur we may trace the dawning of another type of greatness; the hero of the

¹ Hume, vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

imagination of Europe was no longer a hermit, but a king, a warrior, or a knight . . . the age of the ascetics began to fade. The age of the Crusades and of chivalry succeeded it."¹ J. C. Morrison, in his "Life of Gibbon," remarks: "Gibbon's account of Charlemagne is strangely inadequate. . . . He did not realise the greatness of the man, of his age, or of his work. Properly considered, the eighth century is the most important and memorable which Europe has ever seen. During its course, the geographical limits, the ecclesiastical polity, and the feudal system, within and under which our western group of nations was destined to live for five or six centuries, were provisionally settled and determined. The wonderful house of the Carolings, which provided no less than five successive rulers of genius, of whom two had extraordinary genius—Charles Martel and Charlemagne—were the human instruments of this great work. The Frankish monarchy was hastening to ruin when they saved it. Saxons in the east and Saracens in the south were on the point of extinguishing the few surviving embers of civilisation which still existed. . . . Charles and his ancestors prevented this evil . . . the struggle and the care of the hero to master in some degree the wide welter of barbarism surging around him, he (Gibbon) never recognised" (p. 164).

II.—*The Decline of the Carlovingian Empire.*

3. The death of Charlemagne was followed by the succession of his son, Louis the Pious, a man of saint-like disposition, utterly unfit to rule over the empire. He was twice deposed by his unnatural sons, and again restored. On his death, 840 A.D., Louis the Germanic and Charles the Bald allied against their brother Lothaire, who claimed the position of suzerain. The Battle of Fontenoy, 841 A.D., was decided against Lothaire, who retreated. By the Treaty of Verdun, 843 A.D., Italy, with Lotharingia, Burgundy Transjurane, and Burgundy Cisjurane, were given to Lothaire, France to Charles the Bald, and Germany to Louis II. In 855 A.D. Lothaire died, and his territory was divided into Italy, Lorraine, and the Burgundies. Lorraine and the Burgundies, 863 and 869 A.D., were reunited to Italy, which was, in 875 A.D., annexed to France by Charles the Bald. On the death of Charles the Fat, 888 A.D., *France, Germany, and Italy* became distinct and separate states. Lorraine, which had been for a time separated from Germany, was reunited, 900–959 A.D. Cisjurane

¹ Lecky, "History of European Morals," pp. 288, 289.

Burgundy, with Arles, &c., formed a separate kingdom under Boson, while Transjurane Burgundy became a kingdom under Rudolf. Both these Burgundies were united in 934 A.D. as the kingdom of Arles, and in a few years, 1016–1033, were absorbed, partly by Germany and partly by France. The petty kingdom of Navarre, partly in French and partly in Spanish territory, was, after 831 A.D., attached to Spain. After 963 A.D., Italy became practically a fief of the German empire. In reviewing the wars and calamities which desolated the empire of Charlemagne from 814–888 A.D. (a period of seventy-four years), it is difficult to find words to express our detestation of the unnatural paricidal and fratricidal conduct of the family of Charlemagne. The civil wars were undoubtedly the result partly of a determination on the part of the nationalities to realise a separate national existence, a desire which might have been peaceably carried out; but these unnatural sons and brothers managed to destroy the family of Charlemagne. They that used the sword so readily perished by the sword, and the vast territories composing the late empire of Charlemagne were inherited and ruled over by strangers to his blood and race. This period of seventy-four years “was indeed the nadir of order and civilisation. From all sides the torrent of barbarism, which Charles the Great had stemmed, was rushing down upon his empire. The Saracen wasted the Mediterranean coasts and sacked Rome itself; the Dane and Norsemen swept the Atlantic and the North Sea, pierced France and Germany by their rivers, burning, slaying, carrying off the population into captivity; pouring through the Straits of Gibraltar, they fell upon Provence and Italy. By land, while Wends, and Czecks, and Obo tribes threw off the German yoke and threatened the borders, the wild Hungarian bands, pressing in from the steppes of the Caspian, dashed over Germany like the flying spray of a new wave of barbarism, and carried the terror of their battle-axes to the Apennines and the ocean. Under such strokes the already-loosened fabric swiftly dissolved. No one thought of common defence or wide organisation; the strong built castles, the weak became their bondsmen, or took shelter under the cowl. The governor, count, abbot, or bishop tightened his grasp, turned a delegated into an independent, a personal into a territorial authority, and hardly owned a distant and feeble suzerain. The grand vision of a universal Christian empire was utterly lost in the isolation, the antagonism, the increasing localisation of all powers.”¹ The

¹ Bryce, pp. 78, 79.

tendency towards resident localised authorities for administration and defence was irresistible, as was evident from the divisions and subdivisions of the Merovingian and the Carolingian dynasties. It was, unfortunately, the necessity of the age. Fiefs had become virtually hereditary under the Merovingians, when the possessor was strong enough to hold his fiefs, and wise and prudent enough to abstain from open rebellion. Charles the Bald, in an assembly of the States of France, June 14, 877 A.D., at Kiersey, published a capitulary, in which he engaged to give always to the son of a count, &c., &c., and as a legal heritage, the position of his father, reserving to himself, however, the right of appointing in case the deceased had left no son. By this means the rights of those holding fiefs direct from the Crown were fully established; and also the same rule was to be applied to all who held land or office under counts, or bishops and abbots. "The nobles began to see that their strength was based on law."¹ By the end of the eighth century (900 A.D.) there were *twenty-nine* such fiefs held in France. In the course of the tenth century (up to 1000 A.D.) there were *fifty-five*. The advantages connected with a local government were obvious; the danger of weakening the authority of the central power was not so easily seen. One good followed, the increased settlement of the land by free tenants bound only to military service.

III.—*The Feudal System.*

4. Thus, in the decline of the Carolingian empire, that which is called *the feudal system of tenure* and rule became fully established in western, southern, and central Europe. In principle, the essential conditions of this system, the existence of a suzerain, and under him dependent holders of land subject to military service, are observable in the early history of most nations. The application of the system, carried out fully and maintained for centuries, arose out of the position of our barbarian ancestors. They found themselves an army of conquerors, encamped on hostile ground, exposed to the revolt of the conquered, and to the rivalry of powerful tribes as warlike as themselves. It was the one condition of their existence that they should be always prepared as soldiers to repress their subjects, and to defend their conquests from competitive tribes; and yet it was also necessary that the land appropriated by the conquerors should be settled and cultivated by responsible owners. While many of the barbarians held their land direct from

¹ "Encyc. Brit." (France), p. 533.

the chief, the great landholders, holding direct from the same chief, were obliged, by the extent of their possessions, to grant to their dependants land in fiefs, to be held by them on conditions of military service. The term fief is supposed to be an abbreviation of the word used in the Roman imperial law (*emphyteusis*) to describe an estate granted to be held not absolutely, the use only being given to the grantee as a mere tenant. Such tenants under the feudal law were called vassals, from the Keltic word *gways* or the Teutonic word *gesell*, meaning a subordinate helper. Words as *feum* and *fevum* occur in charters of the tenth century, the word *feudum* in the eleventh century. The vassal was invested in his position and rights over the property bestowed upon him by solemn forms, which appealed to men's religious and moral feelings, and which it was deemed impious and infamous to violate. The relation took the shape, and was in reality a mutual interchange, of benefits, of bounty and protection on the one hand, of gratitude and service due on the other. The obligations thus arising were so powerful that the ties of relationship were looked upon as inferior to the claims of vassal and suzerain upon each other. These fiefs, at first granted during good-will, then for life, then hereditary—practically, though not legally or formally—in the direct male line, then hereditary in collateral branches of the original grantee, then hereditary in the female line. In France the fiefs became formally hereditary in the reign of the first Capets; in Germany, under the Emperor Conrad II., 1024 A.D. The system became more complicated when the granting of fiefs, at first confined to the supreme power, the sovereign of the state, began to be granted by the holders of fiefs to their dependants. This was called *subinfeudation*, and was virtually an alienation of a portion of the original fief, by which the vassal of the suzerain became himself the *mesne* lord of others called *arrere* vassals. This arrangement sometimes placed men in difficulty and contrary positions. A lord might become the vassal of his own vassal, and a vassal lord over his own lord. "While the feudal system lasted, everybody, except a few exalted persons, had a suzerain; even the highest in one capacity might be a vassal in another. The world was used to a universal overlapping and interlacing of rights and obligations."¹ But there remained for many years lands held by proprietors independent of feudal lords. These were the lands which remained to the conquered in the original partition enforced by the conquerors, and other lands, the possession of great chiefs,

¹ *Daily News*.

held by them as their share of the conquest, and not received from the suzerain. These were the *allodial* lands. An allodial proprietor was without a lord, but was also without any claim for protection. But so necessary was this protection from a near and superior protector in the middle ages, that the larger number of the allodial properties were transformed into fiefs by the tenth and eleventh centuries. Society consisted of slaves belonging to landed estates, vassals holding lands on military tenure, with other minor obligations, and lords holding from the suzerain and owing military service to him. The lord had his right of military service from his vassals, a right of wardship over his vassals who were minors, the giving female heirs in marriage, payments when his son was knighted or his eldest daughter married, or for his redemption if taken captive ; he held courts of law and administered legal and criminal jurisdiction. In England, William the Conqueror divided the whole land into sixty thousand knight-fees, each bound to serve in the field forty days at their own expense. Such was *the feudal system*, to which our European civilisation is so highly indebted. We have been able to dispense with it, and no one desires to revive it, even if it were possible. The man has outlived the guardianship and the restrictions of the nursery and the pedagogue, but he does not revile the necessary restrictions imposed upon his childhood and youth. Feudality had its uses, and to be able to recognise these, and to do justice to their efficiency and results, is just the difference which distinguishes the well-informed historical student from the partial and prejudiced literary men of the last century. We now give some sober judgments of great men to help our readers to a right apprehension of the good and the evil of this system.

“The notions of loyalty, of honour, of nobility, and of the importance, socially and politically, of landed over other property are the most striking of the feelings which may be considered to have taken their birth from the feudal system. These notions are opposed to the tendency of the commercial and manufacturing spirit which has been the great moving power of the world since the decline of strict feudalism ; but that power has not yet been able to destroy, or perhaps even materially to weaken, the opinions above mentioned in the minds of the masses. We are not, however, to pass judgment upon feudalism, as the originating and shaping principle of a particular form into which human society has run, simply according to our estimate of the value of these, its relics at the present day. The true question is, if this particular organisation had not been given to European society, after the dissolution of the

ancient civilisation, what other order of things would in all likelihood have arisen?—a better or a worse than that which did result? Some assistance in settling this question might, perhaps, be obtained by comparing the history of society from this date in the feudal countries with its history in those parts of Europe to which feudalism never reached—France or England, for instance, with Denmark, Sweden, and Hungary. As for the state of society during the actual prevalence of the feudal system, it was, without doubt, in many respects exceedingly defective and barbarous. But the system, with all its imperfections, still combined the two essential qualities of being both a system of stability and a system of progression. It did not fall to pieces, neither did it stand still. Notwithstanding all its rudeness, it was, what every right system of polity is, at once conservative and productive. And perhaps it is to be most fairly appreciated by being considered, not in what it actually was, but in what it preserved from destruction and in what it produced.”¹

“It is the previous state of society under the grand-children of Charlemagne which we must always keep in mind if we would appreciate the effects of the feudal system upon the welfare of mankind. The institutions of the eleventh century must be compared with those of the ninth, not with the advanced civilisation of modern times. If the view which I have taken of those dark ages is correct, the state of anarchy which we usually term feudal was the natural result of a vast and barbarous empire feebly administered, and the cause, rather than the effect, of the general establishment of feudal tenures. These, by preserving the mutual relations of the whole, kept alive the feeling of a common country and commodities, and settled, after the lapse of ages, into the free constitution of England, the firm monarchy of France, and the federal union of Germany. The utility of any form of polity may be estimated by its effect upon national greatness and security, upon civil liberty and private rights, upon the tranquillity and order of society, upon the increase and diffusion of wealth, or upon the general tone of moral sentiment and energy. The feudal constitution was certainly, as has been observed already, little adapted for the defence of a mighty kingdom, far less for schemes of conquest. But, as it prevailed alike in several adjacent countries, none had anything to fear from the military superiority of its neighbours. It was this inefficiency of the feudal militia, perhaps, that saved Europe during the middle ages from the danger of universal monarchy. In times

¹ “Feudal System,” *Penny Encyc.*, vol. x. pp. 243–248.

when princes had little notion of confederacies for mutual protection, it is hard to say what might not have been the successes of an Otho the Great, a Frederic Barbarossa, or a Philip Augustus, if they could have wielded the whole force of their subjects whenever their ambition required. If an empire equally extensive with that of Charlemagne, and supported by military despotism, had been formed about the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, the seeds of commerce and liberty, just then beginning to shoot, would have perished, and Europe, reduced to a barbarous servitude, might have fallen before the free barbarians of Tartary. If we look at the feudal polity as a scheme of civil freedom, it bears a noble countenance. To the feudal law it is owing that the very names of right and privilege were not swept away as in Asia by the desolating hand of power. The tyranny which, on every favourable moment, was breaking through all barriers, would have rioted without control if, when the people were poor and disunited, the nobility had not been brave and free. So far as the sphere of feudality extended, it diffused the spirit of liberty and the notions of private right. . . . But, as a school of moral discipline, the feudal institutions were most to be valued. Society had sunk, for several centuries after the dissolution of the Roman Empire, into a condition of utter depravity, where, if any vices could be selected as more eminently characteristic than others, they were falsehood, treachery, and ingratitude. In slowly purging off the lees of this extreme corruption the feudal spirit exerted its ameliorating influence. Violation of faith stood first in the catalogue of crimes most repugnant to the very essence of a feudal tenure, most severely and promptly avenged, most branded by general infamy. The feudal law books breathe throughout a spirit of honourable obligation. . . . In the reciprocal services of lord and vassal there was ample scope for every magnanimous and disinterested energy. . . . From these feelings, engendered by the feudal relations, has sprung up the peculiar sentiment of personal reverence and attachment towards a sovereign which we denominate loyalty; alike distinguishable from the stupid devotion of Eastern slaves and from the abstract respect with which free citizens regard their chief magistrate. . . . In ages when the rights of the community were unfelt, this sentiment was one great preservative of society, and, though collateral or even subservient to more enlightened principles, it is still indispensable to the tranquillity and permanence of every monarchy. In a moral view, loyalty has scarcely, perhaps, less tendency to refine and elevate the heart than patriotism itself, and holds a middle place in the scale of human

motives, as they ascend from the grosser inducement of self-interest to the furtherance of general happiness and conformity to the purposes of infinite wisdom.”¹

“The introduction of the feudal régime . . . altered the distribution of the populations over the face of the country. Until that time the masters of the soil, the sovereign class, lived collected in masses, more or less numerous, either sedentary in the towns or wandering in bands over the country. In the feudal state these same persons lived insulated, each in his own habitation, at great distances from one another. . . . Internal life, domestic society are certain here to acquire a great preponderance. . . . Was it not in the feudal family that the importance of women took its rise? . . . Feudalism was a necessity, because society was incapable of a better polity. . . . It declined when the state of society had become compatible with extensive government.”² One evil traceable to the feudal system is the tendency “to enhance every unsocial and unchristian sentiment involved in the exclusive respect for birth.”³ It looked down upon all citizens and the mercantile and trading classes. In our day the aristocracy have ceased to be the military prop of the nation, and the main support of our country now rests upon the agricultural, mercantile, manufacturing, and trading classes of society, who have become the dispensers of political power in the elections for the House of Commons.

IV.—*The Ravages of the Normans, Huns, and Saracens.*

5. The lamentable condition of all classes of society in Western Europe, arising partly out of the exhaustion of the free population in the necessary aggressive wars of Charlemagne, and in the fratricidal wars of his children and grand-children, helps to explain the otherwise unaccountable success and continuance of the invasions of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Saracens in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. In reading the details of these barbarian ravages, which met with so little resistance, we naturally inquire where is the king or emperor? where the great nobles? where the feudal militia of armed men, who hold their lands by military tenure? They are never found when their presence is needed. Here and there a brave noble or the citizens of a walled town offer resistance, but generally victory was with the assailants, and then

¹ Hallam's "Middle Ages," eleventh edition, vol. i. pp. 269-272.

² Abridged from Guizot's "History of Civilisation in France."

³ Hallam's "Middle Ages," vol. i. p. 321.

a great slaughter; the plunder, consisting of slaves, bullion, and cattle, being carried safely away. The rapid extinction of the free rural population laid open the empire to these brigands. The great lords, at first, generally consulted their own safety by abiding in their castles, safe from the attacks of the invader, having no forces sufficient to cope with the enemy, "while in the towns and villages there was not a place unpolluted by dead bodies." Those who submitted as well as those who resisted were massacred, and their houses and churches burnt. So jealous were the kings, the successors of Charlemagne in Gaul, of voluntary unions and leagues of the peasantry even for protection against the Northmen, that penalties of scourging, mutilation, and banishment were inflicted upon the parties thus leagued. But these ravagers were soon subdued when the feudal organisation was complete; then the marauders were encountered by an armed population led by their nobles. The feudal lord, though he might be selfish and stern, and inclined to rule over his serfs with a high hand, was generally faithful to his duties of military defence against these and all invaders of his territory.

(1) *The Normans.*—The whole coasts of the Baltic, of the Atlantic, and of the islands in the northern ocean were, in the ninth and tenth centuries, infested by pirates, the Vi-kings issuing forth from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in search of plunder, and, in due time, of settlement for their families and followers, for whom there appeared to them to be no room in their native lands. Charlemagne had planned the building and maintaining a powerful fleet, and strong forts at the mouths of the rivers, as defences against marauders by sea; but these had been neglected by his successors, who had not a single armed ship on the seas, nor anywhere a standing troop of soldiers. The whole extent of coast from the Eyder to the Adour, as well as the rivers of France and Germany, afforded facilities for sudden attacks and plunder, which were gladly embraced. There were three principal positions occupied by them: (a) on the Scheldt and the Rhine, from which they devastated Flanders, Lower Louvain, and Friesland; (b) on the Loire, from which Hastings carried his merciless inroads as far as Italy; (c) on the Seine, from which they burnt Rouen and Paris. The latter city was besieged in 886 A.D., and was only saved by the courage of its bishop and Count Eudes. Rollo took possession of part of Neustria, and received what was then called Normandy as a fief from Charles the Simple, 912 A.D. The number and extensive area occupied by these inroads is thus depicted by Sir F. Palgrave: "Take the map, and cover with vermilion the provinces, districts,

and shores which the Northmen visited, as a record of each invasion; the colouring will have to be repeated more than ninety times successively before you arrive at the conclusion of the dynasty of Charles the Great. Furthermore, mark by the usual symbol of war (two crossed swords) the localities where battles were fought by the pirates, where they were defeated or triumphant, or where they pillaged, burnt, or destroyed; and the valleys and banks of the Elbe, the Rhine, and Moselle, the Scheldt, the Meuse, Somme, and Seine, Loire, Garonne, and Adour, and all the coasts and coastlands between estuary and estuary, all the countries between rivers and streams will appear bristling as with chevaux-de-frise."¹ In England they eventually established a dynasty, as also in Naples and Sicily. Ireland and the west islands were their regularly visited homes, and Scotland did not quite escape their ravages. The inroads of the Northmen ceased about the end of the tenth century, as soon as the full consolidation of the feudal system had placed local authorities in the persons of chiefs interested in the localities they governed, and able to call together the armed population to resist. (2) *The Hungarians* (Magyars), originally from the Uralian Mountains, driven from the Wolga by the Petchenegans, and from the Ukraine by people afterwards called the Russians, arrived in Dacia 889 A.D. For about seventy years they carried rapine and desolation from the Danube to the German Ocean, to the Maes and the Moselle, and even to the Po. Mounted on swift, small horses, they passed quickly away when defeated; and their savage habits gave them, with their quickness, the reputation of being possessed with supernatural power (from 884-955 A.D.). All Europe, especially southern France and Spain, were terrified at their progress, anticipating their attacks, which were followed by indiscriminate massacre. The German emperor and nobles did their duty to Germany and civilisation. Very important and destructive battles were fought at Ems and at Vienna 900 A.D., in Thuringia 907 A.D., in Franconia 909 A.D., and at Merseburg, 934 A.D., by Henry the Fowler. In 955 A.D. Otho I. defeated them with great slaughter at Augsburg, and thus put an end to their invasions of Germany. In Italy they burnt Pavia, and thence entered Provence and pillaged Nîmes and Toulouse, 924 A.D., but after the loss at Augsburg they ceased to trouble Germany, Italy, and France. (3) *The Saracens* were chiefly hurtful in the south of Europe (the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean being in the possession of their friends

¹ A. H. Johnson's "The Normans," p. 15.

the Khalifs of Bagdad and Egypt), they ravaged the coasts of Italy, conquered Sicily, 827-962 A.D., and Crete, plundering the coasts of Asia Minor; in southern Gaul they attempted by force to settle at Frejus, from which they took possession of the Pass of St. Maurienne, exacting payment from travellers, 950 A.D., but could not maintain possession beyond forty years. In Italy they attempted to form colonies in Campagna, Puglia, Bari, Tarentum, Mount Gargano, Beneventum, and Salerno; many of the petty independent dukes and nobles leagued with them, among these the Bishop-Duke of Naples, took part in their devastations and destruction of towns and churches. Rome itself, under Pope John VIII., paid tribute to them, 878 A.D. Rome was saved by the courage and activity of Pope Leo IV., 847-855 A.D., and by the defeat of their forces, 916 A.D., by Pope John X. on the banks of the Garigliano. From Spain they troubled southern France and the Balearic Isles. One good effect of the ravages of the Normans, Hungarians, and Saracens was, that they led to the fortification of the cities of Germany and Italy by the citizens, and the raising of city militias for self-defence, from which self-government in due time followed.

V.—*The three kingdoms offshoots of the Carlovingian Empire.*

6. In the ninth and tenth centuries western Europe began to take the shape which its political organisations have preserved to our day. Eastern Europe also, though less clearly, foreshadowed the particular races which since then have formed powerful nations. From this period the history of the European world is that of the beginnings and the progress of the nationalities existing in our day. Three kingdoms, which arose out of the division of the empire of Charlemagne, naturally claim the first place in the narration.

FRANCE had ten kings of the Carlovingian Dynasty up to the beginning of the Capetian line (Hugh Capet), 987 A.D. In this transition period, in which the power of the king or suzerain gradually diminished, and before the full consolidation of the power given to the great lords by the operation of the feudal system, France appeared to be helpless, and without the organisation necessary for its defence, the Normans ravaging from north to south. Paris was thrice besieged by them, and ransomed by the payment of tribute, while Normandy was yielded to Rollo, 911 A.D., and Aquitania, Septimania, and Brittany were virtually independent. Forty great barons, under various titles, of whom Hugh, Duke of France and Count of Paris, was the most powerful, overshadowed the king, whose actual territory was confined to a small district round Laon. There

were six lay peerages besides the royal domains, Flanders, Normandy, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Burgundy (the duchy), and Champagne. HUGH CAPET, son of the Duke of France, was raised to the throne 987 A.D. He thus *annexed the crown of France* to one of the most extensive and powerful fiefs, and became *the legal head of a confederate aristocracy*, with the great advantage of being strong enough, in his own territories and by his own resources, to govern independently. He was the representative of the new nationality of France, distinguished from the old Teutonic element, that is to say, the "foreign" dominion of the Carlovingians. This was not, however, felt at the time, as the Germanised barons were foremost in raising Hugh Capet to the throne. But *the real France* now began. Before this it had been a divided country of eastern and western nations. "It was indeed a natural crystallisation of the confused elements of ruined Gaul, mingled with all that the Teutonic race had brought to renew it, but which had also fallen into premature dissolution."¹ The crown derived real power from the fief of Hugh Capet. Paris, the capital of Hugh, was a fixed centre, and united Neustria and Austrasia. "The mere change of the royal city was an event of the highest importance. The rock of Laon could never have won the same position as the island city of the Seine. It might have remained a royal fortress, it could never have become a national capital."² And under this dynasty the langue d'oïl became the court language, displacing the German dialect of the Carlovingians. In the reign of Henry I., 1032-4 A.D., there was a terrible famine, no harvest for three years, but that of 1034 A.D. was equal to the produce of three years. Softened by this trial and relief, the clergy had influence to procure, in 1035 A.D., a proclamation of the "Peace of God" against private wars. But this restraint was found too much to be endured, and it was altered into "the Truce of God," by which private war was much limited. Philip I. began to reign 1060 A.D., and was king at the beginning of the Crusades. At this time "the demesne royal" of the kings of France consisted of Paris, Melun, Étampes, Orleans, and Sens, equal to the modern departments of Seine, Seine and Oise, Seine and Marne, and Loiret.

GERMANY, as an independent state, the bulwark of the west and of the south of Europe against the northern and eastern barbarians, is the creation of Charlemagne. It was his legacy towards the consolidation and preservation of civilisation in Europe. On the death of Charles the Fat, 888 A.D., *Arnulf*, of the Carlovingian family,

¹ Crowe, vol. i. p. 71.

² Freeman's "Essays," first series, p. 91.

became, as king, the ruler of Germany. He defeated the Normans with great slaughter near Lyons, and again near Louvain, 891 A.D., after which they ceased to trouble Germany. Then followed wars against the Slavi, and the Prince of Moravia (Suatopolk), and the first contact of Germany with the barbarous Huns (called at that time Bulgarians), 894 A.D. After this Arnulf made two expeditions into Italy, 894–896 A.D., to assert the imperial authority over Rome. A legal fiction supposes that the emperor rules over four kingdoms—(1) The Franks (Romans and Germans), (2) Lombardy, (3) Burgundy, (4) the double crown of the Roman Empire at Rome. Louis the Child, his son, succeeded 899 A.D. The Moravian kingdom was broken up by the Bohemians and Hungarians. These latter ravaged Germany, where they met with stout resistance, till, at last, Louis agreed to a ten years' truce, and to pay tribute. This last of the Carolingians died before he had reigned, in 911 A.D. *Conrad of Franconia* was elected emperor by the dukes of the five powerful nations, the Franks, the Suabians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Lorrainers. He had to contend with some of his great and powerful nobles, and with the Slavi and the Hungarians, and died of a wound received in battle with the Hungarians, 918 A.D. *Henry the Fowler*, Duke of Saxony, succeeded, and before 921 A.D. had established his authority over Suabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine. He resisted the Hungarians, but was obliged for a time to temporise, A.D. 924–926. Henry, having taken prisoner Zoldan their king, concluded with him a truce of nine years, and agreed to pay a yearly tribute. This period of comparative rest from Hungarian inroads was spent in consolidating and increasing the defences of the empire (1) by the establishment of the Margravates of Misnia, Schleswig, Wenden, and Brandenburg, and the restoration of that of Styria (Austria); (2) he increased the number of the cities, and secured their safety by walls and other fortifications; garrisoned them with the free men, obliging a certain portion of these to reside in the cities. The others held their farms as near the cities as possible, and, after a while, mainly resided in them. These garrison towns were under the command of the emperor's officers, independent of the grafs, dukes, and abbots. The towns became the head-quarters of the industrial classes, manufacturers, artificers, &c., while the fairs, markets, and public assemblies of the citizens led to the increase of trade and the beginning and perfecting of municipal institutions. He also improved the military organisation, by enrolling and training the free men in each locality into a regular corps of infantry. By this means he carried on successful wars with the Slavic tribes, the Obotrites, the Sorbians,

the Hevelli, and other barbarous tribes, with the Bohemians, and was strong enough to refuse tribute to the Hungarians, 933 A.D. Two armies of the Hungarians, one near Sonderhausen and another at Saal, near Merseburg, were defeated with great slaughter. Next year he repulsed the Danes, and obliged King Gorm to abolish the annual national sacrifice, in which ninety-nine men were slain on the pagan altars. He died 935 A.D. *Otho I., the Great*, had to repress the insurrection of the Slavi and the invasions of the Hungarians, and to subdue some of his rebellious nobles. A great victory at Merseburg, 955 A.D., over the Hungarians, prevented any further attack by these barbarians. The three expeditions into Italy divided his attention from the far more important work of consolidating the power of the empire over the Slavi, Bohemians, and Hungarians. The first expedition took place 951-2 A.D.; the second 961-5 A.D.; the third 966-972 A.D. He was crowned emperor there 962 A.D., and the Romans and the clergy promised to elect no Pope without his sanction. To us these Italian transactions appear to be what they were, a serious evil to the empire; but they were in accordance with German feeling as the enforcement of a right of the imperial prerogative transmitted from Charlemagne to his successor, the emperor of "the Holy Roman Empire." The German emperors supposed themselves to be the true successors of the Roman emperor. As such they claimed a precedency, with the peculiar right of appointing rulers to the kingly dignity. Christendom was viewed as a great republic, the religious head being the Pope, the secular head the emperor. The emperor claimed the right of confirming the election of the Pope; and all the popes from Otho to Henry IV. were thus confirmed by the emperors. It was also considered highly desirable for the emperor to receive the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope. Otho was thus the restorer, or rather *the second founder*, of this empire. "Why a revival of the empire should have laid hold of the imaginations of the leading minds of the tenth and following centuries is an enigma to us. Probably the disorders which accompanied the fall of the old empire, and which again followed the death of Charlemagne, impressed men with a craving for orderly rule by a strong hand, and ruling by a title universally acknowledged. The notions of free government administered in parliamentary assemblies were cast into the shade by the power of two great ideas, which expiring antiquity had bequeathed to the ages that followed—a world monarchy, and a world religion. As the men of that day could not imagine . . . a community of saints without its expression in a visible Church, so, in matters temporal, they recognised no

brotherhood of spirit without the bonds of forms; no universal humanity save in the image of a universal state. In this, and in much else, the men of the middle ages were the slaves of the letter, unable, with all their associations, to rise out of the concrete, and prevented by the very grandeur and boldness of their conceptions from carrying them out in practice against the enormous obstacles that met them. Under Otho I. the Germans became not only a united nation, but were at once raised on a pinnacle among European peoples as the imperial race, the possessors of Rome and of Roman authority."¹ *Otho II.* had a short and troubled reign, 973-983 A.D., having to repress the Slavi, the Danes, the Greeks of Lower Italy, and to defend Lorraine against the French. He died at Rome in his twenty-eighth year, 983 A.D. *Otho III.* (aged three years) succeeded under the regency of his mother, Theophania (a Greek princess), who had to contend with the rebellious nobles, the Slavi, the Poles, the Bohemians, and with France, which desired to conquer Lorraine. This able lady died 991 A.D. *Otho III.* made three expeditions into Italy, and in 998 A.D. put down the republic of Rome, which had been created by the patrician Crescentius. The resistance of Crescentius had been pardoned the preceding year, but on this occasion he was publicly beheaded on the battlements of Rome, in view of the army and of the people. In 999 A.D. *Otho* placed his tutor Gerbert in the papal chair as *Sylvester II.* The tutor and the emperor were in advance of their age. The former had gleaned from Saracen translations from the Greek, as well as from Latin literature, and was master of the science of the day. It is supposed that they had planned to remove the seat of empire to Rome—a project which, had he lived, he would not have been able to carry out, for the centre of political power had long moved northward: he died at the early age of twenty-two, 1002 A.D. *Henry II.* (the Holy), Duke of Bavaria, was elected emperor, and had to battle, like his predecessors, with rebellious nobles, with the Poles, and Bohemians, and the Slavi. He was thrice in Italy, and died 1024 A.D. "Perhaps, with the single exception of *St. Louis IX.*, there was no other prince of the middle ages so uniformly swayed by justice."² *Conrad II.* (the Salic) of Franconia was elected emperor in a diet in the plains between Mentz and Worms, near Oppenheim, which was attended by princes, nobles, and 50,000 people altogether. His reign was remarkable for the justice and mercy which he always

¹ Abridged from Bryce, vol. i. pp. 90-145.

² Dunham's "Germany," vol. i. p. 117.

kept in view. The kingdom of Arles and Burgundy was united to the empire, 1033 A.D. He checked the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Lombards, and gave Schleswick to Denmark as a fief. In 1037 A.D. he granted to the lower vassals of the empire the hereditary succession to their offices and estates, and so extended the privileges of the great nobles, as to make them almost independent of the crown. *Henry III.* succeeded, 1039 A.D., and established the imperial power with a high hand. *Henry IV.*, his son, succeeded at the early age of six years, 1056 A.D. His reign was distinguished by the disputes about the regency, and also by the rebellion of the Saxons, and by his long struggle with the claims of the popes in Germany and Italy. Two great changes were going on in Germany in this reign : on the one hand, the citizens of the towns began to exercise no small amount of self-government ; on the other hand, the free men, the holders of allodial estates, free by their position as holding direct from the empire, had to resist the attempts of the nobles to reduce them to vassalage. The Eastern Frisians, in their seven petty republics, resisted these attempts successfully. "Radabat, the founder of the Hapsburg line, may be said to have inoculated his race with hatred to freedom by the violent reduction of his free peasantry to a state of vassalage." Germany was already gradually becoming a confused mass of dukes, margraves, princes, bishops, abbots, and free cities, nominally acknowledging the empire, but seldom obedient to the emperor.

ITALY.—Eight kings of the Carolingian race were acknowledged in Italy from 814 A.D. to the last, Charles the Fat, who was deposed, and died 838 A.D. Afterwards ten kings until 962 A.D., when Otho I., the Great, claimed Italy as a fief of the empire, 962 A.D. At this time the Lombard Duchy of Benevento had lost in territory, Capua and Salerno having become independent principalities. The Eastern Empire ruled over "the theme of Lombardy," which included Apulia and Calabria, by its Catapans. The Saracens had made the conquest of Sicily between 827 A.D. and 962 A.D. They had also established themselves in various important positions in Italy, and took part in the petty wars of the Duchy of Benevento. Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta, while nominally acknowledging the Eastern Empire, were, in fact, self-governed republics, like Venice. Fortunately for southern Italy, NORMAN adventurers took possession of Apulia and Calabria, and having defeated Pope Leo IX., who had bravely led an army against them (1053 A.D.), received from Pope Nicholas II. (1059 A.D.) the investiture of these provinces as fiefs of the Holy See, together with the city of Naples, and the rest

of the Greek territory subsequently conquered. This new power was the kingdom of NAPLES, increased in 1060–1090 A.D. by the conquest of Sicily from the Saracens. ROME, the seat of the papacy, had fallen very low. After the death of Pope Nicholas I., in 867 A.D., the low character of some of the popes and contested elections to the papal chair enabled the Counts of Tuscany to exercise an undue influence in the appointment of the popes. Three ladies of this family, the two Theodoras and Marozia, regarded as courtesans by their enemies, were the real rulers over their nominee Popes. Alberic of Spoleto, of this family, assumed the consulship and governed Rome as a republic from 931 A.D. to 954 A.D. After his death Rome was governed by a prefect and two consuls, and tribunes elected annually. By the interference of Otho I., 962–973 A.D., the popes were relieved from this bondage, and in 999 A.D. Otho III. placed the learned Gerbert (Sylvester II.) in the papal chair. At this time Otho repudiated two forged charters ascribed to Louis the Pious, by which large accessions of territory were granted to the popes. These interferences of the Emperors Otho I. and the succeeding Otho II. and III., purified the papacy, but it was left to HILDEBRAND (Gregory VII.) the monk of Savona, the son of a carpenter, who became Pope 1075 A.D., to raise the power of the popedom above all powers, even the imperial. His disputes with the emperor, Henry IV., respecting investitures, involved Italy and Germany in civil war for many years. Meanwhile the populations of the large towns of northern Italy, which had been exposed to pillage by the Huns, and those of the cities of the west and of the south, who had suffered from the Saracens, enclosed and fortified their cities, and enrolled and disciplined their male population in self-defence. Herbert, the Archbishop of Milan, was foremost in promoting these organisations, in which Milan took the lead. Genoa, Pisa, and the cities of the north followed the example of Milan. The Duchy of SAVOY, under the Counts of Maurienne : the founder, Beroald, died 1027 A.D. Humbert I. succeeded ; then in 1072 A.D. Humbert II., who obtained from Henry IV. five bishoprics, and acquired also the Marches of Susa and Turin, 1098 A.D. The CROAT kingdom, independent of Italy 970 A.D., was governed by its Zupans, who could lead one hundred and fifty thousand horse and foot into the field. The people of the isles of VENICE, at the mouth of the Po, met and chose their first duke, 697 A.D., and in 809 A.D. fixed their capital on the island of Rialto. In 997 A.D. they allied with the towns in Istria and Dalmatia, and by their help conquered the pirates of Narente and

Croatia, and from that time the Doge took the title of Duke of Venice and Dalmatia.

VI.—*Other Contemporary European States.*

(7) Beyond the boundaries of the empire of Charles der Grosse, Spain and the British islands, by their position removed from the great battle-fields of central Europe, seemed as if they were distinct and separate worlds, which came only occasionally in contact with their neighbours.

SPAIN.—The Christian kingdom of ASTURIAS and Leon maintained its ground and gradually gained more territory from the Moors. Navarre, in the Pyrenees, originally occupying part of France, had for its chieftain Pampeluna, while at Jaca there was a small republic, which became the nucleus of the kingdom of ARRAGON. Sancho, King of Navarre, incorporated Castile from the kingdom of Asturias; at his death his dominions were divided into CASTILE, ARRAGON, and NAVARRE, 1035 A.D.; Asturias and Leon were united to Castile 1037 A.D.; were separated in 1065 A.D., and reunited 1072 A.D. Arragon absorbed Navarre 1076 A.D. Thus at the beginning of the Crusades there were two Christian kingdoms in Spain; (1) CASTILE; (2) ARRAGON (including Navarre and the country of Barcelona). In all these kingdoms the nobles and the great cities exercised great influence over their respective governments and limited the power of their kings. In Mahometan Spain, the khalifat of CORDOVA was, in 1031 A.D., divided into a number of petty states. Some of these Khalifs of Cordova had patronised literature, and we read of libraries containing six hundred thousand MSS. In 1085 A.D. the Almoravide Dynasty was established from Africa, which prolonged the existence of the Mahometan power, in spite of the growing strength of the Christian kingdoms. PORTUGAL, wrested from the Moors by Henry of Burgundy, was held as a fief of Spain, 1085 A.D.

The BRITISH ISLANDS were for a time a separate world, not closely connected with the Continent until the Norman conquest. England was nominally united by Egbert, the west Saxon, 827 A.D. The invasions of the Danes called forth the military and civil talents of ALFRED the Great, 871–901 A.D. Athelstan was the first King of all England, 924 A.D. The Danes conquered and ruled over England, under Canute and his son, 1017–1042 A.D. The old line was retained in the person of Edward the Confessor, but on his death WILLIAM, Duke of Normandy, who claims as the heir of Edward, conquered Harold, his opponent, at Senlac (Hastings, 1066 A.D.); this was the beginning of a great change in the civil and political

condition of England. "It is to the stern discipline of foreign conquerors that we owe not merely England's wealth and England's freedom, but England herself."¹ None of the great barons in England, though powerful to oppose the king occasionally, had the power to make their fiefs independent as in France and Germany. William Rufus, the son of the Conqueror, succeeded 1087 A.D., and was living when the Crusades commenced. SCOTLAND was united by the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth, 842 A.D., but all west Scotland, the Orkneys and the western isles were overrun and held by the Northmen. IRELAND was divided into petty kingdoms while its eastern coasts were partially occupied by the Danes.

SCANDINAVIAN nations form a class of nationalities separate from the rest of Europe, and best known by their piratical ravages over western and southern Europe; their navigators discovered Iceland 860 A.D.; then Greenland, 982 A.D.; and Labrador and New England, 994 A.D.; thus they were the first discoverers of America, five centuries before Columbus. The twelve petty kings of NORWAY were first subdued by Harold Haarfrager, 875-938 A.D. In SWEDEN the nineteen kingdoms were probably united by Olaf, the Lapp king, 993-1024 A.D.; in DENMARK, the ten kingdoms by Gorm, 860-936 A.D., whose wife, Thyra, built the Dannewerke wall, eight miles long, 45 to 75 feet high (across Jutland). Under Canute, for a brief period, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, and Scotland were united. Christianity was first introduced into Jutland so early as 823 A.D., by Ebbo, of Rheims, but was soon lost; Anscar, in 830 A.D. and 853 A.D., first entered Sweden as a missionary and with some success. The first professedly Christian king of Norway was St. Olaf, 1015-1030 A.D. In Sweden, Olaf (the Lapping), 893-1024; and, in Denmark, Harold Blaabund, 936-985 A.D., were the first Christian kings, but the bulk of the population for several generations remained pagan. Soon after the beginning of the eleventh century the piratical inroads of the Northmen decreased, and shortly came to an end. In Denmark the Estriden line began to reign, 1047 A.D.; from females of this line the sovereigns of England are descended. In Sweden, the Stenkil line of kings began, 1055 A.D.

The plains to the east of Germany, after the defeat of the Avars by Charlemagne, were gradually settled by the Slavic nations (the original occupiers) into distinct states: as BOHEMIA, under Borrevi, 890 A.D.; HUNGARY, under Arpad, 888 A.D.; POLAND, under Piast,

¹ Green, "History of Europe," vol. i. pp. 124, 125.

842 A.D.; and Lithuania. These Slavonic rulers exercised despotic power over their people; the greater part of them were serfs, the property of their masters; the public sale of slaves was common; cattle were the most valuable property, and in this property they usually paid their tribute (when it was paid) to the Emperors of Germany. *The vast plains, extending from the White Sea on the north to the Euxine (Black Sea) on the south,* were those in which all the barbarian races from Asia had found a temporary resting-place. It was the land through which the whole trade of India with the north was carried, from the Caspian up the Wolga, and then direct to a semi-civilised Slavonic settlement on Lake Ilmen, NOVOGOROD. The president and people of this trading republic, exposed to the ravages of the Northmen, invited a Varangarian (Northmen) tribe to take the government of their city. The name of RUSSIANS was given to these Scandinavian adventurers, because they thus identified themselves with certain Slavic tribes to which this name had been applied from time immemorial. RURIC is the first of these rulers, and the founder of the Russian nationality, 862 A.D. His successors, Oleg and Igor, conquered the Khazars, and in 900–901 A.D. attacked Constantinople in large fleets, sailing down the Dnieper to the Black Sea. *So early did the instinctive yearning of this nation for an outlet towards the south manifest itself.* Wladimar embraced Christianity (from the Greek Church) and married a Greek princess, Olga, 988 A.D. On his death, 1015 A.D., Russia was divided among his sons; and this practice was continued for many generations, to the great injury of the empire. At that time the Russian dominions extended eastward to the Carpathian Mountains and the confines of Hungary and Moravia. Kiev, on the Dwina, was the capital; one of the sons of Wladimar, Jaroslav (Grand Duke of Moscow) was a legislator, who founded a public school in Novogorod and translated Greek books into Russian; his daughter Anne married Henry I. of France, 1051 A.D. *Biarmeland* remained independent of Russia till the eleventh century.

VII.—*The Eastern Empire, the Mahometan States, and India and China.*

8. The Eastern Empire (sometimes called the Greek and Byzantine Empire), through the position of its impregnable capital, Constantinople, and also by the amount of its internal resources and superior fiscal administrations, maintained itself free from barbarian conquest. The iconoclastic controversy had been settled by the restoration of image-worship by Theodora, 842 A.D. The

wealth of the empire astonished visitors from the West. The treasures accumulated by the Emperor Theophilus, 829–842 A.D., amounted to five and a quarter millions sterling. In 963 A.D. the revenue paid to the emperor was calculated at 20,000 lb. of gold daily, and the middle class, the trading and manufacturing class, was able to bear a heavy taxation, impossible to be borne at that time by any Western nations. No doubt these traders and manufacturers received the gold in exchange for the products of their own industry from Western Europe, which, producing little that was exchangeable in return, was thus drained of its specie. The army was composed of the Varangarian (Norman) guard, and of the native army of 132 legions, each 1000 to 1500 men, the best of them Slavs, Wallachians, Bulgarians, and Albanians. Arms were largely manufactured, and were of a superior character. The possession of the secret of the composition of an article, “the Greek fire,” added greatly to the defensive power of Constantinople. The navy consisted of 60 vessels, each holding 300 men (70 of whom were fighters). Basil the Macedonian began a new dynasty, 867 A.D. Freeman calls him “the skilful groom, the obsequious courtier, the reforming emperor, in whom we behold a versatility worthy of Alcibiades himself.”¹ Basil II. conquered the Bulgarians, 1019 A.D., and exterminated the Sclavonians in Greece. The accession of Isaac Comnenus, in 1057 A.D., was a change for the worse in the whole system of government. SERBIA threw off its dependence on the empire under its Zupa, Stephen Boistlaf, 1043 A.D. The Asiatic provinces of the empire in Asia Minor were conquered by the Seljuk Turks, who established themselves at Iconium, 1073 A.D.; and what was left of Southern Italy and Sicily was formed into an independent kingdom by the Normans.

The MAHOMETAN KHALIFAT of Bagdad had begun its downward progress. The establishment of independent kingdoms, nominally acknowledging the Khalif of Bagdad, proclaimed the weakness of the central power. The Taherites established a dynasty in Khorassan, 820 A.D.; the Suffarees succeeded them, 872 A.D.; then the Samanians, 902 A.D.; the Buyid, or Delamites, in South Persia, 913 A.D.; the Hamadans in Syria; the Okatids in North Syria; while the Karamatians, a warlike sect of reformers, desolated Arabia and Syria, and plundered Mecca, 903 A.D. At Bagdad, the Emir Al Omra, the prime minister, 945 A.D., exercised the whole power of the khalif, and governed in his name. The Toolonite Dynasty took

¹ Freeman, “Essays,” third series, p. 236.

Egypt and Syria from the khalif in 868 A.D. All these Asiatic dynasties were subjected by the SELJUK Turks, a barbarous but numerous and warlike race from the vast plains to the north of Khorassan, the khalif being left in nominal rule of Bagdad, 1037 A.D. The first ruler of these Seljuks was Togul Bey. Under his successors, Alp Arslan and Malek Shah, they took possession of the whole khalifat : but, on the death of Malek Shah, 1092 A.D., the Seljuk empire was divided into (1) the sultany of Iconium (Roum), (2) Kerman, (3) Iran, (4) Khorassan, (5) North Syria and part of Mesopotamia, under the Arab Attabeks, who had partially supplanted the Okatids. Meanwhile the new sultany of GHIZNI was founded by a slave of the ruler of Khorassan, 961 A.D. Mahmoud of Ghizni made twelve expeditions into India, 1001-1024 A.D. ; conquered Kashmere, 1014 A.D., and Lahore, 1022 A.D.

INDIA.—The Ghizni Sultan established a dynasty at Lahore, in India, 1001-1024 A.D.

CHINA was troubled by the inroads of the barbarians. In 763-780 A.D., Tai-tsung was obliged to give a Chinese princess as wife to the Khan of the Onigours in order to obtain help against the invaders. The Emperor Woo-tsung endeavoured to put down all the monasteries and ecclesiastical establishments of Christians, Buddhists, and others, but without effect, 841-847 A.D. Buddhism revived under Etsung, 860-874 A.D. In 907 A.D., the Tang Dynasty, the Golden Age of China, came to an end. Up to 960 A.D. five dynasties passed away during a period of great internal disorganisation and invasions of the Khitan Tartars, to whom China paid tribute up to the end of the eleventh century.

JAPAN had been, since 603 A.D., divided into eight large departments, the heads of which became the real rulers of the land. The Shogun (Tycoon), the commander-in-chief, took practically the position of sovereign, while the Mikado was the spiritual emperor, secluded from all direction of public business. In 794 A.D. Kioto became the capital of the Mikado and his court.

In North Africa, west of Egypt, the Aglabite Dynasty in Tunis was superseded by the FATEMITES, 908 A.D. These conquered Fez on the west, and then the Toolonite Dynasty in Egypt, 970 A.D.—became thus lords of all North Africa and Syria. But this extent of empire was lessened by the revolt of the Zerides, in Tunis and Algiers, 993 A.D., and then by the establishment of the Almoravides Dynasty which, in 1052 A.D., founded Morocco, and in 1094 A.D. re-established the declining Mahometan kingdom in Spain. The ruthless barbarism of the Seljuks and of the Fatemites in Syria,

so different from the more friendly rule of the khalifs, was felt by the numerous pilgrims from Christian Europe in their visits to Jerusalem and the holy places. Their complaints called forth the zeal and the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and eventually led to the Crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land.

9. THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of this period is very important, but the limits of this history oblige us to use great brevity, and make the narrative a mere index of the matters referred to. Three controversies relating to theology were carried on in the Churches:—(1) *The worship of images*. The iconoclastic Byzantine emperor, Leo III., 718 A.D., had put down the superstitious adoration paid to images and pictures, but the mass of ignorance and superstition existing among the clergy and the populace rendered the efforts of the government inoperative. Irene restored the images, 792 A.D.; and they were fully established in 842 A.D. Charlemagne, in the West, and the Council of Frankfort were opposed to their superstitious use, and their views were fully expressed in the Carolinian books, 790–794 A.D. But the papacy favoured the popular superstition, which became general in the Christian Church, in the use of images in the West and of pictures in the East; (2) *the nature of the spiritual presence* in the bread and wine used in the administration of the Lord's Supper. In 831 A.D. Paschasius Radbert taught the doctrine of *transubstantiation* (the fatal term which too strictly defined what had hitherto remained indefinite), that the bread and wine were actually changed into the body and blood of the human body of Christ, and as such were actually partaken of by the communicants, and not merely spiritually discerned. This was for a time an open question in the Romish Church. It was opposed by John Scotius Erigena on philosophical principles, 850–884 A.D., and by Berenger, 1045–1088 A.D., but supported by Lanfranc. In 993 A.D., Gerbert (afterwards Pope Sylvester) maintained that it was best to say simply that the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, but to be only apprehended by faith. The rage of the day was for a sensible object of worship, and this the wafer (the host) supplied; (3) *the doctrine of predestination*, taken from St. Augustine, was revived by Gottschalk, 848 A.D., was opposed by Hincman and others, 845–882 A.D., but exercised no small influence over the leading minds of the day. It seemed to simplify a difficult problem by cutting the knot. The notions of a *purgatory after death*, a period of terminable suffering for sin, for which masses, prayer, and almsgiving could afford relief, was generally prevalent, and naturally led to a reliance upon the offices of the Church, and upon penances and

pilgrimages, all of which increased the influence and the wealth of the clergy. There were no important heresies in addition to those already existing. The *Paulicians* having raised a rebellion in Asia Minor, 100,000 of them were slain in battle, and the sect dispersed over Europe, 844-871 A.D., and known as Patarini, Cathari, Albigenses, Brethren of Orleans. They are charged with Gnostic and Manichæan errors, and were persecuted and put to death in the tenth and eleventh centuries. *The increasing superstition* of the age was opposed by Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, 816-846 A.D.; by Claude, Archbishop of Turin, 804-825 A.D.; who probably were protected in their teaching by Carlovingian influence, and by Elfric, an Anglo-Saxon, 990-1051 A.D., whose views nearly approached those held by the first Protestant reformers. In the ninth and tenth centuries Christianity had been nominally established in the Scandinavian kingdoms, by Anscar, 830-853 A.D., also in Hungary and in Russia. *The formal separation of the Greek Church from the Latin Church* was hastened by the rash excommunication of the Greek Church by the Romish legates at Constantinople, 1054 A.D.¹ *Monastic institutions* of a high character and under strict rule were established in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Berno founded Clugny, 912 A.D., which, in the twelfth century, had 2,000 monasteries in connexion with it. Romuald founded Camalduli, in the Apennines, 1012 A.D. Gualbert founded Vallombrosa, a society of hermits, 1039-1093 A.D. Bruno founded the Grand Chartreuse, for the order of the Carthusians, 1084-1086. Robert of Molesme founded, at Cîteaux, the Cistercians, 1092 A.D. Such a number of institutions of this character excite the wonder of this age. There must have existed in the middle ages a more than ordinary number of persons whose tastes were opposed to the clerical and civil and military professions as then exercised, and to whom no other employments were open. To such, the society of their equals, which these monasteries offered, and the consolation afforded by religious duties and literary studies, made these institutions desirable retreats, while to the lower classes the position of a monk was superior to that of the agricultural serf. *The influence of the Bishop of Rome (the Pope) was much increased during this period.* The Church of Rome having received from the Carlovingian kings large territorial possessions and secular power, the popes were placed in a position to enforce the submission of the episcopate in all western Europe; and the exaction of submission from the bishops was facilitated by the publication of certain documents, called the "*Isi-*

¹ Mosheim, "Century XI.;" Milman, "Latin Christianity," book vi. chap. 3.

dorian Decretals," said to have been discovered in Spain, 836 A.D. These consisted of a series of letters up to 385 A.D., which made plain to the readers that from the very first the Bishops of Rome exercised jurisdiction over all bishops as the rightful successors of St Peter. Metropolitans and bishops, though supreme in their respective jurisdictions, were yet subject to the decisions of the Pope. These barefaced forgeries were received as genuine by Pope Nicholas I., 858-867 A.D., of whom Greenwood remarks, "Now the true path of the papacy, however overgrown with weeds and briars of a century's growth, lay clearly revealed before the vigorous intellect of the reigning pontiff; and he once more felt himself at liberty to deal with the powers of the world as the spiritual monarch, 'the true lord and king,' as he stood entitled upon the pseudo-apostolic charter (the Decretals) so lately lodged in the sacred archives of his Church. With the Decretals, genuine or fictitious, of his sainted predecessors for his cue, the world's confusion for his friend and ally, the example of his renowned precursors for his stimulus, and his clear understanding and resolute will for his guide, Nicholas plunged into the labyrinth of mundane affairs without hesitation or misgiving."¹ Dean Milman remarks, "The immediate, if somewhat cautious, adoption of the fiction, unquestionably not the forgery, by Pope Nicholas, appears to me less capable of charitable palliation than the original invention It is impossible to suppose that Nicholas himself believed their validity, on account of their acknowledged absence from the Rome archives It is impossible to deny that, at least by citing without reserve or hesitation, the Roman pontiffs gave their deliberate sanction to this great historic fraud."² After the death of Nicholas, the authority of the papacy in the city of Rome was so far reduced by the low character of some of the popes, and by double elections, and by the bondage in which it was held by the family of the Dukes of Tuscany, and by certain ladies of high rank and corrupt morals (Theodora and her daughters—Theodora and Marozia), that it was near extinction. To repeat the crimes and excesses committed by the popes and by their opponents would be tedious and disgusting. Sergius III., a paramour of Theodora, occupied the chair, 904-911 A.D. John X., 914-928, A.D., a lover of Theodora, but a man of ability and courage, defeated the Saracens at the Gragliano; he was murdered by Marozia, 928 A.D. John XI., the son of Pope Sergius III. and Marozia, reigned from 931 to 936 A.D. Alberic, a son of Marozia, ruled the Church by appointing

¹ Vol. iii. p. 243.² Milman's "Latin Christianity," book v. chap. 6.

four popes in succession. On his death, 953 A.D., his son Octavius, a youth of eighteen, took possession of the popedom as John XII., 955 A.D. These gross irregularities were reformed by the interference of the Emperors of Germany, Otho I., II., and III., 963–998 A.D. John XII. was deposed 963 A.D. In opposition to the imperial power, Crescentius, the grandson of John X. and of Theodora, governed Rome, and revived the old titles of consul, tribune, and prefect. Otho III. caused Crescentius to be executed, and made the learned Gilbert pope, as Sylvester II., 999 A.D. After Otho's death, 1002 A.D., Crescentius, the son of the preceding Crescentius, was the ruler of Rome as patrician, but his power was supplanted by the Counts of Tusculum, who, by great bribery, appointed a series of popes, from Benedict VIII. to XII.; after him, John XIX., then Benedict IX., a licentious youth (whom one of his successors, Victor III., describes as foul and execrable); then Gregory VI., with whom two other popes claimed the popedom. The Emperor Henry III., in 1046 A.D., appointed the Bishop of Bamberg Clement II., and thus set aside the line of Tusculan popes, the Germans declaring "that in the whole Church there was scarcely one who was not disqualified, either as illiterate, or as tainted with simony, or as living in notorious concubinage."¹ Leo IX., the friend of Peter Damiani, was appointed 1053 A.D. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Normans, 1054 A.D., with whom Nicholas II., in 1059 A.D., made a profitable settlement. This Pope caused the *election of the future popes to be in the suffrages of the cardinals*, that is to say, the bishops presiding over the parishes of the city of Rome. These were the cardinal deacons in charge of the hospitals. Afterwards the title was given to the seven bishops of Ostia, Porto, Santa Rufino, Sabina, Palestrino, and Frascati. Nicholas II. left, however, the right of the clergy and people of Rome to appeal to the emperor, and to the emperor the right of confirmation. Both these privileges soon fell into disuse. In 1059 A.D. the Normans accepted Naples as a fief of the Holy See, and became the most useful auxiliaries of the Pope. On the election of the monk Hildebrand as Gregory VII., 1073 A.D. (who had been the real ruler of the preceding popes from Leo IX.), the papacy was invigorated. He endeavoured with great energy to place the popedom in a position superior to all earthly rulers, and to subordinate the clergy under the sole jurisdiction of the Pope, free from the interference of the civil power. In 1075 A.D. he abolished the right of investiture to

¹ Milman, "Latin Christianity," book vi. chapter i.

spiritual offices by any temporal sovereign, at the same time carrying out large reforms among the clergy themselves. Hence arose the contest with the Emperor Henry IV. and his successor respecting investitures, ending for a while in the affected submission of Henry IV., at Canossa, 1077 A.D., which, on the part of the emperor, was a mere expedient arising out of present necessities. A reaction followed. A general feeling began to express itself in favour of "the plain principles of right and equity If the clergy would persist in holding large temporalities, they must hold them liable to the obligations and subordinate to the authority of the state."¹ By the death of the Countess Matilda the papacy received large additions to its wealth. Amid all Gregory's struggles against the emperor and refractory clergy, he nourished the hope of leading a crusade against the Mahometans in Palestine. Christianity was first introduced into Scandinavia by Anscar, 830-853 A.D.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION were not neglected in this period. Charlemagne, a warm friend and patron of learned men, promoted the establishment of schools in cathedrals and monasteries. There appears to have been a fair number of educated men who could read, speak, and write Latin, and were acquainted with the curriculum at the schools; they were "the conservators and propagators of the old traditional learning, the Augustinian theology, the Boethian science, the grammar, the dry logic and meagre rhetoric, the Church music, the astronomy mostly confined to the calculations of Easter, of the trivium and quadrivium The revival of letters under Charlemagne was, however, as insulated, as premature, and as transitory as the unity of his empire."² A large number of writers are found reported in the historians of this period both in the Greek and in the Latin Churches, *but they are chiefly theological or mere chroniclers*. In the Greek Church we may mention Photius, *historian and theologian* 850-886 A.D.; Suidas, the *lexicographer*, 900 A.D.; Theophylact, the *historian*, 1077 A.D. In the Latin Church, John Scotus Erigena, the *philosopher*, 850-884 A.D.; Egenhard, *historian*, 840 A.D.; Rabanus Maurus, *politician and theologian*, 800-856 A.D.; Asser, *biographer* of Alfred, 890 A.D.; Sylvester II., the *learned Pope*; Dunstan, the *theologian and monkish reformer*, 990-1003 A.D.; Peter Damien, cardinal, whose letters are full of information, 1040-1072 A.D.; LANFRANC (1040-1080 A.D.) and ANSELM (1063-1109 A.D.), *both of them great theologians* and Archbishops of Canterbury; Fulbert, *theologian*, 1001-1028 A.D.; Ingulphus,

¹ Milman, "Latin Christianity," vol. iii. p. 283.

² Ibid., vol. iii. p. 104.

theologian and historian, 1051-1100 A.D.; the names of Hincmar (809-832 A.D.) and Berenger (1050-1088 A.D.) have already been noticed in connexion with the controversies of their day. The great physician of the Arabs, Avicenna (Ibn-Sina), of Bokhara and Bagdad, lived 996-1037 A.D., but his voluminous works contain treatises on metaphysics and morals. Two great names in this list are connected with the philosophy of this and the period following, John Scotus Erigena and Anselm. In the year 827 A.D., the Emperor Michael sent from Constantinople to Louis the Pious a work ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite; which John Scotus Erigena translated. It was evidently the work of an Alexandrian monk, in which the pantheistic doctrine of emanation—the evolution of the universe through successive orders of existence, beginning with the primordial essence called God, and the general teaching of the Neo-Platonists—are all reproduced without any material alterations. This work led John Scotus Erigena to compose his work “*De Divisione Naturæ*,” a strange attempt to reconcile Christianity with Neo-Platonism. His whole theological teaching is a system pantheistic in its basis with a Biblical terminology; he threw off Augustinianism and defended free-will. In this work Erigena laid also the foundation for the long-contested dispute of the schoolmen on Nominalism and Realism. He taught the realistic doctrine that universals exist *before* and *in* the individual object. Alfred, king of England, cultivated literature, 871-901 A.D., and translated Orosius’s “*History of the World*,” Bede’s “*Ecclesiastical History*,” and Boetius on “*Consolation*.” Anselm, in his “*Cur Deus Homo*,” discusses the doctrine of the Atonement. Sir J. Stephens¹ has some interesting remarks on Anselm: “The boundless realm of thought over which, in the solitude of his library, he enjoyed a princely but unenvied dominance were, in his eyes, of incomparably a higher value than either his Primacy over the Church of England or his triumph in maintaining the prerogatives of the Church of Rome. In our days, indeed, his speculations are forgotten, and the very subjects of them have fallen into disesteem” [this was true when Sir J. Stephens wrote, but is far from being the case now]; “yet, except, perhaps, the writings of Erigena, those of Anselm on the ‘Will of God,’ on ‘Truth,’ on ‘Free Will,’ and on the ‘Divine Presence,’ are not only in point of time the earliest examples, but in the order of invention the earliest models of those scholastic works which exhibit in such intimate and curious union the prostration and the aspirings of the mind of man,

¹ “*Biog. Essays*,” 12mo. p. 245.

prostrating itself to the most absurd of human dogmas, aspiring to penetrate the loftiest and most obscure of the divine attributes."

It is probable that from the ninth to the eleventh century inclusive there were found a few laymen who could read and write. there was no doubt an increase in learning, but mainly among the clergy. *The Benedictines*, from their monastery at Clugny, 910 A.D., and the *Carthusians*, 1098 A.D., did much to advance the education of clerics. Latin was still spoken as vernacular among the better class in Italy so late as 924 A.D., but had long before ceased to be vernacular in Spain and Gaul. Already in France the difference between the dialects of the north and south had become apparent. We hear of superior schools at Paris, Toulon, Bologna, Paderborn, Oxford, and Cambridge, and a medical school at Salerno. In the East, the khalifat of Al Mamon, 813-833 A.D., is regarded as the Augustan age of Arabian literature; and in Mahometan Spain, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, there were universities in the capitals of each province and a college in each district, and in the whole territory seventy libraries. In some of the schools of learning the mathematics and philosophy of the Greeks were taught, and some scholars from France and Italy profited from their teaching; Pope Gerbert (Sylvester), for instance. The tenth century was not a literary one in Italy and England, but it was one of progress in France and Germany. The whole period was one of remarkable absence of ability, and, with some exceptions, the literature was one of mere compilation, destitute of originality. "Truth requires us to say that the Saracens or Arabs, particularly of Spain, were the principal source and fountain of whatever knowledge of medicine, philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics there was in Europe from the tenth century."¹

NAVIGATION AND DISCOVERY.—Already the Scandinavians were making extensive voyages. Wolfstene from Jutland visited Esthonia on the east of the Baltic. Other, from Heligoland, sailed northward, doubled Cape North, and advanced as far as Biarmia at the mouth of the Dwina. They both of them describe thier voyages to King Alfred, who made use of them in his Anglo-Saxon translation of Orosius.

¹ Mosheim (Soames), vol. ii. p. 276.

State of the World, 1096 A.D

EUROPE.

SCANDINAVIA. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, sometimes temporarily united, but generally separate. From Norway and Denmark the piratical invasions of Western Europe originated. Sweden was engaged in subduing the Lapps and the Finns.

BRITISH ISLANDS. England had come under Norman rule, 1066 A.D., by the conquest of William, Duke of Normandy. Scotland, by the union of the Scots and Picts under Kenneth, 843 A.D., became one kingdom. Ireland, nominally divided into four kingdoms, with numerous smaller chieftainships; Danish settlements on the eastern coasts, principally at Waterford and Wexford, and on the west at Limerick.

THE VAST PLAINS TO THE EAST OF THE BALTIC AND GERMANY now began to approach a more settled political condition. *Russia*, under the successors of Ruric, became the great power of the north-east of Europe; the division of the empire in 1016 A.D. was followed by wars between the several dukes, by which the power of the empire was greatly diminished. Biarmeland, to which the Finnish tribes retreated before the Swedes and Russians, was subject to Russia in the eleventh century. There had been for some time regular intercourse between Scandinavia and the Eastern Empire, through Russia, by which the northerns were benefited. *Poland* partly consolidated under its first Duke Piast, 842 A.D.; Boleslaus II. was the first king, 1077 A.D. *Bohemia* had its first Christian duke, 890 A.D., and was raised to the dignity of a kingdom, 1806 A.D., under Wratislaus. *Moravia* was incorporated with Bohemia, 1029 A.D. *Hungary*, after the expulsion of the Avas, settled by Arpad, chief of the Magyars; Duke Geysa received Christianity, 972-997 A.D.; Stephen I., the first Christian king, 1000 A.D. The *Lithuanians*, *Prussians*, and the *Vendes* (Sclavonic tribes) are spread south of the Baltic from the Elbe to the Gulf of Finland; these Sclavs were constantly at war with their neighbours. *Jomsburg*, on

the island of Wollin, at the mouth of the Oder, founded by the piratical Scandinavians, 850-960 A.D., was next to Novgorod, in Russia, the principal seat of trade, and also the stronghold of the pirates.

GERMAN EMPIRE, including the Netherlands, Lorraine, Burgundy, and Arles, with Switzerland, thus occupied not only modern Germany, but Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and the east of France down to the Mediterranean. Its emperor was the generally acknowledged suzerain of the Baltic states (Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia) and of Italy, and claimed a priority of rank over all the European powers.

FRANCE, under the Capetian kings, step by step advancing towards the union of all its provinces under one king.

SPAIN. The two Christian kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon* in the north; the African *Moravides* ruling over the *Mahometans* in the south. *Portugal*, a new kingdom, a fief of Castile, conquered from the Moors, 1085 A.D.

ITALY. All northern and central Italy nominally part of the Holy Roman (German) Empire, but governed by dukes, counts, and other nobles, the large cities, independent municipalities, acknowledging the empire. Rome was mainly governed by the Pope, who had to contend with the local republican feeling of the people and nobles. The Duchy of *Savoy* in the north-west, under the Counts of Maurienne, the first of whom died, 1027 A.D. *Venice*, a republic, affected to belong to the Eastern Empire, while Naples, Bari, and Amalfi had to submit to the *Norman kings of Naples* and Sicily, by whom the Greeks of the Eastern Empire had been expelled, 1080 A.D. Most of the large cities in *Lombardy* became independent republics during the contests between the popes and the emperors. *Croatia*, under its zupan, 970 A.D. *Dalmatia* independent, 1052 A.D.; but both Croatia and Dalmatia were conquered by Hungary in the twelfth century. *Servia* was an independent state, under its zupans, 1043 A.D.

THE EASTERN GREEK EMPIRE included a large portion of the present Turkey in Europe, south of the Danube. *Servia* had become an independent state, 1043 A.D.

The barbarous tribes to the south of Russia were the *Patzinaciten* beyond the Danube and along the north coast of the Black

Sea ; beyond these, the Khazars and the Kumani extended to the Caspian Sea, always at war with the Russians and the Eastern Empire.

ASIA.

ASIA MINOR ; the western portion to the Eastern Empire. The centre and the west occupied by the Seljukian sultanie of Iconium.

SYRIA under the rule of the Fatemite khalifs of Egypt.

IRAN (Persia), KERMÁN, and KHORASSAN are Seljukian sultanies. The khalifs of Bagdad, the successors of Mahomet, confined to that city, which was under the control of the sultans of Iran.

GHIZNI, under its sultans, who occupy Afghanistan, Cashmere, and Lahore in India.

CHINA troubled by Tartar invasions.

JAPAN under the Mikado, whose power was gradually absorbed by the Shogung (Tyakun).

ARABIA under the nominal rule of the khalifs of Bagdad, but in reality left to its own tribes and petty states.

AFRICA.

EGYPT. The Toolonite dynasty, established 868 A.D., followed by the Fatemite dynasty, which ruled over Fez, 908 A.D., and over the Aglabites of Tunis, 941 A.D.

TUNIS and ALGIERS governed by the Zerides under the Fatemites.

FEZ and MOROCCO under the Almoravides, whose chief was called Emir-al-Mulmein, from 1069 A.D.

EIGHTH PERIOD.

*From the Crusades, 1096 A.D., to the Reign
of Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273 A.D.*

1. FIVE great events of general importance fall within this period : (1) *The Crusades* ; (2) *the contest between the popes and the emperors respecting Investitures*, which led to the independence of the Italian Republics ; (3) *the rise of an order of Burgesses and Citizens* and the formation of municipalities in Europe ; (4) *the predominant influence of the papacy in Europe* ; (5) *the irruption of the Mogul Tartars into Southern and Western Asia and Eastern Europe* ; (6) the leading nations and people in this period.

(1) *The Crusades were military expeditions from Christian Europe* sent to deliver the Holy Land (Palestine) from the power of the Mahometan SELJUK Turks, who had destroyed the temporal power of the khalifs of Bagdad and had subjugated the various subordinate kingdoms nominally subject to his rule. Under the khalifs the pilgrims from Christian countries had been protected and even respected as persons under a religious impulse, and as useful purchasers of local products ; but the rough and fanatical Seljuk Turks, recent converts to Mahometanism, treated the pilgrims with barbarity and contempt. PETER the Hermit, an eyewitness and sufferer, by his indefatigable exertions roused all Europe to listen to his complaints, and to recognise the necessity of redress. The propriety of an armed interference on the part of the Christian nations had been for some time discussed by a few of the leading minds of the age ; first, by Gerbert (afterwards Pope Sylvester) 999 A.D., and by others influenced by the prevailing notion that the end of the world would take place in the year 1000 A.D. ; but it was the

intensity and vehemence of the genuine feeling of Peter which roused the active spirits of the age to take immediate action. At the council held at Clermont, 1095 A.D., over which the Pope, Urban II., presided, the enthusiasm of a large concourse of all ranks and ages could not be restrained. The war-cry, "It is the will of God," was adopted by those who took the mark of the cross as their distinctive badge, and from which they received the name of Crusaders. These expeditions, nine in number, lasted nearly two hundred years; but, besides the regular expeditions, there were numerous companies, and even individual Crusaders, and parties of children, perfectly ignorant of the necessary precautions and preparations for such a warfare, and consequently exposed to all the evils arising from destitution, fatigue, and disease, and unable to resist the weakest body of the enemy, by whom they were either slaughtered or reduced to slavery. The general enthusiasm which pervaded all ranks has been derided, and the Crusades condemned by the materialistic philosophical historians of the eighteenth century; but their character and utility have been vindicated by the more liberal and enlarged views of modern writers. The remarks of Maurice are to the point: "The struggle of Christendom and the Saracens had been the struggle of the middle ages . . . the best and holiest of men, the recluses who lived only for the unseen world, like Bernard of Clairvaux—righteous kings who cared for the well-being of their subjects and would not willingly spill their blood like St. Louis, yet felt that wars for the sepulchre were the bonds of Christian faith and fellowship, the securities against the indifference which would cause all moral energies to rust. That day was passed."¹ As a matter of fact, Mahometanism, professedly and without any equivocation, purposed to propagate its creed by the sword. This declaration, carried out with zealous valour by its followers, rendered Christianity (as then understood) warlike in self-defence. "The Church must become militant in its popular and secular sense; it must protect itself by other arms than those of patient endurance . . . resigned and submissive martyrdom."² Briefly we give a sketch of each expedition. *The first Crusade* was begun by Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, who led a host of undisciplined men through Hungary and by way of Constantinople into Asia Minor, which was at once destroyed by the Sultan of Iconium. Godfrey of Boulogne, with his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, Hugh

¹ "Mediaeval Philosophy," chap. v. p. 113.

² Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. ii. p. 221.

of Vermondois (brother of Philip I. of France), Robert of Normandy (brother of William Rufus of England), Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Chartres, Aymer, Bishop of Puy, Raymond of Toulouse, Bohemund (the Norman) son of Robert Guiscard and Prince of Tarentum, Tancred (the cousin of Bohemund and son of the Marquis Odo), the celebrated perfect knight in Tasso, were the leaders of the main body. Godfrey led his party through Hungary to Constantinople, where he was joined by Hugh and his party, who had come through Italy, and by Raymond, who had come through Lombardy and Dalmatia. They were annoyed by the equivocal conduct of Alexis, the Eastern Emperor, who was alarmed at the number of the Crusaders. He had hoped to see a moderately numerous army, sufficient to aid the Eastern Empire by the recovery of Asia Minor from the Seljuk Turks, but the arrival of host upon host alarmed him. It seemed to him that "Europe, uprooted from its roots, had precipitated itself upon Asia." After a while his fears were quieted, or he deemed it prudent to conceal them. Nice was taken by the Crusaders and left in the hands of Alexis, 1097 A.D. Antioch was captured 1098 A.D., and Jerusalem 1099 A.D., of which Godfrey was made king. Edessa was made a separate dominion for Baldwin, and Antioch for Bohemund. *The Second Crusade* was provoked by the fall of Edessa, conquered by the Seljuk princes of Aleppo, 1145 A.D. Of this Crusade ST. BERNARD was the main supporter by his eloquence, but Louis VII., of France, and Conrad III., of Germany, 1147-9 A.D., failed to retake Edessa or to make themselves masters of Damascus. *The Third Crusade*, 1189-1193, was taken to recover Jerusalem, which had been captured by Saladin, the ruler of Egypt and Syria, 1187 A.D. Fulk, of Neuilly, was a worthy successor of Peter the Hermit and of St. Bernard in his advocacy of the Crusades, 1189-1202 A.D. Its leaders were Frederick I. (Barbarossa), of Germany, now in his seventieth year; Philip Augustus, King of France; Richard Cœur de Lion, King of England. Barbarossa first entered Asia Minor, took Iconium, but was drowned in the river Calycadnos, in Cilicia. His army had been impeded by Isaac (Emperor of the East), whom he had to compel to aid him to pass the Hellespont; after this, *this Emperor of the East was the ally of the Seljuk Turks against the Crusaders*. Frederick, Duke of Swabia, led the German army to Acre, and instituted the order of the Teutonic knights, and died of the plague, 1191 A.D., while besieging Acre. Soon after, the city surrendered to the kings of France and of England. Here the King of England quarrelled with Leopold, Duke of Austria, and with Philip of France. Philip

abandoned the Crusade. Richard, after relieving the siege of Jaffa, concluded an armistice with Saladin, by which the whole line of coast from Jaffa to Acre remained in the hands of the Christians, free access to Jerusalem and the Holy Places being also secured to them. The island of Cyprus, which Richard had conquered, was sold by him to Guy, the titular King of Jerusalem. Richard, on his return to England, was seized by the Austrian duke and kept a prisoner by Henry VI. of Germany for two years, until ransomed. *The Fourth Crusade*, 1197 A.D., consisted of bands sent out by the Emperor Henry VI., which, reaching Syria by Constantinople, regained possession of Sidon, Tyre, and Beyrout; but the emperor himself died in Sicily. *The Fifth Crusade*, 1202-4, under the patronage of Pope Innocent III., was undertaken by the preachers of Fulk of Neuilly, by the Franks and Venetians headed by Theobald of Champagne, Louis Simon Montford, Walter of Brienne, Geoffry of Villehardouin, Baldwin of Flanders, Hugh of St. Pol, and others from France and Italy. They sailed from Venice, and, being unable to pay in money the cost of the hire of the ships, agreed to besiege and take Zara, in Dalmatia, for the Venetians, 1202 A.D., on their way to Constantinople. Here they remained to restore Isaac Anglus, who had been deposed by his brother Alexis. On the death of Isaac, his son, Alexis, could not fulfil the promise made to them; the *Crusaders took possession of Constantinople, and placed Baldwin, Count of Flanders, on the throne with one-fourth of the empire, as feudal suzerain over the rest.* The VENETIANS obtained the shores of the Adriatic, Ægean, and Black Seas, with most of the Greek islands. The French and Lombard nobles, one of whom, the Marquis of Mountserratt, received the whole of Macedonia, &c., which has been named the *kingdom of Thessalonica*. A *Greek empire* was established at Nicea by Theodore Lascaris, and *another at Trebizond*. *The Sixth Crusade* was undertaken by Andrew II., of Hungary, 1216 A.D., and by Frederick II., grandson of Barbarossa, 1227-8 A.D., and ended with the cession of all Jerusalem (except the temple), with Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, to the Christians by the Sultan of Egypt. *The Seventh Crusade*, by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and some French nobles (opposed by the Pope and the emperor), 1236-40 A.D., obtained from the Sultan of Egypt most favourable terms. After this the Karismians, who had been driven from Khorassan by the Moguls, took Jerusalem, but were driven out by the Sultan of Egypt. This led to the *Eighth Crusade*, in which St. Louis IX., King of France, took Damietta, but was defeated and

made a prisoner at Mansourah, and released on ransom, 1250 A.D.; he lingered a while at Acre and returned to France, 1254 A.D. *The Ninth Crusade.* St. Louis IX. besieged Tunis, where he died, 1270 A.D. Prince Edward, of England (afterwards Edward I.) 1271 A.D., took Nazareth and returned to England 1272 A.D. The loss of Acre, 1291 A.D., put a stop to the Crusades. Attempts were made by Gregory X. to induce the Emperor Rudolph to join another Crusade, but in vain, 1274 A.D. The KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, defeated at Acre, being deserted by Henry II., King of Cyprus, titular King of Jerusalem, left Acre, being only seven in number. Thus Palestine was lost, as Thermopylæ was lost, to save Greece. All the outlay of wealth and blood, freely shed for two centuries, had been apparently wasted; but the conquest of Palestine and the repeated expeditions and valorous fights to hold it, though not finally successful, were the protection of Europe from the attempt of a Mahometan Seljuk conquest. Unknown to themselves, the Crusaders anticipated and prevented an invasion of Europe by the Seljuk hordes, backed by the fanaticism of Mahometan Asia, and thus prolonged the existence of that feeble bulwark (but yet a bulwark) of Christendom, the Eastern Empire, for a period of three hundred and fifty years. The Crusaders were in this respect the worthy successors on a larger scale of the Roman Ætius, of Charles Martel, and of Charlemagne, and the early Emperors of Germany, who successfully repelled and threw back the invasion of the Huns, the Saracens, the Saxons, the Slavs, and the Hungarian barbarians. They saved Western and Central Europe from the repetition of the ravages and misery consequent upon a barbaric invasion, such as had overwhelmed the old empire of Rome. *Our gain by the Crusades is obvious*, when we contrast the intelligence, the civilisation, the liberty, the security, and the progress of the Europe of our day with the ignorance, the barbarity, the despotism, the insecurity, and the stagnation everywhere observable in that "geographical expression," the Turkish Empire. The Crusades were not national enterprises; kings and emperors joined in them, not as representatives of their people, but simply as soldiers of the cross. The movement was an impulse felt by all the European population of all ranks, not even excluding the serf or the slave. It was, no doubt, greatly helped by the notion which prevailed in the preceding century, that the end of the world was approaching. It had no definite political object beyond that openly avowed. Prudent statesmen, whose views were limited by mere local interests, discouraged what they deemed a mania. The Crusade was the practical reply of the religious feeling

and the self-respect of Christian Europe to the hated paynim who had desecrated its sacred localities and maltreated its pilgrims. These wars were for an idea, a mere unpractical idea, as it then appeared. To us, in the retrospect, we recognise a method and an end in the enthusiastic action of the Crusaders, in the breakwater which rolled back the flood which otherwise might have overwhelmed the Christianity and civilisation of Europe. Beyond this great work there were great incidental benefits arising out of these expeditions. They prepared the way for the gradual extinction of the feudal system, which, however necessary for the security and perpetuity of the barbarian conquerors and rulers of Europe, had become an obstacle to further progress, when its work had been accomplished in the occupation of the land by a warlike homogeneous population. The great nobles parted with their lands to defray the costs of their expeditions, and thus *fiefs*, which had as independent sovereignties checked the rule of law, were absorbed by the feudal suzerain, the king, whose policy it was to enforce the law and to favour the emancipation of the masses from the control of their lords. The cities, stimulated by the increased expenditure required for the military outfits, had full employment for an increasing industrial population. This was especially the case in Italy. Continued intercourse with the East stimulated the enterprise of the commercial cities of Southern Europe, as Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Milan, Marseilles, and opened out new markets for commerce. Agriculture was benefited by the breaking up of large properties and the increase of small farms. A yeomanry class began to take the place of the serf, and the foundation of a middle class, the balance and stability of modern states, was laid. The higher classes imbibed something of that high regard for honour and the peculiar reverence for the sex, whence all chivalry. But it was, perhaps, in the diversion of the current of the evils which afflicted mediæval society that we may trace the most important of the incidental benefits accruing to the world from the Crusades. A host of wild, untamed, and untamable spirits eagerly accepted the prospect of warlike activity with the prospect of plunder. The terms held out by the Church, a general pardon of sins, had, no doubt, great influence with all classes. The indigent, the wretched, the slave and the serf had the prospect of change and a hope of improvement. The stream flowed on, and with it passed away an immense load of potential evil and mischief to society. Among the two million of Europeans said to have perished in these Crusades, a large number consisted either of the dangerous and unsettled class, or of the

ambitious and adventurous class, whose presence at home would have helped to perpetuate and increase the predominant evils of mediæval society. In confirmation of these views, we may quote from one of our latest historical critics : "The Crusades contributed directly and indirectly, in many ways, to generate and diffuse the feeling of a common Christendom, and even of a common humanity. They united in a common sentiment Norman, Saxon, and Kelt, Frenchman and Austrian, Norwegian and Italian. They were the first events of universal European significance which rested on a European public opinion. They softened in some measure the antipathies of the races and people which gathered themselves together to combat for a common cause. They made the Baron feel more dependent upon his vassals, and raised the serf in his own estimation and in that of others. They strengthened the power of the crown . . . they widened the range of men's ideas, tastes, and desires ; they gave an impulse to science and art, and a still greater impulse to commerce ; and thus, although they had their origin in fanaticism and were accompanied with unspeakable horrors and followed by numerous and most serious evils which do not require to be mentioned, they also undoubtedly helped in no slight degree to emancipate the human mind and educate the human heart."¹ Antiquarians trace the origin of surnames and the use of armorial bearings, and all the mysteries of heraldry to the period of the Crusades ; but there were no coats of armour before the twelfth century ; the first *fleurs de lis* on the crown and robe of the French kings appeared in the reign of Louis VII., 1164 A.D. Another fact is connected with the Crusades—the appearance of leprosy in Europe. Tournaments, and the institution of religious-military orders also date from this period.

2.—(2) *The contest between the papacy and the empire respecting investitures* had for its ultimate object, on the part of the papacy, the establishment of the popedom as a visible divinity, endowed with the whole power and majesty of Christ upon earth, kings, princes, constitutions, and peoples being reduced to the condition of tractable instruments in the hand of God's visible representative resident at Rome. On the part of the empire, the object was to subject the Church (except in matters purely spiritual), and Church property, and the persons of the clergy to the secular power. Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) proclaimed that kingdoms were held as fiefs under St. Peter. The emperor, on the other hand, desired (as Charle-

¹ Flint's "Philosophy of History," vol. i. p. 59.

magne hoped and intended) to become the master of the popes, and thus to wield both the secular and the clerical power. Both extremes were evils, from which, perhaps, this contest helped to deliver European society. There were great abuses allowed, and, perhaps, favoured by the secular power, which the Pope did well to resist. Simony in the purchase of bishops' and other ecclesiastical benefices had for long been common and notorious. Attempts were being made in Germany to render clerical livings, from the highest to the lowest, hereditary in the children of the clergy, and to maintain the occupancy of certain bishoprics in particular families, the celibacy enjoined by the Church being for the most part evaded or defied. Why should not ecclesiastical fiefs as bishoprics and abbeys be hereditary as well as the temporal fiefs? This tendency was of nearly two hundred years' standing, and was increasing as it suited the interests of an influential class beyond the control of the secular power. Here the papacy rightfully opposed the hereditary transmission of ecclesiastical power and position, and thus saved Europe from a separate caste of the priesthood by the exaction of clerical celibacy (in itself productive of great evils), checking at the same time the authority exercised by the emperor over the Church. The all-absorbing question of the relations of Church and State, implied in the question of investitures, related to the temporalities of the see which the sovereign was supposed to bestow upon the bishops. By this institution the sovereign exercised a control over the bishops and an overwhelming influence in their appointment. On the death of a bishop his ring and staff were seized, and without these there could be no legal consecration. Besides the desire to benefit the Church by freeing the nomination of bishops from imperial control, the popes had reasons of a lower character in their opposition to investiture by the crown, they themselves profited by annexing to the Holy See the revenues of bishoprics and abbeys, and by exactions from the dignified clergy from time to time. Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.) was, no doubt, above mere temporal considerations; and, had he confined himself to the removal of simoniacal contracts, and the introduction of unsuitable characters into the higher offices of the Church by regulations in which he would be supported in enforcing by the moral feeling of Europe, he would have accomplished a great work. But, beyond the suppression of the intolerable abuses which had too long been tolerated, he aimed at the complete subjection of the Church in all its orders and degrees, as well as the empire, to the see of Rome. "It was a magnificent idea, but how was it recon-

cilable with the genuine sublimity of Christianity, that an order of men—that one single man—had thrust himself without authority between man and God—had arrayed himself, in fact, in secondary divinity? This monarchical autocracy was undeniably taught and maintained, and by none more than Hildebrand, through means utterly at variance with the essence of Christianity by bloody and desolating wars, by civil wars, with all their horrors, by every kind of human misery. Allow the utmost privilege of the age—of a warlike and ferocious age yet this demand of indulgence for the spirit of the times is surely destructive of the claim to be immutable Christianity; the awful incongruity between the Churchman and the Christian, between the representative of the Prince of Peace and the Prince of Peace himself, is fatal to the whole.”¹ In this attempt Hildebrand provoked the opposition of a large portion of the clergy (especially by his enforcement of clerical celibacy), in addition to that of the emperor and nobility. Had the Emperor Henry IV. been a man commanding respect by the purity of his life and the wisdom of his government, the Pope would have been worsted in the contest. Even as it was, with every advantage of character on the side of Gregory, and with all the power and prestige of the popedom, the point in dispute was, after a contest of fifty years, settled by a compromise, by the treaty or concordat at Worms 1122 A.D., Calixtus II. being Pope, when both Henry IV. and Hildebrand had been long removed from the conflict. The right of investiture by the ring and the pastoral staff was conceded to the Pope, the spiritual authority coming from him. It was then settled that bishops should be elected by the capitulary bodies, but appointed by the emperors by the touch of the sceptre to the possession of their temporal rights and privileges; but what was implied by a free election, with other important points, were left undecided. This compact was ratified by the Lateran Council 1128 A.D. The conflict had exhausted the energies of all parties. It has continued more or less to this day, and must continue while Romish religious establishments are supported by the secular power. In France and England the conflict was soon re-opened. The wars and distraction arising out of this contest have not been without some profitable results in the education of Europe. “The dispute between the emperor and the popes was the axis on which for more than two centuries European history revolved. It was productive of many evils to Germany and Italy, but productive also of great blessings to

¹ Dean Milman’s “Latin Christianity,” book vii. ch. iii.

Europe in general. 'If it had been possible,' says Gervinus,¹ 'for the emperor and the papacy to have united peaceably ; if that which had occurred in the Byzantine kingdom of the East could also have occurred in the Teutonic Roman kingdom of the West, and could the combined secular and spiritual powers have rested on one head, the idea of unity would have gained the preponderance over that of national developments, and in the centre of this quarter of the world, in Germany or Italy, a monarchical power and single form of government would have been constructed, which would have thrown the utmost difficulties in the way of the national and human progression of the whole of Europe.' Fortunately, a union of the two powers did not take place. The one saved Europe from entire slavery to the other. This long struggle favoured the rise and growth of independent thought, and, by preventing the realising of a one-sided and external unity, furthered the cause of a full and free unity."² In this war of investitures the prelates, nobles, and cities of Italy obeyed some the emperor some the Pope, not from a blind fear but from choice, according as the political or the religious sentiment prevailed. The war was general, but everywhere waged with the local forces. *These contests increased the power and political importance of the municipalities, in Italy especially.* Every city armed its militia, which, headed by the magistrates, attacked the neighbouring nobles or towns of a contrary party. While each city imagined it was fighting either for the Pope or the emperor, it was habitually impelled exclusively by its own sentiments ; every town considered itself, as a whole, as an independent state, which had its own allies and enemies ; each citizen felt an ardent patriotism for his own city ; each had its bell for calling the citizens to the parliament assembled in the great square ; each city had two consuls annually elected. Between the years 800 and 1200 A.D., the most prodigious works had been undertaken and accomplished by the towns of Italy, as ports, quays, canals, public palaces, and temples, which are to this day objects of admiration. *The Lombard cities, Milan, Pavia, Verona, Padua, Mantua, &c., leagued to preserve their liberty,* and, after a long struggle, from 1155-1183 A.D., the cities obtained practical independence. This was one result of the contest between the Pope and the emperors.

3.—(3) *The rise of an order of Burgesses and Citizens, and the formation of Municipalities through Europe generally,* with various degrees of liberty and self-government. The old Roman munici-

¹ Gervinus, "Course of History since Napoleon I.," 12mo., 1853.

² Flint's "Philosophy of History in Europe," vol. i. p. 58.

palities, though for a while thrown into the shade by the barbarian rulers of the west, gradually recovered their organisation, exercised gradually their privileges, and engaged in industries which led to the accumulation of population and wealth. In FRANCE, Marseilles, Avignon, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Perigueux, Bourges, and others *enjoyed a measure of self-rule*. "All that was elevated in the Gallo-Roman populations . . . was found in the cities; the only constant residents in the country were the half-servile coloni and the agricultural slaves. On the contrary, the superior class of the German population established itself in the country, where each family, independent and proprietary, was maintained on its own domain by the labour of its own German Lidi whom it had brought thither, or by the old Keltic coloni. In the tenth century Gaul had become France, and the serfs were settled in families paying feudal duties. The cities influenced the rural districts in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries either by example or by the contagion of ideas."¹ Louis VI. encouraged the establishment of corporate towns, and assisted them in their resistance to their lords, 1135 A.D. Louis VII. pursued a similar policy. St. Louis IX. published a code of laws. Louis X. (Hutin) gave the franchise to the villeins on the royal domains, and Philip called the representatives of the cities to seats in the States-General, 1318 A.D. The first patents of nobility were granted by Philip le Hardi, 1273 A.D. In ITALY, Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi, and Venice, Florence, Sienna, and others *were practically free cities at an early period* as well as the great Lombard cities. The invasions of the Huns, Saracens, and Hungarians in the preceding centuries, 900-1200 A.D., had compelled the cities of Italy and Germany to surround themselves with walls and other fortifications. After the death of the Emperor Henry IV., 1106 A.D., *the German cities were generally self-governed* and independent, and the formation of *the Hanseatic League* in the eleventh century raised up a new power, which, in the thirteenth century, was upheld by seventy cities, of which Lubeck was the head. The Franconian emperors enfranchised the cities 1024-1125 A.D., and freed the villeins in the thirteenth century. In ENGLAND the cities grew up after the Norman conquest. *Magna Charta*, extorted by the barons from John, recognised the liberties of London and the cities, 1215 A.D. In 1265 A.D., after the barons' war, Simon de Montfort (1265 A.D.), and after him Edward I. (1295 A.D.), called the cities to return members to the Parliament. *Serfdom was gradually abolished* in the

¹ Aug. Thierry, "History of the Tiers État," vol. i.

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In SPAIN the wars between the Christian kings and the Mahometans led to the acquisition of peculiar powers by the cities, which in 1118 A.D. sent deputies to the Cortes.

(4) *The predominant influence of the Papacy in Europe.*—"The position of the popes at this moment was most lofty and dignified: the clergy were completely in their hands. . . . By the introduction of celibacy they transformed the whole body of secular clergy into a sort of monastic order. . . . The popes desired to be the only bishops of the Church. They interfered without hesitation in the administration of every diocese." With this Henry IV. charged Gregory VII.: "Thou hast trampled under foot, as if thy servants, the governors of the holy Church—namely, the archbishops and bishops"; admitting, however, that in this the Pope had public opinion on his side. "As early as the beginning of the twelfth century Prior Gerohus ventured to say, 'It will come to pass that the golden pillars of the monarchy will be utterly shattered, and every great empire will be divided into tetrarchies. Not till then will the Church be free and unfettered under the protecting care of the great crowned priest.' . . . *Almost the only comprehensive, centralising power was that possessed by the Pope.* The mingled spiritual and temporal character which life had assumed during that period, the entire course of events inevitably tended to produce such a power, and to render him the depository of it." The events thus referred to were the conquests of the Christian kingdoms in Spain over the Mahometans, the success of the Teutonic knights in Prussia, the taking of Constantinople, and the establishment of a hated power in the East, the Crusades, the humiliation of John of England, his accepting his kingdom as a fief from the Pope, &c. &c. The burning of Arnold of Brescia (who had long resisted papal authority) at Rome by order of the Emperor Frederick I., 1155 A.D., was another instance of deference to papal claims. Arnold was orthodox, ascetic, and unimpeachable in his private character. He appealed to the Gospel against the wealth of the clergy; the whole feudal imperial system as well as the pontifical was to be set aside; the sovereign power, endowed with all the wealth of the clergy and laity, was to be a popular assembly. These were the dreams of inexperience, pardonable in the twelfth century, but which are now and then indulged in by philosophical politicians who believe that nothing is impossible. In this instance, manifesting the contempt of the feudal emperor for mere burgesses, and the contempt of a German for Italians, there was obviously a political mistake. But it would have been well worth the while of the Teutonic emperors

to have made the Romans their allies, and "bridled by their help the temporal ambition of the Pope. The offer was actually made by them, first to Conrad III., 1138-1162 A.D., and afterwards to Frederick I., who repelled in the most contumelious fashion the envoys of the senate."¹ *This mistake of the emperors, in throwing away the attachment of the Italian cities*, threw all the influence of Lombardy and the cities into the hands of the popes. Innocent III., whose reign is the culminating period of the pontifical power, 1198-1216 A.D., was only thirty-seven years old when elected to the papal chair. The scope and intent of the scheme of the papacy, as matured in his mind, was opened out in his consecration sermon. The Pope is declared to be the viceroy of God, "the successor of St. Peter, he that standeth in the midst between God and man; somewhat lower than God, but above man; less than God, but greater than man."² Although these claims have no foundation in Scripture and reason, yet one cannot but admire the supremacy claimed for mind and religion over brute force. Incidentally, the papal usurpation was in these ages overruled for good. It checked greater evils. The practice of INNOCENT III. was in full accordance with his claims, as in the case of John of England, Baldwin of Flanders, Philip Augustus of France. It is remarkable that this Pope never recognised the utility of the great Mendicant orders by which the papal power was strengthened for two centuries. The papal power pressed hardly on the sects opposed to the Church of Rome. *The Albigenses* in the south of France, a sect holding sundry Gnostic Oriental notions, and opposed especially to the power and wealth of the clergy, although protected by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, were persecuted by the Inquisition 1198 A.D., and were ruthlessly put down by a crusade against them by the popes, 1208-1228 A.D. So extensive was the heresy in Languedoc that Levaure, the Inquisitor bishop and papal legate, assured the Pope that the purification of that province was not to be expected "until the city of Toulouse was razed to the ground and the citizens put to the sword."³ The Council of Toulouse enforced a decree of the fourth Lateran Council (1215 A.D.) directing the appointment of sworn men in different parts of the diocese to discover heretics. *This is the formal beginning of the Inquisition* (1229 A.D.) under the pontificate of Pope Gregory IX. It had tribunals at Toulouse and other places, with power to extort confession by torture. This Pope died 1241 A.D., aged one hundred years. Equal diligence in the

¹ Bryce, pp. 277, 278. ² Greenwood, vol. v. p. 369. ³ Ibid., vol. v. p. 549.

work of destroying all opposition to the teaching of the Church was shown in other parts of France. At Rheims, in 1239 A.D., about one hundred and eighty-three Manicheans were burnt in the presence of one archbishop, seventeen bishops, and one hundred thousand people. In Germany the first Inquisitor, a Dominican, detested for his cruelty, was slain by some nobles, 1233 A.D. Meanwhile the MENDICANT orders, Dominican and Franciscan, by degrees, through their labours and genuine regard for practical piety (at that period of their history), brought back the affection of the people to the Church. These Albigenses, whose principles were really dangerous to social order and morality, are not to be confounded with the Waldenses, called also the Vaudois, a very different party, only resembling the Albigenses in their opposition to the Roman hierarchy. These WALDENSES originated in a society founded by Peter Waldo, at Lyons, 1170 A.D., which spread over the south of France, North Italy, and part of Germany. They professed to take the Bible as their rule, and were opposed to the doctrinal errors and practices of the Romish Church. An effort was made to bring them, under the name of "poor Catholics," under the control of the Church—a proof of the impression made by them on the public mind; but this effort failed. The military orders of knighthood were firm supporters of the papal authority. Of these the Hospitallers of St. John removed to Malta 1301 A.D.; the Teutonic order settled first at Marien, then at Venice, and finally in North Germany. The Knights Templar, founded 1120 A.D., became rich enough to provoke the cupidity of Philip IV. of France, by whom, with the support of the Pope, they were plundered and murdered, 1307–1314 A.D. The influence of the papacy was much lessened by the shock given to the higher feelings of Christian men by the merciless persecution of the Hohenstaufen family in Italy by the popes. The French prince, Charles of Anjou (brother of St. Louis), invited by the Pope, as the opponent of the Hohenstaufens in Naples and Sicily, having defeated and taken prisoner Conradin, the last of that family, a youth of fifteen, had him publicly beheaded at Naples, 1268 A.D. *The first successful rebellion against the papal power* was directed by Philip le Bel early in the fourteenth century.

4.—(5) *The Irruptions of the Mogul Tartars under Ghengis Khan into Southern and Western Asia and Eastern Europe.*—4. These Moguls or Tartars (called by the Chinese, Tatsis or the Das), a pastoral people, resembling the Huns and Avars of the fifth and sixth centuries, were united, after a war of forty years, by GHENGIS KHAN, 1206 A.D. A general assembly was held on a wide

plain in Mongolia, near the stupendous range of the Altai, which was attended by the Mogul nobles and warriors, many of them the chiefs of tributary hordes. Seated on a high throne formed of bucklers and shields covered with the skins of foxes and wolves, Temudschin presided over the meeting, which had been convened for the election of the provincial governors and the promulgation of a new code of laws. The appearance of an old hermit, who stated that he had seen in a vision the God of heaven, and had heard him give the empire of the world to Temudschin, and had proclaimed him king of kings, moved the assembly to proclaim Temudschin, by the title of *Ghengis Khan, as sole ruler, on the principle that, as there was only one sun in heaven, there should be only one king on earth.* In the opinion of this "scourge of God," the greatest pleasure of man was "to conquer his enemies, to take from them all they possess, to see the persons dear to their enemies bathed in tears, to mount their horses and carry away captive their daughters and their wives."¹ The Monguls, in their original state, practised polygamy, respected nothing but strength and bravery, took no interest in anything in nature except the growth of the grass, the names given to their months being descriptive of the different aspects of the prairie; their food, the flesh and milk of animals, and their clothing from the skins of the animals used for food. They were horsemen from their infancy, and had no infantry in war—hence their rapid movements. A Chinese contemporary describes their mode of warfare: "When they wish to take a town, they fall on the suburban villages. Each leader seizes ten men, and every one of these is forced to carry a certain quantity of wood, stones, and rubbish, which they use for the filling up of ditches or the formation of trenches. In the capture of a town the loss of ten thousand was not regarded. No place could resist them. After a siege, all the population was massacred, without distinction of old or young, rich or poor, beautiful or ugly, those who resisted or those who yielded." Ghengis Khan first conquered China, Korea, Tibet, India, Turkestan, Bokhara, and all the petty kingdoms in eastern Asia between the Tigris and the Indus, which had originated in the division of the Seljuk empire; his capital horde was at Karakorum. He died on his way to complete the conquest of China, 1227 A.D. While engaged in the conquest of Bokhara, the Mogul hordes came in contact with THE RUSSIANS, then divided into several distinct kingdoms. The Polovtsi, their nomad enemies, claimed the help of the Russian

¹ "History of Tartary," &c.

princes, and, in spite of the appeal of the Mogul ambassadors, this was granted. The Russians and Polovtsi were beaten at the Kalka, a small river flowing into the Sea of Azoph. Six princes and seventy of the chief boyards were left dead on the field; hardly a tenth of the army escaped. The Kievians alone left ten thousand dead. The Grand Prince of Kief capitulated, but his guard were massacred, and he and his two sons-in-law were stifled under planks, the Tartars holding a festival over the inanimate bodies, 1224 A.D. In 1237 A.D., Bati invaded central Russia, conquering in his way the Bulgars, then the princes of Riazan, nearly all of whom fell in battle; then the Grand Principality with Moscow, 1238 A.D., and so on for several years. Bati had an army of 500,000 Turks and Slavs, besides 160,000 Moguls: the tortures they inflicted are too horrible to relate. In many parts of Russia they left only one man in fifty of the population. In the province of Kief 60,000 men, besides women and children, were destroyed, 1240 A.D. The horrors of this invasion—all the towns burnt, prisoners massacred, princes as well as people, churches and places of refuge burnt with all their inmates; on one occasion a young prince, a child, was “drowned in blood,” to revenge the resistance of his people. Hundreds of thousands were carried captive; ladies of rank, once adorned with rich garnets and jewels of gold, reduced to slavery, turning the wheel of the mill and preparing the coarse food of their masters. The cause of this great calamity to Russia was the division among the princes; the armed population was confined to the princes and the citizens; the peasantry, the bulk of the population, were unarmed, while the Moguls were all soldiers, and Bati had with him 500,000, all cavalry. In addition, the Moguls carried with them “figures of dragons which spat fire and vomited an intolerable smoke.” POLAND was next invaded. Miceslaw, the Duke of Upper Silesia, with the Polish Duke of Bolesland, and multitudes of men, women, and children fled before them. Breslau was burnt. Henry the Pious, with his handful of Germans and a few Hospitallers and Poles (30,000), resisted the Moguls (150,000) at Leignitz for two days. Henry was killed. The Moguls filled nine sacks with the ears of the Christians; but, notwithstanding the victory they had gained, they had learned to shun “the land of the ironclad men,” and, after vainly besieging Leignitz and Goldberg, they turned southwards. Meanwhile, the German princes and bishops had assembled at Merseburg, and had resolved upon a general summons to the field. In Saxony, men, women, old men, and children, had taken up the sign of the cross, The Pope had summoned Christendom to arms. Frederick II., the

emperor, wrote to the sovereigns of the west, "This is the moment to open the eyes of body and soul, now that the brave princes on whom we reckoned are dead or in slavery." These barbarians, bearing the head of Henry the Pious and others, crowded the mountains up to Moravia, and besieged Olmutz, which was desperately and successfully defended by the Bohemians and Moravians. Besides the fortified cities and the ironclad men, the Moguls feared to fight in a broken, hilly country, so they ravaged Hungary for three years on both sides of the Danube, hunting up the fugitives hid in the woods from their hiding-places, and then murdering them. All the towns were burnt. Three hundred women of the highest nobility, who had escaped the general massacre, were executed in the presence of the Tartar chief.¹ Their retreat homeward was hastened by the news of the death of Oktai, the second emperor of the Moguls in China. Bati established "the Golden Horde" as the Khan of Kipshack, from the Caspian to the mouth of the Danube, absorbing the ancient Patzineks and Polovtsi, and exacting tribute from the Russian princes. The last of the khalifs of Bagdad was put to death by Huluku, 1258 A.D., being trod to death by the horses of the Moguls. This was the last of the Abassides in Bagdad, but the office was perpetuated for three centuries longer in the house of Abbas in Egypt. Bagdad was plundered for forty days, and 200,000 people massacred, 1260 A.D. In attempting to conquer Syria, though they took Aleppo and Damascus and entered Palestine, they were defeated by the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, and their power, crushed in due time, ceased to exist as a terror to Europe or southern Asia. In consequence of the terror excited in Europe by the advance of the Moguls, the price of herrings was reduced to a nominal amount, as the vessels of Gothia and Frizia were not sent to purchase the usual supplies from the English fisheries. Singular that barbarians from the frontiers of China, the extreme East, should influence, by the terror of their name, the markets of the extreme West. *By the Mogul invasion, and continued control maintained over Russia by the Moguls, the semi-barbarous power of Russia was kept from exercising any action upon its western neighbours for about two centuries and a half, until 1481 A.D.* Had the power of Russia been concentrated under one ruler while its neighbours were comparatively weak and divided, the balance of power in the East of Europe might have been disturbed, and the territory of Russia might have been extended not only over Poland,

¹ See "Letter of the Emperor" in Greenwood.

but over Hungary and western Germany, to the great injury of European freedom and civilisation.

(6) *The leading Nations during this Period.*—Scandinavian nations:—Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, which in this period were brought into a somewhat nearer connexion with Europe.

Norway.—Magnus II. succeeded Harold Hardrada, 1066 A.D., and was followed by Magnus III., whose successor, 1069 A.D., was Olaf III., the Pacific, who did much to promote civilisation in Norway. He made Bergen a commercial emporium, founded several guilds or fraternities of the traders and artisans, and introduced glass windows and chimneys. And besides this he promoted and pressed the liberty of the serfs, directing that in every district (fylke) one bondsman was to be set free annually. Magnus III. (the Barefoot) invaded the Isle of Man, and was killed in Ireland, 1103 A.D. Sigurd, before he became king, had carried out a remarkable expedition into the Mediterranean, 1107–1111 A.D. He sailed with sixty ships and a large number of followers, wintered in England, where he was entertained by Henry I., reached Spain in the summer, destroyed sundry fleets of Saracen pirates, and took and plundered Cintra, Lisbon, and Alcázar (Saracen cities), visited the Normans in Sicily (under Count Roger), then to Jerusalem and the Jordan as a pilgrim, and afterwards assisted at the siege of Sidon by the King of Jerusalem. Returning by way of Constantinople, 1111 A.D., he was kindly received by Alexis Comnenus, and passed through Bulgaria and Hungary to Suabia, where he was entertained by the Emperor Lothaire, and so through Denmark to Norway. He reigned from 1122 to 1130 A.D. A period of civil dissensions followed for nearly a century. The first Storting was held 1223 A.D., composed of the bishops, and barons, and the great landholders. Iceland and Greenland were annexed 1261, 1262 A.D. Hako IV. (1251–1262 A.D.) made himself respected and feared. He was defeated at Largs by Alexander III. of Scotland, 1261 A.D., and died in the Orkneys, 1262 A.D. Magnus VI., son of Hako IV., ceded the Hebrides (but not the Orkneys) to Scotland, 1263–6 A.D. *The allodial proprietors about this time became vassals, and the old jarls took the titles of dukes, barons, &c.,* but the people were free and armed. Magnus was called Lagabeter (law-mender), 1263 A.D.; he died 1280 A.D. In 1273 A.D. it was enacted at Bergen that no laws should be enacted except by the Storting.

5. *Sweden.*—Karl Sverkerson, of the Bonder class, established the Sverker line, and reigned 1135–55 A.D. Erick the Saint endeavoured to improve the religious condition of the people. He was called “the

Lawgiver," on account of his law that "every wife should have equal power with her husband over locks, bolts, and bars, and that she should enjoy one-third of his substance when a widow; a compact made that Charles Sverkerson should succeed Erick, and their children should succeed alternately." The Finns were conquered in his reign, 1137 A.D. Charles Swecker, 1161-1167 A.D., united Gothland to Sweden, and was the first king of the united Swedes and Goths. The last of the Border dynasty was Erick III., who died 1250 A.D. Waldemar, a child, son of Birger Jahl, of the Folkungar family, under the regent, his father, began the Folkungar line. Birger built Stockholm, and destroyed the rival Folkungar family. His dominion included Bothnia and Carelia. He fortified Wyburg, warred with the Esthonians, more or less, to repel their ravages. In 1260 A.D. the diet of nobles and clergy decreed that no taxes should be levied without their consent. In 1279 A.D. Magnus Ladulas succeeded as king of Gothia and Sweden. Female heirship and hereditary nobility were introduced in his reign. He caused the seditious race of the Folkungars (his own party) to be destroyed, and governed with a strong hand. His surname, Ladulas, was very honourable to him. It arose from the law made by him to correct the practice of the nobles, &c., claiming free quarters. He compelled them to pay for their corn, &c., which they and their cattle consumed when travelling.

Denmark.—There was a double election, 1147-1157 A.D., after which Waldemar I., the Great, began to reign. In 1169 A.D., he took and destroyed Arcona, in the Isle of Rugen, a powerful fortress held by the pirates, and in 1170 A.D. finally destroyed the famous stronghold and city of Jomsburg, the piratical capital, placed on an island at the mouth of the Oder. It had been destroyed before, by Canute, 1019 A.D., and by Magnus, 1044 A.D. It never recovered this destruction, but sank into the petty town of Wollin. Waldemar also reconstructed the old Dannewarke wall across Jutland. He also made large conquests in Mecklenburg and Pomerania; founded Dantzic 1165 A.D. Canute VI. conquered Pomerania, Holstein, and Gothonia, 1182-1202 A.D.; but these conquests were not permanent. Waldemar II. colonised Esthonia, &c., 1202-1241 A.D. Feudal institutions were introduced into Denmark in the twelfth century, but the cities sent representatives to the parliament under King Abel, 1250-1252 A.D., and the deputies of the peasantry, 1280 A.D., in lieu of the personal attendance of the armed peasantry. In 1241 A.D. Waldemar II. laid before the "Thing" of Jutland, at Viborg, and before the Zealand "Thing,"

in Wordingborg, the general laws of the whole monarchy, as supplementary to provincial customs. The provincial diets were superseded by a national diet, the "Danehof." A national diet was directed to be held annually at Nyborg, in judicial matters each province and city to act independently. King Abel was killed by the Frieslanders in 1252 A.D. He founded Stralsund and Revel, 1200–1222 A.D., but his conquests were lost by his captivity for three years by the court of Schwerin.

The British Islands.—ENGLAND, ruled by the ducal Norman line until 1154 A.D., when the Plantagenet, Henry II., ruled over England and part of France. This king began the conquest of IRELAND 1167 A.D., which, from the eighth century, had fallen into barbarism under brutal tribal disorganisations, though nominally divided into four kingdoms. The island was granted by Pope Hadrian to Henry. The struggle of this king with Thomas-à-Becket (Archbishop of Canterbury) in the matter of Church privileges, which had been limited by the Constitution of Clarendon, 1164 A.D.; the murder of Becket, his canonisation, and the penance done by the king, are important facts in the history of this reign. John, who reigned after Richard the Crusader, was compelled by his barons *to grant Magna Charta*, 1214 A.D.; for which the Archbishop Langton and the barons were condemned by the Pope as having interfered with the rights of the Church, John having yielded the suzerainty of the kingdom to the legate of the Pope. Under Henry III. the barons, headed by Simon de Montfort, obtained for a brief period the predominance, and procured the admission of the representatives of the cities into parliament, 1258–1265 A.D. WALES was annexed to England between 1265–1284 A.D., a step necessary for the peace of the west of England, and desirable as a step towards the civilisation of Wales. Edward I. returned from the Crusades 1273 A.D., and was led, through the dispute as to the succession of the last king, Kenneth, to interfere in the affairs of Scotland.

6. *Germany.*—Henry V., a bad son but able emperor, the last of the Salic line, died 1125 A.D. Lothaire III., Duke of Saxony, was elected, and agreed that the Church should enjoy the right of appointing its own officers, and that the investiture of bishops should follow their consecration. He also did homage to the Pope for the lands of Matilda, Duchess of Tuscany. The Slavi of the north of Germany were gradually absorbed by German rulers, the founders of dukedoms and marquisates. Conrad III., Duke of Franconia, *the first of the Hohenstaufen family*, succeeded, 1138 A.D. The party designation of the terms Guelf (Welf) and Ghibelline (Waiblinger)

arose at the siege of Weinsberg, 1141 A.D., the *Guelphs indicating the party of the Pope, the Ghibellines that of the emperor*. Conrad, after his return from the Crusades, died 1152 A.D. He introduced the double eagle into the arms of the empire. Frederick Barbarossa succeeded. His five campaigns in Italy, 1154 to 1178 A.D., ended in the practical independence of the Lombard city-republics. In his first campaign he delivered Pope Adrian IV. from the patriot Arnold of Brescia, who had established a republic in Rome, and whom he put to death 1155 A.D. After his sixth visit into Italy, he caused his son Henry to marry Constance, the heiress of Roger II., king of Apulia (Naples) and Sicily, and died in the Crusade in the river Calycadnos, 1190 A.D. Henry VI., his son, inherited his father's energy, but without his nobler qualities. In asserting his claim to Naples and Sicily, he acted with the most revolting cruelty. Great disorders ensued, from 1198 to 1218 A.D., in the rivalries of opposing claimants of the empire. By two pragmatic sanctions, 1220 and 1232 A.D., the nobles and bishops of the empire gained legal sovereignty over their towns and domains. *Frederick II., Barbarossa*, son of Henry VI., returned from the Crusades 1228 A.D. His wars in Italy with the Lombard cities, led to his excommunication by the Pope and the opposition of a rival emperor. He died 1250 A.D. The enmity of the Pope to Frederick II. and to the Hohenstaufen family arose mainly from their having united Naples and Sicily to the empire, by which Italy and the popedom were in fact placed under the power of the emperor. *Frederick II., Barbarossa, was a remarkable man*, and was called "the wonder of the world": learned beyond his age, liberal, or perhaps indifferent or sceptical in his religious views, but quite willing when on friendly terms with the Pope to persecute all heretics and schismatics. "He founded nothing, and he sowed the seeds of the destruction of many things." Freeman says that "he was the last real emperor."¹ Conrad IV., his son, was driven from Germany to Apulia, and died 1254 A.D., leaving an infant son, Conraddin. William, the rival emperor, was killed in a war with the Frieslanders, 1256 A.D. In these wars of the Hohenstaufens the grand duchies of Franconia and Suabia were broken up, and divided among smaller princes. After this, a period of anarchy, called the "grand interregnum," until the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg. Some changes had meanwhile been made in the German principalities by the Hohenstaufen emperor. **BAVARIA and SAXONY**

¹ Freeman, "Essays," first series, p. 306.

had been taken from the Guelph, Henry the Lion, 1180 A.D. Bavaria (deprived of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol) was given to the Willelbachs, who, in 1215 A.D., obtained the Palatinate of the Rhine by marriage. SAXONY was given to the Ascanian line, but confined to a small district, of which Wittenberg was the capital. POMERANIA, MECKLENBURG, HOLSTEIN, WESTPHALIA were independent under their several princes. The Archbishop of Cologne received part of Westphalia. The DUCHY of Saxony given to Otho, 1235 A.D., by Frederick II. : hence the house of BRUNSWICK. On the fall of the Hohenstaufen, SUABIA and FRANCONIA were broken up, 1268 A.D., and *many cities were made free imperial cities*. Baden, Wurtemberg, Hohenzollern, Fürstenberg became separate principalities. On the death of the last landgrave of Thuringia, 1247 A.D., great disputes arose respecting the succession ; but, in 1264 A.D., THURINGIA was given to the House of Misnia, and HESSE to Henry of Brabant : hence the House of Hesse. Two nominal emperors, Richard of Cornwall, who visited Germany four times, and died 1272 A.D.; Alphonzo of Spain, who never made his appearance, was set aside by the electors. At length, through the influence of the Archbishop of Mainz, 1273 A.D., RUDOLPH OF HAPSBURG was chosen emperor. At this time the emperors had become practically the tools of a princely aristocracy consisting of six prince-archbishops, thirty-five prince-bishops, besides abbots and abbesses, and the dukes, princes, counts, &c., who held lands under the empire. Nearly half the land was held by ecclesiastics, doing, however, military service for that land, and charged with the administration of justice to their vassals. These princes, by whom Germany was governed in the anarchy which preceded the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg, were as indifferent to the well-being of the empire as they were careful in the increase of their own territories and privileges. They usurped the power and prerogatives of the emperor, in order to place themselves in a position independent of all law, and by the help of their feudal vassals, a numerous and strong force, and by the clergy, laboured to crush civil liberty by a disastrous war with the cities, in which they were supported by the popes. The people in the cities, and the small knights holding lands direct from the empire lamented this internal anarchy, and demanded the election of an emperor. Meanwhile every petty noble exercised sovereignty, exacted tolls, plundered travellers ; so also the robber knights on the Rhine and elsewhere.¹ The cities, sensible of their inability to resist

¹ Menzel, vol. ii. pp. 24-71.

individually, formed defensive and offensive leagues—(1) *the Hanseatic League*, already mentioned; (2) *the Rhenish League*, 1254–1270 A.D., formed against the nobles and robber knights; (3) *the Suabian League* of cities followed a little later, and co-operated with the Rhenish League. The power of the popes and of the Church was maintained in Germany by the archbishopricks and the large number of richly-endowed bishopricks. Monasteries and nunneries rapidly multiplied. *Three archbishops, Mayence, Cologne, Trèves*, had anciently a precedence in the elections of the emperor. Four temporal princes united with them as electors; *and these seven claimed the exclusive right of election in the fourteenth century—i.e.*, the three archbishops, the Rhenish Palatine, the Duke of Saxon-Wittenberg, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the King of Bohemia. Into the diet of the empire, other nobles and bishops, with the representatives of the cities, soon forced themselves. There was some check on the anarchy of these ~~time~~ times by the *VEHM-GERICHT*, a secret tribunal which was formed under Engelbert, the regent of the empire, the utility of which was so generally admitted that in the fourteenth century it counted already 100,000 members. Its decisions were at once carried out, to the great terror of the criminals, and the advantage of society at large. *The free peasantry in Suabia and Saxony*, in the Alps, the Tyrol, Würtemberg, Friesland, Dithmarsh, in their several communes, retained for a long time their liberties, and in Switzerland and Friesland were able to secure them. But the misery of the peasantry, even when at the sole mercy of their lords, was by no means so great in the middle ages as it became after the great Peasant War of 1525 A.D. Such was the condition of Germany when Rudolph was elected emperor in 1273 A.D. In connexion with Germany were—*BOHEMIA*, which had become, under Wratislaus, a kingdom, 1086 A.D., under Ottocar assumed a high position until humbled by Rudolf of Hapsburg, 1275 A.D. *HUNGARY* became a kingdom under Stephen, 1000 A.D. It was engaged in struggles with Venice for Croatia and Dalmatia, 1085–1117 A.D., and its kings aimed at the conquest of Bosnia and Bulgaria. Colonies of Flemings and Saxons were settled in Hungary and Transylvania, 1114 to 1140 A.D. The kings of Hungary exercised great influence over Bulgaria, Servia, and the west of Russia; but, by the invasion of the Moguls, all the cities were destroyed except three, and the populations greatly reduced. *POLAND*, which became a kingdom under Boleslaus, 1067–1077 A.D., also suffered from dissensions of the kingdom, and yet more greatly from the Moguls. *LIVONIA*, 1125 A.D., and *ESTHONIA*, 1220 A.D., were con-

quered and colonised by the DANES, assisted by an order of Sword-bearers in Livonia, 1198-1202 A.D. Riga, founded by the Danes, 1200 A.D. LITHUANIA, which had remained under its native rulers, began to assume an important position under Ryngold, its first grand-duke, 1220-1235 A.D. *The Teutonic knights* were invited by Conrad, the regent of Poland, 1231 A.D., as a bulwark against the barbarian Prussians. *These knights, with their coadjutors, the Brothers of the Sword*, 1237 A.D., reduced PRUSSIA to subjection. They held the land as a fief of Poland. By the destruction of the Kumans and other barbarous tribes on the Black Sea and the Danube, by the Mongolian hordes, the MOLDAVIANS and the WALLACHIANS became independent states. RUSSIA, divided into several independent dukedoms at war with each other, was unable to resist successfully the Moguls, by whom the country was fearfully ravaged. *The dukes were reserved as tributaries and vassals of the khans of Kipshak*, a branch of the Mongol empire, 1224-1238 A.D.

7. FRANCE, under its kings, was, during this period, necessarily engaged in wars to resist the encroachments of its powerful feudal vassal, the King of England. Louis VI. (the Fat), one of the best of the French kings, aimed to lessen the power of the nobles by the gradual abolition of serfdom, and by enfranchising the cities, 1108-1137 A.D., being assisted in these efforts by the Abbot Suger, his faithful prime minister. Louis VII. (1137-1181 A.D.), by divorcing his wife, Eleanor, on his return from the Crusades, threw the whole of western France into the hands of her second husband, Henry II. of England. Philip II. (Augustus), 1180-1233 A.D., far exceeded his predecessors, and most of his successors in ability. He humbled John of England. In his reign the *Albigenses* in the south of France, a powerful sect opposed to the Church of Rome, were mercilessly destroyed by "the Crusaders," called out by Pope Innocent III. and commanded by Simon de Montfort. Under Louis VIII. (1223-1226) the Crusaders had fully accomplished their work. The good St. LOUIS IX. (1226-1270) reigned at first under the regency of his mother, made peace with England, and restored Guyenne to Henry III. He was unfortunate in his crusade in Egypt, and died in the expedition against Tunis. Voltaire remarks of him, "It is not given to man to carry virtue to a higher point." He was canonised by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1297 A.D. To St. Louis the conduct of his brother, Charles of Arragon, in accepting the crown of the Two Sicilies from Pope Urban IV., and his further conduct in the murder of Conraddin, was highly offensive. Philip III. (le Hardi), 1271-1285 A.D., succeeded. He withdrew

from Tunis. His reign began by the interment of five of the royal family, who had died in the expedition against Tunis. PHILIP IV. (LE BEL), 1285 A.D., was married to the heiress of Navarre. He was an able, but cruel, vindictive, and rapacious ruler, who greatly extended the royal authority, by humbling the great vassals, and raising the middle classes. His reign is, therefore, a most important one. The *Parlement of Paris* became under him the recognised court of the supreme administration, and the *States-General* were convoked in three orders—the nobles, the clergy, and the representatives of the people, 1302 A.D. There had obviously been a great material improvement in France in the preceding, and in this, the thirteenth, century. A clearance of forests and wastes had been effected; the old cities grew in population and importance; new cities arose, and were peopled by families escaped from serfdom. *The reign of Philip (le Bel) is also remarkable for the first successful blow at the papal power.* It was he who began the overthrow of the mighty system of Hildebrand in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

THE SPANISH PENINSULA (Spain).—The Christian kingdoms of ARRAGON and NAVARRE were separated, 1134 A.D. Navarre was absorbed by France, 1274 A.D., but Catalonia remained with Arragon. In this kingdom the popular power made large advances. Citizen deputies attended the Cortes, 1150 A.D. A new code of laws was promulgated, 1247 A.D.; while the barons, on their part, claimed a legal right to resist the king, 1284 A.D., if, in their opinion, his conduct was faulty, and this right was not formally repealed till 1346 A.D. LEON and CASTILE were divided, 1157 A.D., until 1233 A.D., when they were again reunited. A new kingdom, afterwards called PORTUGAL, was wrested from the Moors by Henry, a prince of Burgundy, who had received from his father-in-law, Alphonso VI. of Castile, a grant of the territory between the Minho and Douro, 1095 A.D.; his capital was Coimbra. Alphonso I., his son, after the Battle of Ourique, 1139 A.D., assumed the title of king, agreed to pay tribute to the Pope, and took possession of Lisbon. *The Mahometans in Spain suffered a serious defeat from the kings of Arragon and Castile at Tolosa, 1212 A.D., and gradually receded, notwithstanding the help they received from the Almoravides of Morocco.* The Algarves, taken from the Mahometans, were added to Portugal, 1253 A.D., by Alphonso III.

ITALY.—The wars arising out of the disputes between the emperors and the popes respecting investitures enabled the northern cities to assume a practical independence after 1183 A.D. The wars of these

cities with each other cannot be detailed here. Most of the seignories, earldoms, and marquisesates of Lombardy were conquered and absorbed by the cities in this period. Pisa and Genoa, Florence and Pistoia, Milan and Pavia, Venice, with all her varied enterprises, were often at war, and more or less entangled in the feuds of the Guelphs (on the Pope's side), or in those of the Ghibellines (for the emperor). Rome, with a nominal municipality, was completely in the hands of the Pope since the time of Innocent I. The Norman conquerors of Naples took possession of the free cities of Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, and Bari. The Duchy of Benevento was broken up by them, 1017-1034 A.D. Robert Guiscard conquered Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, 1060 A.D. Roger II. united Naples and Sicily, 1131 A.D. The Emperor Henry VI., by his marriage with the heiress of Naples, united that kingdom to the empire, 1191 A.D. Great hopes were entertained of this emperor, but his atrocious cruelties ruined the Ghibelline cause in Italy. He died, 1196 A.D. The popes, jealous of the increased power over Italy which accrued to the emperors from the possession of Naples, soon raised up a rival able to compete with the House of Hohenstaufen. Urban IV., 1264 A.D., and Clement IV., 1266 A.D., induced Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis of France, to take possession of Naples, 1266 A.D. Conraddin, a boy of fifteen years of age, son of the Emperor Conrad IV., attempted to recover his inheritance, but was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed publicly in the marketplace of Naples, 1265 A.D. This barbarous murder of a youth, the last of a renowned race, lowered the character of the popedom. On the scaffold Conraddin bequeathed his claims to Peter III. of Arragon; but, meanwhile, Naples and Sicily were governed by Charles of Anjou. This wretch, seventeen years afterwards, died by his own hand at Foggia, his fleets destroyed and his eldest son a prisoner in Spain. Venice,—having acquired Dalmatia and Croatia, established the singular ceremony of the marriage of the Doge with the Adriatic, which was first celebrated, 1177 A.D.,—took part in the Crusades, and in 1202 A.D., after the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, acquired a fourth part of the Eastern Empire. In 1297 A.D., the Grand Council closed, changed to active aristocracy, hence the Council of Ten. The Venetians obtained Albania, Greece, and the Morea, also the islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, and Crete. Genoa, like the rest of the republics, chose a Podesta, 1190 A.D., then a Captain of the People, 1257 A.D. Italy monopolised the trade with the Levant and also up the Black Sea. Caffa and Azoph belonged to Genoa. Smyrna, suburbs of Pera and

Galata, Scio, Mitylene, and Tenedos, were also ceded to Genoa. Pisa was its chief rival, with which it had a war of two hundred years, ending in 1290 A.D., after the Genoese had conquered Elba, and destroyed the ports of Pisa and Leghorn. SAVOY, a marquisate in the north-west, increasing its power gradually.

8. The EASTERN BYZANTINE EMPIRE declined rapidly after the accession of the Comneni, 1057 A.D. In 1081 A.D., a rebellion of the army placed Alexius I. on the throne, when the city of Constantinople was sacked by his army and plundered. He acted cautiously towards the Crusaders, and profited by their victories over the Seljuk Sultan of Roum (Iconium). His life has been written by his favourite daughter, Anna Comnena. Andronicus, the last of this dynasty, was cruelly murdered, 1185 A.D. Isaac Angelus, the successor of Andronicus, paid tribute to the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium. A new Wallachian, or rather a second *Bulgarian*, kingdom was formed by a rebellion caused by additional taxation, 1186 A.D. The Crusaders of the Fifth Crusade restored Isaac Angelus, who had been deposed by his brother, 1202 A.D. His son, Alexis, failing to repay these services, the Crusaders took possession of Constantinople. By so doing, and by the division of the remaining territory of the Eastern Empire, they thus broke down the barrier which that empire presented against the Turks, and prepared the way for the rise of the Ottoman Turkish power. A (so-called) LATIN EMPIRE at Constantinople was established Baldwin, Count of Flanders, on the throne with *one-fourth* of the former empire, as already related. The *Greek Empire of Nicaea*, which was founded by the old Greeks, united with the other kingdoms of Thessalonica, 1255 A.D., and recovered Constantinople, 1261 A.D.; so that there remained two Greek Empires, Constantinople under the Palæologi, and Trebizond under another emperor.

THE EMPIRE OF THE SELJUK TURKS, with all its kingdoms, had been absorbed by the Monguls under the successors of Ghengis Khan. Only one remained, that of Iconium or Roum, which lingered on till the beginning of the fourteenth century. Upon its ruins the petty chiefs of the race were afterwards united under the energetic rulers of the Ottoman Turks.

THE MONGUL STATES were (1) the Khanate of *Kipshack*, which extended north of the Caspian and the Black Sea and inland over southern and central Russia, and to this Khanate the Russian princes were vassals; (2) *Zagetai* from Balk to the north-west; (3) *Persia* under the Ilkhanian Dynasty.

INDIA. The Ghizniste Dynasty of Lahore yielded, in 1153 A.D.,

to the Gorians, which, in its turn, was broken again, 1206 A.D. It was succeeded at Delhi by Khulub-uddin, the slave king, who conquered Bengal. The Mongolian hordes, though they troubled India, made there no permanent conquest.

CHINA was, by degrees, conquered by the sons of Ghengis Khan, Oktai, and the Cublai Khan, 1280 A.D., whose authority was acknowledged "from the Frozen Sea almost to the Straits of Malacca." Marco Polo visited China in his reign.

JAPAN disturbed by civil wars of the great nobles from 1156 A.D.

EGYPT. The Fatemite Dynasty ended 1171 A.D., when Saladin the Great founded the Eyobite Dynasty; he defeated the Christian princes of Palestine at Hitten, near Tiberias, 1187 A.D., and took Jerusalem. This was succeeded by the Baharite Dynasty of *Mamelukes*, 1250 A.D. All the Fatemites expelled from Syria by 1291 A.D.

NORTH AFRICA. The Almohades in about 1150 A.D. succeeded the Almoravides. The Merin Dynasty supplanted the Almohades, 1258 A.D., in Fez and Morocco. The Dynasty of Xeriffs established 1520 A.D. The travels of the Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, 1160 A.D., contributed very little to the geographical knowledge of the age.

9. THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of this period has been partly anticipated in the remarks on the contest between the popes and the emperors respecting investitures, and also by those on the predominant influence of the papacy in Europe. *St. Bernard*, of Clairvaux, was the master-spirit of the Church, and, to some extent, of the sovereigns of Western Europe from 1113-1153 A.D. He was the great reformer of the monastic orders, with which his sympathies were identified, from the fact of his having founded one hundred and sixty of these institutions. In the Council of the Lateran, held by Pope Innocent III. (1215 A.D.), the doctrine of transubstantiation was declared to be that of the Church, and that auricular confession to a priest was absolutely necessary, at least once in the year. Furious decrees against the Albigenses, a large body of heretics in the south of France, were passed. In order to combat these heresies, the Mendicant orders were established as preachers, by whose zeal and activity the popular feeling against the Church was checked, 1210-1213 A.D. These were the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, &c., all of them Mendicant orders. But, in addition, the power of the sword was called in by Pope Innocent III., and by Simon de Montfort the Albigenses of Toulouse, &c., were mercilessly massacred, 1223-1226 A.D. As a specimen of the hatred of the Church system by certain scholars,

we may refer to two works in circulation: (1) "An Introduction to the Eternal Gospel," written by a supposed orthodox Abbot Ivaichius. It was full of blasphemous ravings, and was condemned by Pope Alexander IV., 1254-1261 A.D. (2) "The Book of the Three Impostors," which first appeared in the age of the Hohenstaufen, 1154-1250 A.D. So also "The Commentary on the Apocrypha," by J. P. Oliva, 1259 A.D., a visionary. A formal reconciliation of the Greek Church with the Roman was agreed to at a Council held at Lyons, 1274 A.D., but it was set aside by the Greek Emperor Andronicus. There was obviously a growing inclination and preparation for a rebellion against the papal authority. In permitting, in the thirteenth century, indulgences (for remittance of penances imposed by the Church) to be sold for money, a way was opened for great and scandalous moral evils, necessarily connected with a system by which the Church so greatly profited pecuniarily. Hence thoughtful men were led to doubt the divine foundation of Church authority. Some attempts were made in *the missionary work of the Church* in the eleventh century. The *Nestorians* had succeeded in establishing missions in Tartary. They had bishops in Kashgar (Turkestan) in connexion with the Nestorian patriarch of Chaldea.

10. THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THIS PERIOD is marked by the growth of the modern European languages in England, in France, in Spain, and Portugal and Italy. The Castilian (Spanish) dates from 1150 A.D.; the Portuguese and Italian, from 1206 A.D. In Germany the old national songs were in existence before 1170, and the *Nibelunger* lived about 1200 A.D.; the *Meistersingers*, 1270 A.D. *Latin remained as the language of the Church*, of literature, and philosophy. An increased desire for learning was manifested in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the universities increased in number. Paris was called the new Athens 1150 A.D. Endowments for learning became frequent. Toulouse, Montpellier, Pisa, Salamanca, Lisbon, Oxford, and Cambridge, were well supplied with students. So also, Angers, Montpellier, and Salerno were celebrated for legal studies; Bologna for canon law, where Gratian published his decretals, and died 1150 A.D.; and lastly, the College of the Sorbonne at Paris, founded 1251-1253. *The Mendicant orders* were particularly active in these educational centres, 1224-1249 A.D. Friar Roger Bacon was one of them, and wrote his "Opus Majus," 1267 A.D.; a work "strangely compounded of almost prophetic gleams of the future of science, and the best principles of the inductive philosophy, with a more than usual credulity in the super-

stitutions of his own time.”¹ He had paid much attention to natural science, especially optics, and was acquainted with the explosive power of gunpowder (already known by the Chinese, Tartars, and Saracens). Towards the end of the thirteenth century the art of reading and writing had become common among the higher classes, though Philip the Bold, King of France, 1272 A.D., could not write.

The great writers were in this period chiefly THEOLOGIANS and PHILOSOPHERS, generally combining the two. The study of ROMAN LAW was promoted by Irnerius at Bologna, 1100–1126 A.D.; the Canon Law by Gratian, 1150 A.D. The first of a new school of theologians, the founders, in fact, of the scholastic theology, were Roscelin, 1090–1100 A.D., and Peter Abelard, 1079–1102 A.D. The great orthodox theologians were first Peter Lombard, aptly termed by Milman (vi. 457) the Euclid of his school; his great work, “the Sentences,” was the standard for many years, 1159–1162 A.D.; then THOMAS AQUINAS, 1240–1274, A.D., who, by his “Summa Theologiæ” fixed the theological status of the day, until then mainly confined to St. Augustine. In the “Summa” is found the final result of all that has been decided by popes or councils; all that was taught by the Fathers or accepted from traditions, or argued in the schools, or inculcated in the confessional—it is the authoritative, authentic, acknowledged code of Latin Christianity.² John of Salisbury, 1181 A.D.; Peter of Cluny, 1156 A.D.; Robert Pullen, 1150 A.D., were all able and popular theologians in their day. A remarkable scholar, Albert the Great, of Cologne, 1222–1280 A.D., left twenty-one volumes of theology and general literature, the “Encyclopædia of the Middle Ages.” “He awed his age by his immense erudition . . . his name, ‘the universal doctor,’ was the homage of his all-embracing knowledge . . . of his enormous assemblage of the opinions of the philosophers of all ages; and his efforts to harmonise them with Christian theology is a kind of eclecticism—an unreconciled realism, conceptualism, and nominalism, with many of the difficulties of each.”³ At the beginning of the thirteenth century all the works of Aristotle began to be translated; before this, his logic alone had been in the possession of the schools. Stephen Langton, the patriotic Archbishop of Canterbury, 1206–28, and Robert Grostete, Bishop of Lincoln, deserve to be remembered. Raymond Martin (Bishop of Barcelona) in the thirteenth century, is remarkable for his Hebrew and Arabic learning. *The Historians* are

¹ Hallam, vol. i. p. 114.

² Milman, vol. vi. pp. 459, 460.

³ Milman, vol. vi. p. 437.

Henry of Huntingdon, 1135-1154 A.D.; Florence of Worcester, 1060-1118 A.D.; Geoffry of Monmouth, 1152 A.D.; Giraldus Cambrensis, 1075-1218 A.D.; and other English chroniclers, as William of Malmesbury, 1100-1142, and Matthew of Paris, 1200-1259. *Among the Greeks* Anna Comnena, the historian, 1137-1148; Eustathius, the Homeric critic, 1185; Nicetas, 1206; and Logothete, 1258-1308, historians. Also *among the Saracens*, John Reschid, (Averrhoes) the physician of Cordova, and philosopher, who identified the human soul with the universal soul of Deity and of the world, 1149-1245 A.D. Maimonides, the Jew, 1208 A.D., who was the leader of a latitudinary party in the Jewish Church; Averrhoes and Avicenna are placed by Dante among the philosophers who wanted baptism only to be saved. There was a great alarm raised in the beginning of the thirteenth century respecting the spread of scepticism. Aristotle was blamed in connexion with Averrhoes; and Pope John XXII. condemned the Aristotelian philosophy. *Law was studied in England.* Glanville (Sir John), Justiciary of England, wrote a treatise on law, 1165-1190 A.D.; Bracton also, 1245-1267 A.D., wrote on the law of England, and was followed by his supplementers, Britton and Fleta.

The cultivation of letters by the KHALIFS of BAGDAD, EGYPT, and CORDOVA has already been noticed. Some of these Mahometan rulers are with reason suspected of encouraging scepticism. Under the patronage of these men, the Syrian Christians translated into Arabic the Greek medicinal, mathematical, and philosophical works. The college at Cordova was frequented by many Christian students from France and Italy, by whom the study of Hebrew and Arabic was afterwards promoted in Christendom. *The Nestorian Church* in Persia was also instrumental in spreading the knowledge of the Greek philosophy among the Mahometans.

II. Before entering upon the SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY, we must refer to PETER ABELARD, who was the real founder next to Roscelin, of that School. Milman has done justice to his philosophy: "The nature and peculiar philosophy of Abelard . . . his conceptualism might, in itself, not merely have been reconciled with the severest orthodoxy, but might have opened a safe, intermediate ground between the NOMINALISM of Roscelin and the REALISM of Anselm and William of Champeaux. . . . The conceptualism of Abelard allowing real existence to universals, but making these universals only cognisable as mental conceptions to the individual."¹

¹ Vol. iii. p. 9.

The controversy between Nominalism and Realism was properly one of philosophy, but it entered into the theology of the day. The REALISTS with Plato maintained the objective and external reality of universals, either *anterior*, as eternal archetypes in the divine mind, or *in re* as forms inherent in matter; the NOMINALISTS regarded them as having only a subjective existence as ideas conceived by the mind, and have hence in more modern times led to a kind of compromise between the two extremes, known to the men of our day by the name of CONCEPTUALISM. Roscelin, the first of the Nominalists, went farther than this, and denied, as Hobbes and Berkeley with many others since have denied, all universality except as to words and propositions. Pope John XXIII., the University of Paris, 1339 A.D. and Louis XI., 1473, denounced the Nominalists, though he afterwards tolerated their writings. The following list of the fathers of the Scholastic Philosophy may be useful:—

| | A.D. |
|---|-----------|
| Alan of Lyle, the universal doctor | 1100 |
| William of Champ, the strong doctor | 1100 |
| Alexander Hales, the irrefragable doctor | 1230 |
| Thomas Aquinas, the angelical doctor... .. | 1256 |
| Bonaventura, the seraphic doctor | 1260 |
| Roger Bacon, the wonderful (also far advanced in natural philosophy beyond his age) doctor | 1240-1289 |
| Albertus Magnus, also called the universal doctor | 1223-1280 |
| Egidius de Columne, the most profound doctor | 1280 |
| John Duns Scotus, the most subtle doctor | 1304 |
| Durand, the most resolute doctor | 1300 |
| William Occham, the invincible doctor | 1320 |
| Raymond Lully, the most enlightened doctor... .. | 1300 |
| Walter Burley, the perspicuous doctor... .. | 1300 |
| John C. Gerson, the most Christian doctor | 1392-1429 |

All these men, of blameless repute, of keen acumen and of profound erudition, have been the object of sarcasm and scorn, not only from the unthinking parrots who repeat without understanding the dogmas and sayings of the popularities of the day, but also by men competent to judge, had they allowed themselves time for inquiry and due consideration. The merit of these SCHOOLMEN is that they anticipated the views and positions held by succeeding theologians and philosophers. All the great questions of speculative theology relating to predestination, election and reprobation, free knowledge and contingency, were fought out by these men in the Middle Ages, and in addition "they were leaders on the side of a wronged humanity in that firm-set struggle which ranged through long centuries against a gigantic ecclesiastical despotism, which aimed to

be the sole arbiter of man's faith." . . . "There was never wanting a Schoolman to fight on the side of liberty of conscience and freedom of thought, until the grand result was obtained, the right of thinking as we will and of speaking as we think."¹ In a most valuable work entitled "the Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages" (from which many extracts have been taken in this narrative), by W. J. Townend, the testimonies of the great master-minds whose names are placed in the margin, will be sufficient to counteract the mistakes of the ill-informed revilers of these great men.

We may add testimonies from two very different authorities as to the merits of this philosophy. "There was a vast amount of genuine thought (nowadays sadly neglected) in the latter scholastics, such as Albert the Great, the so-called universal doctor; Thomas Aquinas, the angelical doctor; Duns Scotus, the subtle doctor; and of William of Occam, the invincible doctor; these men did probably all that was possible to harmonise natural and revealed religion, to preserve the peace between reason and faith. With them scholasticism wrote itself out."² "With all its seeming outward submission to authority, Scholasticism at last was the tacit universal insurrection against authority. It was the swelling of the ocean before the storm; it began to assign bounds to that which had been the universal all-embracing domain of theology. It was a sign of the re-awakening life of the human mind, that theologians dared . . . to philosophise. There was waste, waste of intellectual labour, but still *it was* intellectual labour."³

12. The *Troubadours*, the poets of Provence, in spite of their worthlessness, must be noticed; they belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; their poems and songs in the vernacular language delighted the refined but somewhat corrupt court of the rulers of Provence at Aix the capital; except as useful in the study of the transition period of the Latin dialects, they are, all of them, worse than useless.

13. A most important discovery is attributed to this period of the world's history, that of THE PROPERTIES OF THE MAGNETIC NEEDLE. It has been attributed to Flavio Gioja, of Amalfi, 1290 A.D., but it was known long before, being described by Guyot, of Provence, who lived about 1190 A.D. The Chinese were acquainted with it long before it was known in Europe. Towards the close of the thirteenth century its properties were fully known and described. The effect

¹ Herren.

² *Westminster Review*, April, 1883, p. 316.

³ Milman, vol. vi. p. 475.

of this discovery upon the progress of geographical discovery may be seen in the maritime enterprises of the Portuguese in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Commerce was extended by the Crusades, which called into action the maritime power of Venice, Genoa, and all the maritime cities of Italy and Southern Europe, through the necessity of the Crusaders for transport of men, warlike stores, and provisions to the ports of the Levant.

State of the World, 1273 A.D.

EUROPE.

SCANDINAVIA. *Norway, Sweden, and Denmark* separate kingdoms.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS. ENGLAND and IRELAND under one king. SCOTLAND and WALES separate kingdoms.

FRANCE. France gradually acquiring unity by the falling in of the fiefs, but impeded by the wars with England, whose king was a holder of the most important fiefs.

SPAIN. Two Christian kingdoms *Castile and Arragon*. The Mahometan khalifate at Cordova divided among many petty states. The new kingdom of Portugal increasing its territory gradually.

ITALY. The cities of *Lombardy* independent republics, so also *Genoa, Venice, Florence, Pisa*, and others. *Venice* had acquired some dominion in Dalmatia and other provinces of the Eastern Empire. *Rome* and its vicinity under the popes. *Tuscany* with *Lombardy* were nominally fiefs of the German Empire. *Naples* under the family of Charles of Anjou. *Sicily* under the kings of Arragon.

GERMANY at this time included Burgundy and Arles as fiefs of the empire. The northern Slavi had been incorporated by the empire.

To the east of Germany were *Hungary, Poland, Bohemia*, with the *Teutonic Knights* in Prussia. *Esthonia* and *Livonia* were partly under Danish rule. *Lithuania*, under its dukes, had begun to assume the dignity of a civilised state and to aim at political influence. *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* were,

with BULGARIA, a powerful state, formidable to the Eastern Empire of Constantinople. The irruptions of the Mogul Tartars, 1220-1230 A.D., had destroyed the barbarous tribes on the Euxine.

RUSSIA, divided into petty states, controlled by the Mogul khanate of Kipshack.

The Eastern Empire of Constantinople suffered greatly by the taking of the city by the Latin Crusaders, 1202 A.D., and by the division of its territory among the chiefs. Constantinople and part of Greece formed a separate empire under the Latins, *Trebizond* another under the Greeks. *Nice*, also an empire under the Greeks, in 1261 A.D. recovered Constantinople, so that there were in 1273 A.D. two empires, Constantinople and Trebizond. SERVIA was a powerful independent state.

ASIA.

ASIA MINOR, partly to the emperors of Constantinople and those of Trebizond, part to the Seljuk sultans of Iconium. (The Ottoman Turks at this time a small tribe.)

SYRIA under the Egyptian rulers.

PERSIA and the EAST under the Mongolian rulers of *Persia*, *Zagetai* (Balk), *Kipschack* on the Black and Caspian Seas territory, Russia was subject (the last of the Abasside khalifs at Bagdad was murdered by the Mongol Hulaku, 1258 A.D.).

INDIA. The Slave kings over North India to Bengal.

CHINA. Under the descendants of Ghengis Khan.

JAPAN. Disturbed by civil wars.

AFRICA.

EGYPT. Saladin founded the new Dynasty 1173 A.D. Then the Mameluk Dynasty follows, 1250 A.D. Syria is subject to Egypt.

MOROCCO. Almoravides superseded by the Almohades 1150 A.D., then the Merin Dynasty 1258 A.D. In TUNIS and ALGIERS the Lassis, 1206 A.D.

NINTH PERIOD.

*From Rudolph of Hapsburg, 1273 A.D., to
the Emperor Charles V. of Germany,
1520 A.D.*

1. THIS is the period of transition between the middle ages and modern Europe. The leading matters are—(1) *the consolidation of the kingdoms of England, France, and Spain*; (2) *the continued disintegration of Germany*, by which the imperial power was reduced to a mere nullity; (3) *the rise of the House of Austria* to the headship of the empire; (4) *the collision of the interests and claims of France, Germany, and Spain in Italy*; (5) *the extinction of the Eastern Greek empire in the East* (1453), and the consequent extension of the power and territory of the *Ottoman Turks* in Europe, singularly coincident with (6) *the consolidation of the czarship in Russia* after its deliverance from the rule of the Mogul Tartars, 1469–1479 A.D., Russia being, from its geographical position and natural aspirations, the persistent check upon Turkish aggression; (7) *the great advance of learning and science* aided by the invention of printing, 1420–1467 A.D.; (8) *two inventions of great importance* in their uses in war and navigation established the superiority of the civilised races over the barbarians; (9) *the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese* along the West Coast of Africa, and around the Cape of Good Hope to India, 1486–1497 A.D., followed by the discovery of America by Columbus, 1492 A.D.—great events, the benefits of which belong to the human race; and (10) *progress of trade, agriculture, and of society in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*

I.—*The Consolidation of the kingdoms of England, France, and Spain.*

ENGLAND.—Happily *Edward I.*, though he gained, in the reign of his father, the victory over Simon de Montfort, 1264 A.D., found it necessary on his accession to the crown, after his return from the Crusades, to call together parliaments imperfectly constituted, and at last, in 1295 A.D., a full parliament representing all classes. He had learned that by these parliaments the consent of all classes could more readily be gained for the taxation which was necessary to the supply of his wants, year by year increasing through the wars in which he was engaged. *Wales* was annexed to England 1282 A.D. A dispute as to the right of succession to Alexander III., king of *Scotland*, who died 1286 A.D., and whose daughter also died 1290 A.D., led to the interference of *Edward I.* as arbitrator. By him John Baliol was declared to be the lawful heir. But, in 1296 A.D., this king allied with France against his patron, and a war commenced, which lasted thirty-two years, until 1328 A.D. *Edward I.* died 1307 A.D. *Scotland* under Bruce was, in 1328 A.D., acknowledged as independent of England. Under *Edward III.* the so-called “Hundred Years’” War began with France, in 1337 A.D., and was continued in its first stage till 1360 A.D. It recommenced in 1369 A.D. to the truce of 1396 A.D. Again it began in 1415 A.D., and ended in 1453 A.D. *Edward III.* gained a sea-fight at Helvoetsluys in 1340 A.D., and the land battles of Crecy, in 1346 A.D., and of Poitiers, in 1356 A.D. *Henry V.* resumed the war in 1415 A.D., and died King of France and England. By the heroic efforts of Joan of Arc the Maid of Orleans, *Charles VII.* recovered his kingdom, 1437 A.D. The failure of the kings of England to conquer France was a great blessing to both countries, especially as it deprived England of the territory held in France by the Norman and Plantagenet kings, thus making it a purely insular power; and the long contest established and consolidated a national feeling in France itself. The civil war, that of the Roses, arising out of the contests between the Houses of York and Lancaster for the crown, commenced with the deposition of *Richard II.* by *Henry IV.*, 1399 A.D. Actual war began in 1455 A.D. by the battle of St. Albans, and ended, in 1485 A.D., by the battle of Bosworth Field, in which *Richard III.* was killed, and *Henry VII.*, uniting by his marriage the claims of both Houses, became king, the first of the *Tudor* Dynasty. On his accession, the House of Lords had been reduced

to thirty through deaths in battle or on the scaffold; *Henry VIII.* began to reign 1509 A.D.

FRANCE.—*Philip IV.* (the Fair) *le Bel*, 1285–1314 A.D., successfully resisted *Boniface VIII.*, and thus led the way to the lowering of the influence of the papacy. The papal bulls were publicly burnt, the States-General supporting the king. *Boniface* himself was seized and imprisoned. The next Pope but one, *Clement V.*, was elected through Philip's influence, and removed the seat of the papacy to *Avignon*, where it remained from 1305 to 1376. Tempted by the wealth of the *Knights Templars*, Philip IV. determined upon the destruction of the Order, and after a fierce and cruel persecution he succeeded in his design, and obtained also the confiscation of their wealth. The Order, consisting of 15,000 knights, was abolished by the Pope, 1312 A.D., and the Grand Master executed 1314 A.D. The charges against him were probably false, but the Order had become useless as a defence of Christendom against the infidels, and the dissolution of the Order desirable: but there was no reason for the infliction of death. The conduct of the king, and of the Pope, and of the judges was disgraceful. *Louis X.* (le Hutin), 1314–1316 A.D., enfranchised the serfs, obliging them, however, to pay for their freedom. *Philip V.*, *le Long*, 1316–1322 A.D., succeeded. An insurrection of the peasantry in 1320 A.D., followed by murders of the lepers and the Jews, disgraced this reign. *Charles IV.*, 1322–1328 A.D. On his death the *direct* line from Hugh Capet ended, and *Philip VI.*, of the collateral line of *Valois* succeeded 1328 A.D. (He was the grandson of Philip III.) The claim of Edward III. as the nearest heir to Charles IV. led to the long war in which the kings of England attempted to obtain the throne of France. Philip VI., after uniting Champagne, Dauphiny, and Brie as fiefs of the crown, 1340–1345 A.D., died 1350 A.D. *John the Good*, his son, succeeded. He was taken prisoner by Edward III. of England after the battle of Poitiers. The country was ravaged by numerous bands of marauders called Free Companies. Great troubles also followed from popular risings in Paris under Marcel, the Prevot of the municipality. The first salt tax, 1355 A.D., was most unpopular, and is, perhaps, connected with the frightful insurrection, THE JACQUERIE, which arose among the peasantry, 1358 A.D., accompanied by an attempt at the wholesale extermination of the nobles, the burning of their chateaux, &c., in all the northern and western districts. They were at length defeated at Meaux, and 7,000 slain. Peace with England was made at Bretigny, 1360 A.D. Soon after, the Black Pestilence ravaged France, carrying off a large number of the population.

The duchy of Burgundy, which reverted to the crown as a fief in 1361 A.D., was thoughtlessly granted by him to his younger son, Philip the Bold, and became under the rule of his descendants an important power. *Charles V.* (the Wise), 1364–1380 A.D., regained from the English much that John had lost. *Charles VI.* had to contend with popular commotions in Paris and Rouen. He assisted the Count of Flanders to put down the revolt of the Flemings under Philip van Artevelde, who, with 25,000 Flemings, perished in the battle of Rosebecque, 28 Nov., 1382 A.D.—a great triumph of royalty and feudality over popular rights, which enabled the king to put down mercilessly the municipal insurrections in Paris and the cities of Northern France. The king's insanity, 1392 A.D., led to great disorders. Then followed the invasion and successes of Henry V. of England, who for a brief term was regarded as King of France, 1415–1420 A.D. *Charles VII.*, 1422–1461 A.D., by the courage of the Maid of Orleans, and the weakness of Henry VI. of England, was enabled to regain the throne and expel the English out of France. In the States-General held at Orleans, 1439 A.D., he established a permanent military force, by which bands of soldiers, called *écorceurs*, and the insurrection, *the Praguerie*, were put down. This was the origin of a standing army, which began with 6,000 men. In 1453 A.D. the dream of English rule on the Continent was finally dispelled by the capture of Bordeaux, and nothing was left to the English after a war of 120 years except Calais. *This result was equally beneficial to both countries.* Charles VII. secured the liberties of the Gallican Church by solemnly adopting, in the National Council at Bourges, several of the decrees of the Council of Basle, which he published under the title of "Pragmatic Sanctions," 1438 A.D. *Louis XI.* succeeded. His crafty and most detestable tyranny was useful in the consolidation of France. Maine, Anjou, Provence, Rousillon, Cerdagne, Alençon, Perche, and Guienne were annexed to the monarchy. By the death of Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy, in the attack upon Nancy in Lorraine, January, 1477 A.D., the duchy of Burgundy (part of the dominions of Charles) was annexed to France. The rest of Charles the Bold's dominions, by the marriage of his daughter Mary to Maximilian of Austria, helped to the speedy aggrandisement of that family, and became the origin of a fierce and bloody rivalry between France and the Empire of Germany for near two hundred years. Louis XI. died, 1483 A.D. He first assumed the title of "Majesty" and "Most Christian King."

The Dominions of Charles the Bold included (1) the *duchy* of which Dijon was the capital; this was a fief of France granted in

1361 A.D.; (2) Flanders, Artois, Rhétel, and Nevers, all fiefs of France, were obtained by Philip le Hardi by marriage, also the county palatine of Burgundy, a fief of the empire; (3) the Netherlands a fief of the empire; (4) the duchy of Brabant and Hanhault fiefs of the empire with Luxembourg. By the addition of Lorraine these territories would have formed a large and powerful kingdom, richer from the industry of the Netherlands than any other kingdom of that period. Charles's object was to establish this kingdom. Had he succeeded, he would have been a barrier between Germany and France, and a much more powerful one than the so-called kingdom of the Netherlands, established in 1815, after the fall of Napoleon. "He aimed, in short, as others have aimed before and since, at the formation of a state which should hold a central position between France, Germany, and Italy—a state which should discharge with infinitely greater strength all the duties which our own age has endeavoured to throw on Switzerland, Belgium, and Savoy."¹

Charles VIII. succeeded Louis XI., and by marriage annexed Bretagne to the crown, 1491 A.D. His expedition to Italy, at first a success, was eventually a failure. He died, 1498 A.D. *Louis XII.*, called "the father of his people," also made an expedition into Italy to little purpose, and was engaged in the league of Courtrai against Venice. He had a war with Henry VIII. of England, and then married his sister, May, 1514 A.D., and died 1st January, 1515 A.D. *Francis I.* succeeded, and was, by his claims on Italy, the rival of Charles V., of Germany and Spain.

SPAIN.—The wars between the two Christian kingdoms of Spain saved the Mahometan kingdoms from extinction, and prolonged their existence for two hundred years. These dissensions among the Christian kingdoms ended with the union of Castile and Arragon under Ferdinand and Isabella, 1476 A.D. Then followed the conquest of Grenada, 1492 A.D., and the subjection of the Moors and of all Spain (twelve states) to one rule, with the exception of *Portugal*, which had been won from the Moors, 1085 A.D., by Henry of Burgundy, and formed into a distinct kingdom, 1139 A.D. The marriage of Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian and of Mary, the heiress of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, established the preponderance of Spain in the Netherlands and Germany. Charles V. of Germany, and First of Spain, son of Philip and Joanna, began to reign in Spain

¹ Freeman's "Essays," first series, p. 338.

1516 A.D., and was elected Emperor of Germany, 1519 A.D., and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle 1520 A.D. At this period Spain, though united under one king, was a union of kingdoms, each having its own Cortes (Parliament). CASTILE had in its Cortes representatives of cities as well as of the nobles and bishops; but the nobles were exempt from taxation, and the representatives of the seventeen cities were, since 1312-1350 A.D., chosen by the magistrates of each town, seldom exceeding twenty-four in number, and ARRAGON had limited the power of its elected king, elected by the chief of the nobility, and confirmed by the Cortes, when strong enough to have a voice, 1133 A.D. The Cortes consisted of the nobles and bishops, the knights and the deputies of the royal towns; these were few in number, but some of them sent ten representatives, and none less than four. A committee sat between the adjournment of the Cortes to manage the revenue, and there was a powerful officer, the justicia, appointed by the king *from the knights*, exercised extraordinary powers, assisted by a council of seventeen chosen by the Cortes. Catalonia and Valencia were free and independent governments, each having its Cortes composed of three estates. In 1285-1291 A.D., they were finally united to Arragon. The insurrection of Padilla and others in Castile and Arragon, 1520-1522 A.D., against the king and the nobles failed, and led to the destruction of legislative freedom in the course of the century.

II.—*The continued Disintegration of Germany, by which the Imperial power was reduced to a mere nullity.*

2. RUDOLPH of Hapsburg, who began to reign in 1273 A.D., did not save the empire, but he laid the foundation of the house of Austria, by which, in due time, the dignity and power of the imperial crown was upheld. He humbled Ottocar, king of Bohemia, and prepared the way for the incorporation of that kingdom by his own family at no distant period. Germany remained as before a mere geographical expression, applied to a country in which German was spoken, and in which a large number of princes, dukes, electors, counts, margraves, &c., with certain cities, had acquired and exercised a practical independence. While Rudolph lived he was respected and trusted by the Swiss, who were proud of him as their countryman, but on his death, 1291 A.D., they became the subjects of his son Albert, the Archduke of Austria, whose rule was offensive to

¹ Dyer, vol. i. p. 63.

them. His object was to found a kingdom in Switzerland for his son, and to put down the local independence. Thirty-three distinguished men formed a plan of resistance at Rutli, 1307 A.D., which was carried out in 1308 A.D. Duke Leopold of Austria was defeated at Morgarten 16th November, 1315, a battle which showed the power of infantry over cavalry. From that time the SWISS CANTONS became practically a distinct nation. A Federal Diet was established by them, 1352 A.D. In the war with the Dukes of Austria the Swiss gained the battle of Sempach, through the self-sacrifice of Arnold Winkelreich, 9th July, 1386 A.D. (the Swiss confederation was completed 1573 A.D. by the accession of Appenzell, 1573 A.D.). At this period the plague known as the Black Death spread over Europe, 1348-1356 A.D., carrying off twenty-five millions in Europe, in Asia thirty millions, accompanied by floods, mists, and then by droughts, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, singular aerial phenomena, and unhealthy winds. Rudolf had been succeeded in the empire by Adolphus of Nassau, then by Albert, son of Rudolf, 1298 A.D.; on his murder, 1308 A.D., by Henry VII. of Luxemburg, who endeavoured to revive the interests of the empire in Italy, and died there 1313 A.D. In his reign the cities of the empire appear as a third order in the Diet of Spires, 1309 A.D.; the cities were favoured by the emperor as a check upon the licence of the nobles. For the same reason the emancipation of the serfs was encouraged in Germany, as also in France and all over western Europe. The affairs of Germany were disturbed by the action of the popes, who, after the death of the Emperor Frederick II. (1256 A.D.), presumed to claim the right of nominating to the crown of Germany, as well as the bestowment of the imperial crown upon the ruler when chosen. This claim the submissive demeanour of Rudolf and his successors tended to strengthen. Louis IV., 1313-1347 A.D., laboured to oppose this usurpation, and had to contend with his rival Frederick of Austria as well as with the popes, and died, 1347 A.D. Charles IV., 1347-1378 A.D. (of Luxemburg), by a side-blow relieved the empire from the Pope's claims. He published an edict called the Golden Bull, which was to be the fundamental law of the empire for the future. By this the rights and privileges of the seven electors, the Archbishops of Mentz, Trèves, and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, the Margrave of Brandenburg (Ascanian line), and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, 1356 A.D., were defined; the Wittlebacks of Bavaria being excluded. Peace "appears to be promoted by the institutions of Charles IV. . . . but these seven electoral princes acquired with their extended privileges a

marked and dangerous preponderance in Germany. . . . Charles IV. legalised anarchy and called it a constitution.”¹ “Thus Charles, bent upon the aggrandisement of his house, united Brandenburg to the kingdom of Bohemia . . . thus ruling over a range of country from the confines of Austria to Pomerania. Nevertheless, he was all this time working for strangers. His son Sigismund had already mortgaged the Margavate of Brandenburg to the family of Hohenzollern, and by that act laid the foundation for the greatness of that house, while the greater part of his other lands fell also to the house of Austria.” The confederacies of the cities for mutual protection increased; besides the *Hanseatic* League, the *Rhenish* and the *Swabian* Leagues, there were now the *Friesland* League, the *Swabian* League of forty-one cities. These cities were represented in the Diets, and were generally opposed to the nobles. The princes of the empire also formed distinct leagues. Winceslaus, the successor of Charles IV., 1378–1400 A.D., without power, could only remain passive in these struggles between the cities, the knights, and the nobles. After his deposition there was anarchy, until his successor in the empire was Sigismund, 1411 A.D., who held the Council of Constance 1414 A.D., to put an end to the schism in the popedom, and caused Martin V. to be received as the true Pope. The burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague at this council by his sanction as heretics, was warmly resented by the Bohemians, and caused the Hussite War 1420–1436 A.D., and the spread of Hussite opinion. Peace was made on conditions favourable to the Hussite demands of the administration of the Lord’s Supper in both kinds. Under Sigismund the Ascanian line of the Electorate of Saxony became extinct 1423 A.D., and the electorate was given to the Margrave of Messina, whose grandsons, Ernest and Albert, are the founders of the two lines which divide the Saxony of our days. The first general tax through the empire was fixed by the Diet of Nuremburg, 1427, 1428 A.D. Sigismund was succeeded in Bohemia and Hungary by his son-in-law, Albert II. of Austria, 1438 A.D. By his election to the office of emperor the *House of Austria* was identified with the empire. He was succeeded by Frederick III., his cousin, 1440 A.D. In his reign the Turkish Sultan Mahomet II., with one hundred and sixty thousand men having besieged Belgrade 1456 A.D., was defeated by the heroic efforts of John Capistran, the papal legate, and John Hunyades Corvinus, assisted by Pope Calixtus III.; twenty thousand Turks were killed, and the

¹ Bryce, pp. 236, 237. ² Kohbrauch, p. 308.

Turkish power for many years crippled. Bohemia and Hungary became, for a time, separate kingdoms on the death of Albert II., son of Wladislaus Posthumus, 1457 A.D. Bohemia chose George Podribrad, and the Hungarians Matthias Corvinus. Such was the weakness of Frederick III., that with his wife and son Maximilian, he was besieged in his castle at Vienna by the burghers of that city in 1462, and only released by the German princes and the King of Bohemia. The empire was distracted by feuds; the Palatines of the Rhine successfully resisted the emperor; but an attempt upon the city of Nuremburg by seventeen princes, 1449-1456 A.D., was unsuccessful. One event, the death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, 1477 A.D., which led to the union of Maximilian, the son of the emperor, to Mary the heiress, 1478 A.D., had an important bearing on the future of Europe. This Maximilian was elected king of the Romans, 1486 A.D., and emperor, 1493 A.D. In 1495 A.D., by the edict of "perpetual public peace," the practice of private war either of the German princes or states, in towns or individuals, was forbidden. In the same year, by the erection of the Count of Würtemberg into a Duchy under Eberhard the Elder, the foundation of the future kingdom of Würtemberg was laid. By the Diet of Augsburg, in 1500 A.D., there was created a permanent council, consisting of those sent by the six circles into which Germany was divided—*i.e.*, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony. Each circuit sent a count and a bishop. There were two deputies for Antwerp and the Netherlands, and two for the chief cities. This council was superseded in 1507 A.D., by a revival of a reformed imperial chamber originally established by the Diet at Worms in 1495 A.D. Philip, the son of Maximilian by Mary, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and their son, Charles V., became King of Spain 1516 A.D., and Emperor of Germany 1519, 1520 A.D., having first agreed to certain limitations by a capitulation to which he swore. In the fifteenth century South Germany, and especially the commercial cities, as Augsburg, were rich and prosperous. The local states had a voice in the taxation in Bavaria, 1425 A.D.; in Saxony, 1478 A.D.; Brandenburg, 1472 A.D. Imperial fairs at Leipzig were sanctioned by Maximilian, 1497 A.D.

III.—*The rise and establishment of the House of Austria to the headship of the Empire.*

3. The founder of the house, Rudolph of Hapsburg, was one of the petty knights, owing fealty to the empire, ready to fight on any side, but, on the whole, inclined to serve the Guelphs. He had

rendered a service to Werner, Archbishop of Mayence, by escorting him safely through the Alps, and had by him been recommended to the Pope. Having served under Ottocar, King of Bohemia, and fighting for and against the nobles at war with the cities of Strasburg and Basle, he was a ready instrument for the purposes required by the German nobles—the checking the ambition of Ottocar, 1273 A.D. He lost no time in using the opportunity of his position in order to enrich and exalt his family. In 1282 A.D. he invested his sons in the sovereignty of the Austrian dukedoms, and thus laid the foundation of the House of Austria. He could not secure his son's election to the empire, but in 1438 A.D. Albert of Austria, descended from his son, was elected emperor. Bohemia and Hungary also became, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the possessions of the family, as they remain to this day. It was the extent of territory already possessed by the Austrian family which secured their election to the empire. The empire of Germany was renounced by Francis II. in 1804 A.D., who then assumed the title of Emperor of Austria. The revenue of Spain and the Netherlands, added to the prestige of the imperial title, gave the Austrian power a great advantage in the contests between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I., king of France in the sixteenth century.

IV.—*The collision of the Interests and Claims of France, Germany, and Spain in Italy.*

When Charles of Anjou was induced by the Pope to take Naples from the Hohenstaufens, 1266 A.D., he laid the foundation of future enterprises injurious to the French monarchy. Charles, Count of Maine and Provence, had transmitted his rights as the heir of the Angevin house to the kingdom of Naples to Louis XI. Charles VIII. entertained the extravagant project of not only conquering Naples but of re-establishing a Christian empire in the East and re-conquering Palestine. The Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, fearing the interference of the King of Naples to restore his nephew whom he had deposed, sent an embassy to Charles VIII., inciting him to make good his claim to Naples. The expedition of Charles was at first successful. Naples was conquered, 1495 A.D. His success alarmed the powers of Europe, and a league was formed to cut off the retreat of the French. Charles had to fight the battle of Fornovo to secure his retreat to France, 1495 A.D., and Naples and Sicily remained under Spanish rule. This expedition of Charles was the beginning of those expeditions distant from their own

frontiers which compelled the sovereigns of Europe to raise standing armies, the feudal militia, with its limited period of service, being of no great value in wars of long continuance and distant from home. From this time Italy became one of the great battle-fields of Europe, as the Low Countries (Netherlands) afterwards became. This rivalry of France and Spain affected the politics of Europe in the sixteenth and following centuries.

V.—*The extinction of the Eastern Greek Empire of the East (1453), and the consequent extension of the power and territory of the Ottoman Turks in Europe.*

When the Latins in the fifth Crusade, 1202–1204 A.D., conquered Constantinople and appointed a Latin emperor, the more warlike and patriotic party of the Greeks established two empires, that of *Nice* and *Trebizond*. “The Nicene Emperors, Theodore Laskaris and John Batates, rank among the best and greatest in Eastern history. Their throne was supported by the merits of a just government, and was defended—a new feature in the annals of the Eastern Empire—by a national and patriotic army. The Emperor of Nikaia, unable, like his Constantinopolitan predecessors, to hire the choicest warriors of all nations, was driven to depend on the valour of his own people. . . . But when *Constantinople was recovered*, 1261 A.D., and the throne had passed to the dynasty of Palæologi, the scene is altogether changed . . . on the whole, during the duration extending over nearly two centuries of the Second Empire of Constantinople, both empire and city were but the shadow of their former selves. . . . Under the Palæologi it (the empire) sunk below the level of Genoa, Venice,”¹ &c. Meanwhile, the petty *Seljukian* dynasty of Roum, shaken by the Mogul invasion, dwindled away, superseded by that of the *Ottoman Turks*, a kindred race, who had settled in a body of four hundred families under the protection of the Sultan of Roum, 1250 A.D. *Othman*, their emir, began, in 1307 A.D., to absorb the petty Turkish chieftains, and thus established a new power in Asia Minor. Orchan organised the Janizary troops, 1326–1359 A.D. Either as allies or as enemies of the Eastern Empire, they made frequent expeditions across the Hellespont into Europe, and in 1356 A.D., Solyman, the son of Orchan, took possession of Tzympe and Gallipoli in Europe. In ten years the whole of Roumelia was conquered by

¹ Freeman’s “Essays,” third series, p. 270.

Amurath; the Bulgarians, Bosnians, Servians, Albanians, and Hungarians, were alarmed, and ineffectual (because dissentient) resistance was offered by them to the progress of the Turks, 1358-1389 A.D. Much is it to be regretted that the power of SERVIA, which had existed as an independent kingdom since 1040 A.D., and which, under Stephen Dushan, 1336-1356 A.D., had comprehended Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly, and Northern Greece, and had aspired to the possession of Constantinople, was not maintained after the death of that hero. We might have had a Servian Eastern Empire gradually assimilating itself to European civilisation instead of the barbarous Turk, whose only good quality is brute animal bravery. Amurath conquered Bulgaria, advanced his territory to the Danube, 1389 A.D., and defeated the Servians and their allies at Kassova, 27th August, 1389. Amurath was assassinated while the battle was raging, but lived to condemn the captive king of the Servians to death. Bajazet, his son, immediately put to death his brother Yacoob, who had fought valiantly in the battle, and thus prevented any rivalry for the throne. Wallachia submitted, 1391 A.D. A Crusade, headed by Sigismund, King of Hungary (afterwards emperor), was defeated at Nicopolis, 24th September 1396, with great slaughter, and three hundred persons of rank, taken prisoners, were murdered in cold blood. Nothing could surpass the insolence of Bajazet after this. Greece was conquered, and Constantinople was summoned to surrender, 1400 A.D. Fortunately the conquests of Tamerlane, the reviver of the Mogul empire of Ghengis Khan, saved Constantinople for half a century. In a battle near Angora in Asia Minor, the army of Bajazet was destroyed and himself taken prisoner and died 1403 A.D. After this the power of the Turks in Asia Minor appears to have been checked, until Mahomet I., a son of Bajazet, 1413-1421 A.D., revived it. Amurath II., for twenty years, had to encounter the Servians, Bosnians, and Hungarians. In 1443 A.D., Hunyades led the Hungarians across the Balkans and conquered an advantageous peace, 1444 A.D., by which Solyman gave up all claim to Servia, Wallachia, and Hungary. This peace was broken through the influence of the Pope. The King of Hungary, Ladislaus, Cardinal Julian, &c., advanced to Varna, where, 10th November, 1444, they were defeated, the king and the cardinal and a large portion of the army killed; Bosnia, Servia, and Wallachia again conquered by the Turks, and even Hunyades was defeated in a great battle at Kassova, October 1448. G. Castrow Scanderbeg, the Albanian, by his valiant persistence, held Albania for a time, from 1443-1453 A.D. Mahomet II. succeeded and took Constanti-

nople, 1458 A.D., the last of the Palæologi dying in the breach, 20th May, 1453 A.D. For ten days the brutal cruelty of the conquerors was unchecked. "The Roman empire had run its course, and . . . the Greek nations needed recasting in the furnace of adversity. Yet the work might perhaps have been done by other hands than those of the barbarians and the infidels. The dream of a Slavonic empire again flashes before our eyes. Had Servian Stephen, like Bulgarian Samuel in an earlier day, been blessed with the fortune of Othmar and Orchan, Amurath and Mahomet, the difficulties and complications of our own time might have been avoided. Had the Servian czar entered Constantinople in the fourteenth century, the Ottoman sultan might not have entered in the fifteenth."¹ The news of the fall of Constantinople filled Europe with shame and indignation, and with fear when Belgrade was besieged in 1456 A.D., though unsuccessfully, by Mahomet. The empire (or rather the town) of Trebizond was soon conquered. Mahomet carried on war with the Venetians almost in sight of the city, and aimed at the conquest of Italy, taking Otranto and destroying the opposing army, 14th August, 1480. A large army was preparing for another attack, when suddenly Mahomet died, 3rd May, 1481.

Thus Turkey became a European power. "The earlier emirs and sultans were the wisest rulers, as well as the most skilful generals of their time. . . . The special vices of Ottoman rule came in only gradually; its foul moral corruption begins with Bajazet; its devilish cruelty and perfidy begins with Mahomet the Conqueror. . . . The Ottoman conquest spread barbarism and desolation over the fairest and most historic regions of the world."²

VI.—*The Consolidation of the Czarship in Russia after the deliverance of Russia from the rule of the Mogul Tartars.*

4. The Russians were encouraged to throw off the yoke of the Moguls, under which the habits and national character of the population had been greatly debased by the victory of Demetrius Douski over the Lithuanians and Moguls on the plains of Koulikofi, 8th September, 1380. This hero was afterwards unfortunate; his capital, Moscow, burnt by the Moguls, 1382 A.D., and he died broken-hearted in 1388. The power of the "Golden Horde" of Kipshack was, however, shaken by the conquests of Tamerlane, and became less formidable to the Russian princes. Ivan III., the

¹ Freeman's "Essays," third series, p. 273.

² Ibid., p. 272.

Great, began the consolidation of Russia by the conquest of Novogorod and of several of the independent princes. He threw off the yoke of the great Horde of Kipshack, 1478 A.D., which had been weakened by the division of its power among the khans of Kazan, Sarai (Astrachan), Crimea, the Nogais, &c., &c. Already the Czars had begun to revive and cherish ambitious projects for the occupancy of Constantinople. Thus Ivan III. married Sophia, the daughter of Thomas Palæologus, the brother of the last emperor. Her father died at Rome, and the Pope, by the advice of Cardinal Bessarion, offered her to Ivan III. Sophia travelled from Rome to Lubeck, from Lubeck by sea to Revel, and was received in triumph at Pskof, Novogorod and Moscow, 1472 A.D. She incited Ivan to throw off the Tartar yoke. With her came many Greek emigrants from Rome and Constantinople; they furnished Russia with statesmen, diplomatists, theologians, and artisans, and with Greek books, which were the beginning of the existing library of the Patriarchs. From that time the two-headed eagle, which had been the imperial sign of the emperors of Constantinople, was assumed by the Russian sovereign. Vassali Ivanovitch, his son and successor, 1508 A.D., persevered in the great work, the union of the empire. This consolidation of the Russian power under one czar and the decline and fall of the Mogul rule are singularly coincident with the establishment of the Ottoman Turks in Europe. It seems probable that directly or indirectly Russia is destined to be the avenger of Christendom, as the destroyer of the Turkish rule in Europe. If prevented by the jealousy of the European powers from possessing itself of Constantinople, the fear of such a conquest will compel the "Great Powers," sooner or later, to place that city independent of the Sultan of Turkey. Whatever may be the defects and evils of Russian rule, the people and government are nominally Christian, and therefore capable of progressive improvement, of which the Turks, whatever good qualities they may be supposed to possess, are incapable.

VII.—*The great advance of Learning and Science furthered by the invention of Printing, which is now somewhat affectedly called the Renaissance.*

"It is to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that we are accustomed to assign that new birth of the human spirit—if it ought not rather to be called a renewal of its strength and quickening of its sluggish life—with which the modern time begins. . . . But it

must not be forgotten that for a long time previous there had been in progress a great revival of learning the twelfth century saw that revival begin with that passionate study of the legislation of Justinian the thirteenth century witnessed the rapid spread of the scholastic philosophy, a body of systems most alien both in subject and manner to anything that had arisen among the ancients the spirit of whose reasoning was far more free than the presumed orthodoxy of its conclusions suffered to appear. In the fourteenth century there arose in Italy the first great masters of painting and song along with the literary revival, partly *caused by*, and partly *causing it*, there had been also a wonderful stirring and uprising in the mind of Europe the revolt of the Albigenses, the spread of the Cathari and other so-called heretics, the excitement created by the writings of Wycliffe and Huss, witnessed to the fearlessness wherewith it could assail the dominant theology. It took a form more dangerous in the attacks so often repeated from Arnold of Brescia downward, upon the wealth and corruption of the clergy, and above all of the papal court. Manners were still rude and governments unsettled, but society was learning to organise itself upon fixed principles—to recognise, however faintly, the value of order, industry, equality ; to adapt means to ends, and to conceive of the common good as the proper end of its own existence. In a word, politics had begun to exist, and with them there had appeared the first of a class of persons whom friends and enemies may both, though with different meanings, call ideal politicians—men who, however various have been the doctrines they have held, however impracticable many of the plans they have advanced, have been, nevertheless, alike in their devotions to the highest interests of humanity, and have frequently been derided as theorists in their own age, to be honoured as the prophets and teachers of the next.”¹ To these admirable remarks the following from an eloquent writer of a different class may be appended : “The period between the fall of the Roman Empire and the Renaissance was not a mere time of torpor, if we consider the vast fabric of European civilisation, the foundations of which were then laid ; there are human qualities which a state of comparative barbarism (the Dark Ages, as we call them) encourages, and which civilisation destroys. Is the architect of Westminster Abbey less intelligent so as to fear comparison with the architect of the Parthenon ? The mere fact is, that between the eleventh and four-

¹ Bryce, pp. 239–242.

teenth centuries the cities of Italy developed all the charm and material conveniences of civilised life, and they had restored the study of the ancient classics.”¹ The idea of progress as the law of our nature slowly followed. It was some time before men perceived that, however desirable it might be to study and profit from the past, there was also a present and a future with which the interests of humanity were linked, and for which men must think and labour. For the first time, it has been said, “men opened their eyes and saw.” The revival of letters was preceded and accompanied by the increase of schools and universities, and by the larger supply of books in MSS., through the ample supply of paper made from cotton introduced by the Arabs, which had superseded the papyrus of the old empire and the parchment of the middle ages. Paper (cotton) began to be used about the ninth century. Linen paper followed, supplied first in Germany, where there was a manufactory at Nuremberg in 1390 A.D., though there are proofs of the existing linen paper one hundred years earlier. The INVENTION of PRINTING, 1420–1467 A.D., furnished a supply of books equal to and even beyond the immediate demand. (1) This invention is ascribed by some to Gutenberg, of Mentz, who began to print 1450 A.D., and in 1452 A.D., by the help of Schæffer, of Mentz, completed the work, 1452 A.D. Fust was a partner of Gutenberg in Mentz. By others to Koster, of Haarlem, 1430 A.D. The *first* Bible, the Mazarin Bible, was printed about 1455 A.D., at Mentz. The grandest and most celebrated early printing-office was that of Aldus Manutius, in Venice, 1490–1515 A.D. It is said that the knowledge of the discovery was revealed by the workmen about 1462 A.D., and these spread abroad. Caxton began printing in England, 1476 A.D., at Westminster. But in China printing from tablets was known at the close of the second century A.D., and block-printed editions of the Chinese classics were common in the sixth century; thence in the eighth century printing was introduced into Japan, probably from Korea. Movable clay types are said to have been used in China in the eleventh century, and metal types early in the fourteenth century. Types were first cast in copper by the Koreans early in the fifteenth century.² “Instead of speaking of the discovery of the art of printing, it would be more correct to speak of the application of the printing-press to the creation of books. The Greek potters . . . imprinted their names upon their sepulchral lamps. Among the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii loaves were found which were

¹ J. A. Symonds.² *Quarterly Review*, January, 1883, p. 198.

stamped with the bakers' names. . . . But, while the material for books, whether papyrus or parchment, was dear, and while the number of readers was small, the cost of printing would have exceeded the cost of transcribing. I think it is Archbishop Whately who remarks, that it is to the comparative cheapness of paper, rather than to any inventive genius on the part of a printer, that we are indebted for the art of printing books. Cheap paper was the parent of printing."¹ By the fall of Constantinople a large number of learned men were driven to Italy, and revived by their teaching the knowledge of the Greek language and of Greek literature; this gave an additional stimulus to the demand for copies of the classic authors. Hallam gives a list of the estimated number of books printed in Italy to the end of the fifteenth century, in all 4,987, besides those printed in fifty other places in Italy; in Germany and the Netherlands, 2,924; in Paris, 751; in England 141. It is certain that 10,000 editions of books or pamphlets were printed in Europe from 1470 A.D. to 1500 A.D.; some say 15,000, others 20,000, more than half of which appeared in Italy. The Vulgate alone passed through 91 editions. The influx of light and the wide horizon so suddenly opened out were calculated to bewilder and dazzle even the learned. In this *renaissance*, this new birth of humanity, the study of revived antiquity stimulated the desire for novelties in philosophy and religion, as opposed to orthodoxy. This feeling, unchecked by experience and practical piety, was encouraged by the licentiousness of the courts of the princes of Italy, the papal court not excepted. The new sciolists in philosophy indulged in the wildest speculations, chiefly pantheistic; they discussed the materiality of the soul, believing with some of our philosophers "in the existence of a potency in matter" adequate to the explanation of all mental phenomena; some supposed that the universal soul, the one, was diffused through all nature, and so on, every free thought advocating using up the shreds and patches of the old eastern theosophies, as if the product of his own mental powers. "Erasmus expresses his astonishment at the blasphemies he heard. Luther was scandalised by the conduct of the officiating priests in the celebration of the Mass. No one (in a certain court class or literary circle) passed for an accomplished man who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity. . . . Under Leo X., the tone of good society had become sceptical and anti-Christian, but a reaction took place in the minds of the most intelligent men—in those who partook of the

¹ Dean Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. v. pp. 361, 362.

refinement of their age without being corrupted by it . . . they met to the number of fifty or sixty, among whom were four who afterwards became cardinals and one who was canonised.”¹ In the fifteenth century the mystical piety of such men as Tauler, Gerson, and Kempis, bear witness to the existence of spiritual life and orthodoxy. The Reformation prepared the way for the full discussion of all questions respecting the authority of the Scriptures and the real character and teachings of Christianity.

VIII.—*Two Inventions of great importance, though very different in their Uses, established the Superiority and the Safety of the Civilised Man over the Barbarian.*

5. The discovery of gunpowder, and its introduction into Europe from the East, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, led to a great change in the art of war, in its efficiency and in its cost, the general result being in favour of humanity—wars are fewer, shorter, and less destructive. Its increased cost acts in favour of peace; the burden falling upon the industry of the community arouses opposition to war itself. Already we see that wars have created a taxation, even in the richest European communities, which is drawing nearer and nearer to infringe on the capital, the accumulated wealth of the community. The modern population of Europe will not submit to a taxation which devours profits and incomes beyond a certain point, much less will they permit capital to be touched. Hence the danger of discontent and the provoking of opposition to governments, in other respects deserving obedience and support. *The other discovery*, that of the mariner’s compass from China in the eleventh or twelfth century, prepared the way and made possible the voyages of the Portuguese to India and of Columbus to America. The compass is first alluded to by a satirist, Guyot of Provence, 1190 A.D., and by Raymond Sully, a magistrate and natural philosopher, in 1286 A.D. The notion that it was first invented or used by Flavio Gioja of Amalfi, 1300–1320 A.D., has been repeatedly refuted.

In this period the whole social and political fabric of the Middle Ages, based on military tenure, broke down. The light-armed footmen and bowmen and the use of artillery, first heard in Western Europe in the battle of Crecy, 1346 A.D., began a complete change in the art of war. Infantry began to be regarded as the main strength of an army. The Swiss were the first organisers of this force. Their

¹ Ranke, “History of the Reformation,” vol. i. p. 74.

soldiers, armed with pikes, sabres, and clubs, proved their ability to compete with the cavalry of Burgundy at Granson and Morat in 1476 A.D. The heavy cavalry, cased in iron, could only fight in an open plain, and were checked by a fortification or intrenched camp. Hand-guns (arquebuses) were used in 1432 A.D., and pistols and muskets with locks in 1517 A.D. Artillery was first used by the Moors in Spain, about 1312 A.D., and by the Scots in 1339 A.D., and by the Turks at the first siege of Constantinople, 1422 A.D. The Hungarians, Poles, and other of the Eastern peoples, as the Russians, had the means of raising large bodies of cavalry from 40,000 to 150,000. The first *standing* army was begun by Charles VII. of France in 1439 and 1448 A.D., but the great cost of supporting and paying men in times of peace restricted their use to the care of fortifications. This institution was generally acceptable as a wise division of labour. Its effect in enabling kings to increase and preserve their power, even in opposition to the opinion of their people, was not at once perceived. There is one great evil accompanying it, namely, nations fighting by proxy. A large portion of the population know little practically of the sufferings of war, and are generally ready to resort to it on occasions in which, if those who love war had themselves to engage in the fight, might hesitate.

IX.—*The Discovery of a Passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope.*

6. The discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the discovery and opening out of the *western continent of America*, coinciding with the opening of a direct communication with India and the extreme East, *marked the commencement of a new era in the history of mankind.* The Portuguese led the way in maritime discovery. Prince Henry, son of John I., King of Portugal, began a series of expeditions of discovery along the West Coast of Africa. In 1412 A.D., Cape Nun, the extreme point hitherto, was passed, and Cape Bogador was reached. From Sagrez, near Cape St. Vincent, his place of retirement and study, Prince Henry first suggested the use of the compass and calculations of latitude and longitude in navigation, and how these might be ascertained by astronomical observations. In the attempt to pass Cape Bogador, 1418 A.D., Puerto Santo and Madeira were discovered. In 1434 A.D. Cape Bogador was passed. In 1440–1442 A.D., the Rio de Oro, close to the Tropic, was reached, and ten blacks (negroes) were carried to Portugal, *the first ever seen there!* In 1449 A.D., the coast was explored sixty leagues beyond Cape Verde, and the equinoctial

line was passed soon after. These discoveries were arrested for a while by the death of Prince Henry, 1463 A.D. "He flattered himself that he had given a mortal wound to Mahometanism, and had opened a door to the universal propagation of Christianity; and to him, as their primary author, are due all the inestimable advantages which ever have flowed, or will flow, from the discovery of the greatest part of Africa and of the East and West Indies."¹ Under John II. the discoveries were prosecuted with vigour. In 1481 A.D., the Gold Coast was taken possession of and a fort erected; in 1484 A.D., a fleet sailed some distance south of the line, and in 1486 A.D., Bartholomew Diaz *passed the cape which he named the Cape of Storms*, but to which John, looking forward to the hope of reaching India, gave the hopeful designation of the Cape of Good Hope. In 1497 A.D., *Vasco de Gama sailed for the express purpose of reaching India*. The night previous to his sailing, July 7, was spent in prayer by himself and companions in a chapel by the seaside near Lisbon. Next day the shore of Belem was crowded with the population of Lisbon, a numerous procession of priests sang anthems and offered prayers to heaven. The deep sympathies of the multitude were for the adventurers, as rushing upon certain death, and they watched until the fleet vanished from their sight. After encountering the storms west of the Cape, the fleet passed that promontory, and reached India, April, 1498 A.D. The Cape had been passed before by the Phœnicians sent by Pharaoh Necho, 606 B.C.; who, after a tedious voyage of three years, reached the Mediterranean and Egypt (eastward from the Red Sea); but there was no special reason to encourage a continuance of this adventure. It was in the fifteenth century, when access to the East had been closed to Europeans by the oppressions and fanaticism of the Mahometans, that the resolution to reach the East by the sea was carried out. Pope Eugenius IV., 1431-1447 A.D., gave the Portuguese a right to all the territory they should discover from Cape Nun to India. *The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus* had been preceded by the enterprise of the Northmen, who reached, first Greenland, and then New England, at the close of the tenth century. There is also a tale, not well authenticated, of the discovery of a great western land by the Welsh prince, Madoc, 1170 A.D. But these discoveries were very different in their character from the bold attempts of Columbus to reach India by a western route. "He had received a learned education, and the study of the geographical

¹ Mickle, "Lusiads."

systems then in vogue impressed him with a strong conviction that a voyage to India by a course directly westward was quite practicable, with the degree of nautical science then possessed. From the old imperfect maps of Ptolemy he was led to believe that the parts of the globe known to the ancients embraced fifteen hours or 225 degrees of longitude, which exceeds the actual limits by more than one-third. The discovery of the Azores on the west side had lengthened the space by one hour, and the accounts gleaned by Marco Polo in Asia induced him to think that the isles connected with this continent stretched out so far to the eastward that their distance from Europe could not be great. Columbus, however, was without the fortune necessary to fit out ships; and, when he attempted to interest some of the princes of those times in his proposals, he encountered neglects and difficulties which would have exhausted the patience of any mind less ardent than his own. At length, after many delays and discouragements, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain supplied him with three small vessels, two of them only half-decked, and in this little armament, accompanied by 120 men, he set sail for the port of Palos, August 3, 1492 A.D. On leaving the Canary Islands, he entered on a region of ocean where all was mystery. The Trade wind, however, bore him steadily along, and the labours of the ships proceeded cheerfully, till the increasing length of the voyage produced a mutinous spirit, which all the address and authority of Columbus would not have been able to quell, had the discovery of land happened one day later than it did. Columbus, says Humboldt, on sailing westward of the meridian of the Azores sought the east of Asia by the western route, not as an adventurer, but according to a preconceived and steadfastly pursued plan. He had on board the sea-chart which the Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli, had sent him in 1477 A.D. If he had followed the chart, he would have held a more northern course, along a parallel of latitude from Lisbon. Instead of this, in the hope of reaching Zipangu (Japan), he sailed for half the distance in the latitude of Gomera, one of the Canary Isles. Uneasy at not having discovered Zipangu, which, according to his reckoning, he should have met with 216 nautical miles more to the east, he, after a long debate, yielded to the opinion of M. A. Pinzon, and steered to the south-west. The effect of this change in his course curiously exemplifies the influence of small and apparently trivial events on the world's history. If Columbus *had kept his original route, he would have entered the warm current of the Gulf Stream, have reached Florida, and thence, perhaps, have been carried to*

Cape Hatteras and Virginia. The result would probably have been to give the present United States a Roman Catholic population instead of a Protestant English one—a circumstance of unmistakable importance. Pinzon was divided in the formation of his opinion by a flight of parrots towards the south-west. ‘*Never,*’ says the Prussian philosopher, ‘*had the flight of birds more important consequences.*’ It may be said to have determined the first settlements on the new continent, and its distribution between the Latin and Germanic races. It was on October 12 that the west world revealed itself Guanahani or Watling Island. . . . But he (Columbus) died ignorant of the real extent and grandeur of his discoveries, still believing that the countries he had made known to Europe belonged to that part of eastern Asia which the ancients call India.”¹ After Columbus, Magellan the Spaniard is to be celebrated as the first circumnavigator. He entered the Pacific Ocean by the straits which are called by his name, November 28, 1520 A.D.; and, though he was killed in the Philippine Islands, 1521 A.D., his ship had a glimpse of the west shores of New Holland, and in due time arrived safe in Seville. A Spanish vessel sailed through Torres Straits, and saw the north-east coast of New Holland, and gave it the name of New Guinea, 1545 A.D., sixty years before Torres is said to have discovered that strait. It is affirmed by Petherick, 1884 A.D., that the Portuguese, so early as 1510 A.D., had discovered both the east and west coast of that island continent, though this is doubtful. Pope Alexander VI. gave to Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries they might discover; but, to avoid collision with the grant made by Eugenius IV. to the Portuguese, 1492–1503 A.D., Alexander traced a line a hundred leagues west of the Azores, beyond which line to the west all that could be discovered should be Spanish. It is a remarkable fact that Cardinal Gasper Contarini, the ambassador of Venice to Charles V., arrived in Spain just as the ship *Victoria* (Magellan’s ship) arrived at Seville. He was the first to explain why she arrived a day later than her log indicated. Americus Vespuccius, who had visited America, had his name applied to the continent, 1503–1507 A.D. The effect of these discoveries was first to astonish the most careless and unthinking. The knowledge of the vast extent of the globe gave an enlargement to the mental as well as to the physical horizon. The full perception of the grand future opening out to the enterprise of Europe was, however, only by slow degrees recognised. The ignorance of the potentates of Europe and their insensibility to the

¹ “*Encyc. Brit.*,” ninth edition, vol. i.

importance of these discoveries are surprising. They could not see, in these vast fertile regions of the west, the wonderful timely provision reserved by divine wisdom for the homes of the teeming millions of the Old World, and only made known to them when the progress of the arts of civilised life made it possible for the population of Europe to occupy them with advantage. In fact, the advantages of a regulated emigration and settlement of the surplus labouring and artisan class has not yet been perceived by the more advanced mind of the nineteenth century. England was happily not altogether indifferent to the cause of geographical discovery. Henry VII. was willing to further the plans of Columbus had he failed in his application to the court of Spain, and he sent Sebastian Cabot on a voyage which resulted in the exploration of all the east coast of North America from Labrador to Florida, 1497 A.D.

X.—*Progress of Trade, Agriculture, and of Society in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*

7. Generally *the old channels* which from time immemorial had been used by the ancient Asiatic nations in their commerce with India and China, continued to be used by the Western Asiatic nations. By the Arab dhows, Egypt, and Syria, and Persia traded with Ceylon, and India, and Eastern Africa, and by caravans overland through Khorassan and the north of India to China. Constantinople and the Eastern Empire were benefited by this trade, which stimulated their manufactures and gave them the supply of Europe. There was also a caravan trade from the towns on the Black Sea, through Russia and Poland, to Scandinavia and Germany. With the Asiatic ports, and with Alexandria, the Venetians, Genoese, &c., had direct communication, and became the importers of the luxuries of the East—the silks, gems, woollen cloths, muslins, spices, and sugar for the use of Europe. The *Hanse Towns*, from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Lubeck), monopolised the trade of Scandinavia and all the lands bordering the Baltic Sea, England, and the west of Germany. It had four principal factories, at London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod, and eighty of the most considerable cities were identified with the League; the profits of this internal trade, combined with a small foreign trade, was very large. The interest of money varied from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 20 per cent., the Jews being the usual capitalists, dealing mainly in money. In ITALY there were banking establishments in Venice, Florence, and Genoa, 1400–1407. The bankers of St. George at Genoa were like the old English East India Company, the lords of Corsica. Besides Venice, Milan, and Genoa, the old cities, Naples,

Amalfi, Bari, Pisa, and Palermo were manufacturing and trading towns. The silk manufactory was in Palermo, 1148 A.D., received from Constantinople (where it had been introduced by Justinian, 530 A.D.) SPAIN had manufactories of cloth, silk, arms, plate, glass, in Segovia, Toledo, Valentia, Barcelona. GERMANY, besides the Hanse Towns and their trade, could boast of NUREMBURG, already noticed for its skilful workers, with Augsburg, Spire, Ratisbon, &c., cities which in the comforts and elegancies of life excelled Western Europe. The NETHERLANDS had carried on linen and woollen manufactories at Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, helped greatly by the supplies of English wool, from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their establishments at Bruges. Benkels, who died 1447 A.D., had introduced the art of curing herrings, from which Holland especially had largely benefited. FRANCE was prompted by one Jacques Cour to engage in the Levant trade, 1450 A.D. He had three hundred agents employed in distant regions as his factors. Lyons was a trading centre in the fourteenth century, greatly increased in following years in importance. The silk manufactory was acquired for Milan, 1521 A.D. Marseilles, Narbonne, Nîmes, and Montpellier were also the seats of manufacture and trade. In ENGLAND the first great article of export was wool to the Netherlands. London was a mere staple of the Hanse Towns; and the customs were in 1329 A.D. farmed by the Bardi family of Florence. The woollen manufacture was, to a small extent, carried on in the twelfth century; but, in 1331 A.D., Edward III. invited Flemings to settle in England. Commerce attained sufficient importance to attract the attention of Richard III. and his parliament. A council was appointed at Pisa, 1485 A.D., and at Scio, 1513 A.D. The usual jealousy of foreigners began to be felt by the trades, and in 1518 A.D. there were riots in London against the foreign trader. Considering the difficulty in the way of trade, whether by sea or by land, the wonder is that there was so much of both previous to the sixteenth century. By SEA, the extent to which piracy was carried on is remarkable. While the mercantile cities were allowed to make war with each other, and use their shipping as privateers against their neighbours on every occasion of difference, unchecked by the supreme government of their respective countries, there could be little security at sea for unarmed vessels. There were laws of navigation, the *Consolato del Mare*, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which had been preceded by older rules, 1068 A.D., in Barcelona. The *Rules d'Oléron* are said to have been known to our Richard I. in 1197 A.D., but some give 1266 A.D. as the date of their

origin. The Ordinances of Wisby, 1450 A.D., are taken from the Rules d'Oléron. By LAND, the difficulties were yet more numerous and troublesome. The roads, or rather their absence, but such as existed, were at times impassable. The tolls levied in every separate domain, at the passing of every bridge, and at every market, were not only pecuniarily a loss, but implied delay, loss of time, and continual friction of temper. Besides these, a large number of the lords of petty castles, either by themselves or their agents, plundered the travelling merchants. This was especially the case in Germany. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, there was, no doubt, a much larger trade carried on by the countries of Europe with each other than historians have recorded.

The condition of AGRICULTURE was very low, but occasionally prosperous. The great difficulty was in the all but impossibility of the carriage of wheat and other grain from the locality where it was plentiful to that where it was needed. The comforts of all classes, even the highest, were far below those now enjoyed by the ordinary middle class in Europe. The bread for the masses was of barley or beans, rarely of wheat. In the winter, salt meat or salt fish, the drink a very inferior beer (without hops). Clothing, mainly leather (not lined), linen, scarce and costly; the woollens coarse, household furniture very scanty, houses chiefly wood, the floors strewn with rushes, containing the accumulation of refuse and dirt for weeks; glass only used in the castle of the lord, and removed when his residence ceased; few candles of tallow or wax—a late supper in a castle would be lighted up by torches held by attendants. Dresses of velvet or brocade were heirlooms, even in ducal families. In most houses the work now done by carpenters, joiners, tanners, weavers, smiths, was carried on by the servants of the house or the family. All these trades were, on a small scale, to be found in the cities, as they had been exercised long before in the old Roman Empire. Yet, on the whole, in spite of the few luxuries within reach, life was more easy than in our day. The change in the value of money may be seen in the incomes possessed in the fourteenth century: a yeoman, £5 yearly; gentlemen, from £10 to £20; a knight, £150; a labourer, 3d. per day. These sums may be multiplied by twenty or twenty-four to ascertain their purchase power in our money. The living was all the cheaper, as the multifarious articles of furniture, and other household conveniences, which are now deemed necessary, were then out of the question. Chairs, tables, beds, chimneys, glass windows, table conveniences &c., were rarely seen.

The Contemporary Histories of the several States now follow.

THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, remained separate until united under Margaret. Before this was accomplished, the nobles in SWEDEN had freed themselves from all burdens of taxation, and a code of laws was confirmed by "the Great Thing," in 1295 A.D. In DENMARK, under Erick Glipping, the first charter was granted, 1282 A.D. In 1320 A.D., a new charter, which provides that no taxes be levied without legal sanction. In 1327 A.D., a new code of laws. These movements imply the existence of efforts towards the settlement of a free constitution; but the low state of intelligence, the difficulties attending the meeting of the "Things," through the limited attendance of the members, naturally threw the administration of affairs into a few families, who had interests separate from the state. The "Black Death" desolated Scandinavia, 1350 to 1360 A.D. The condition of the three northern kingdoms, suffering from the dissensions of the nobles and from disunion, led to the *Union of Calmar*, under MARGARET, 1397 A.D. "The union was one of mere form, its elements were too discordant to harmonise. But if this union was not commensurate with the wishes of its framers—if, instead of lasting for ever, it was dead in little more than a century, after an existence continually menaced, the fault is not the queen's, or that of the bishops, or that of the great secular officers of state who placed their seals to the document,—it must be traced to the rival interests, and still more to the prejudices, of the three peoples; to the ambition of powerful families, which endeavoured to throw off their obedience to the supreme authority; and, in no little degree, to the incompetency of Margaret's successors."¹ Margaret died in her sixtieth year, 1406 A.D. She had ruled by the resources of her mind. The peace and prosperity of her rule are the best monuments of her greatness. On the whole, whatever her personal shortcomings may have been, she may on the whole be pronounced one of the greatest sovereigns that ever sat on a throne.

DENMARK AND NORWAY continued under one sovereign, Erick of Pomerania, the nephew of Margaret (married to a daughter of Henry IV. of England), lost his crown by his incapacity and folly, 1439 A.D. Christopher of Pomerania, his nephew, succeeded, 1439–1448 A.D. Christian I. of Oldenburg founded the new line of kings. He, by the female line, was descended from Erick Glipping. Schleswick

¹ Dunham, "History of Denmark," vol. iii. pp. 5, 6.

and Holstein were united to Denmark, 1459 A.D., but the Shetlands and the Orkneys were pawned to Scotland as the dowry of the Princess Margaret of Denmark, married to James III. of Scotland, 1469. This union of Schleswick and Holstein was accompanied by a stipulation that the *two* duchies should never be separated. As Holstein was a fief of the empire, this union was, in the end, productive of great injury to Denmark. Christian is the ancestor of the kings of Denmark, the old line of Sweden, and of the emperors of Russia. Hans succeeded, 1481-1513 A.D.; he put many nobles to death after the battle of Opeio, 1502. His wars with the Ditmarshers and the Hanse Towns were unsuccessful. Christian II., 1513-1523 a man of resolution and cruelty. By his "blood bath," November 8, 1520 A.D., in which ninety persons, chiefly nobles, were beheaded in the market-place of Stockholm as "heretics and rebels," he fairly dissolved for ever the Union of Calmar, so far as Sweden was concerned, through his cruelties. Six hundred eminent persons fell under the axe, ninety-four of them under his own eyes. All this was after a court festival which lasted three days, in which the victims were treated with special favour, November 6: on the 8th, all the gates of Stockholm were closed, loaded cannon planted in the market-place, and guards placed on every point of the intersecting streets. The death-like silence was broken by the sound of the castle bell, when a long procession of victims marched forth to the place of martyrdom . . . the bodies of the dead lay for two days exposed in the market-place, after which they were buried without the city walls. In 1523 A.D., Gustavus Vasa, by the help of the Dalecarlian peasantry, drove out the Danes, and was crowned King of Sweden. Christian II. (when not mad) had some great qualities; favoured the trading and working classes, promoted education, established post-offices and wayside inns, and equal weights and measures, and obliged the parishes to keep the roads in repair.

POLAND was united with Lithuania by the marriage of the heiress of Poland with Jagellon, Duke of Lithuania, 1386 A.D. For a brief period both HUNGARY and POLAND, 1439-1444 A.D., were under one sovereign, and Lithuania was frequently practically independent, but under Sigismund I., 1509 A.D., Poland, with Lithuania and West Prussia, Massona and Livonia, extended from the Black to the Baltic Sea.

PRUSSIA was conquered and its barbarous people placed under strict tyrannical rule by the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS united with the Order of the Swords, 1237 A.D., after above fifty years' labour, 1283; they had been invited to assist the Poles. The seat of the

order was at Marienburg, 1309 A.D.; their history is one of wars with Poland, Denmark, and with their own vassals. In 1410 A.D. they were routed at Tanneburg, and in 1466 A.D., by the treaty of Thorn, West Prussia was ceded to Poland, and East Prussia held as a fief. At the close of the fourteenth century they possessed between the Oder and the Gulf of Finland fifty-five towns and forty-eight fortified castles. In their last war with Poland three hundred and fifty thousand lives are said to have fallen. The seat of the Order was removed to Königsberg, 1451-1466 A.D. Albert of Brandenburg, grand master in 1525 A.D., became a Protestant, and received Prussia as an hereditary duchy, a fief of Poland.

RUSSIA and TURKEY; their respective histories have been already noted. In TURKEY, the Sultan, Bajazet II., succeeded Mahomet II.; then Selim, 1512-1520 A.D., who conquered Egypt from the Mamelukes and was acknowledged as suzerain by all the Mahometan rulers of North Africa. In Egypt Selim found Mahomet the twelfth khalif of the house of Abbas, which had found a refuge in Egypt, and had remained in privacy since the taking of Bagdad by the Seljuks, 1258 A.D. He induced him solemnly to transfer the Khalifat to the Sultan of the Ottoman Turks and his successors. At the same time Selim took possession of the insignia of that office, which the Abbassides had retained, *i.e.*, the sacred standard, the sword, and the mantle of the Prophet.¹ One half of the Mussulman world does not recognise the Turkish Khalif.² The *defeat of Solyman's attempt to take Vienna*, October 14, 1529, "is an epoch in the history of the world. The tide of Turkish conquest in Central Europe had now set its mark. The wave once again dashed so far, but only to be again broken and recede for ever."³

ITALY expected great things from the reign of Henry VII., the Emperor of the House of Luxemburg. His election was a check to the ambition of Philip le Bel of France; he was just, pious, and popular. In a Diet at Spire, 1309 A.D., he had declared his determination to assist the Ghibelline and assert the Imperial rights in Italy. He was in a fair way towards accomplishing his purposes, when he died suddenly at Buonconvento, August 24th, 1313. There is an interest connected with this name as the ideal sovereign of Dante's treatise, "*De Monarchiâ*."⁴ To Dante he was "the Roman law impersonated in the emperor, a monarch who should leave all the nations, all the free Italian cities, in

¹ Creasy, p. 150.

² See Principal Fairbairn in *Contemporary Review*, Dec., 1882, pp. 876, 877.

³ Creasy, p. 170. ⁴ Milman, vol. v. pp. 391-394.

possession of their rights and old municipal institutions." On his death Italy fell back to its old anarchy. Rienzi, an eloquent and popular leader of the Roman people, endeavoured to establish a republic and dictatorship, 1347-1349 A.D., and again 1353, 1354, when he was killed. The Italian republic soon realised the difficulties of all mere municipal governments, free from the restraints of a common general authority. In all the cities the peace was disturbed by the feuds and turbulence of the nobles; the masses of the population were divided by their guilds and trading corporations, and by the political rivalries of the Gueff (the Republicans), and the (Ghibelline), the Imperialists. The cities elected podestas, (chief magistrates), and formed an armed and disciplined militia. There was for a time great material prosperity; agriculture was improved by the demand for produce from the populous cities; the cities enlarged their walls and fortifications; manufactures flourished; all the great buildings which now command the admiration of foreigners were erected during this period; canals for irrigation were formed in Lombardy, 1179-1257 A.D. The merchants of Lombardy and Tuscany, through Venice and Genoa, traded with different countries by sea, and by land through Germany and France with the rest of Europe. Unfortunately all these republics were engaged in almost continual warfare among themselves, which was generally carried on by bands of mercenaries, "condottieri," 1339 A.D., headed by able leaders, who were ready to sell their services to the highest bidder: the larger republics, *Genoa*, *Pisa*, *Florence*, and *Venice*, had wars for rivalry in trade. Venice with Genoa, from 1256-1381 A.D., for the trade of the Black Sea. Genoa with Pisa, two hundred years, for the suzerainty of Corsica and Sardinia. The cities were all of them, from time to time, troubled by the assumption of supreme power by the podestas, or by noble powerful families. Eccelino di Romano tyrannised over *Verona*, *Vicenza*, and *Padua*, 1250-1226, until put down by a league of *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, and *Bologna*, headed by Pope Alexander IV. In 1311, 1312 A.D., the *Scala* family were lords of Verona; the *Carrara* family at Padua, 1380-1406 A.D.; the *D'Este* at Ferrara, 1317-1548 A.D.; the *Gonzanga* at Mantua. At *Florence*, the Duke of Athens, 1342, 1343; then the *Medici*, 1430-1529; the *De la Torres* and *Visconti* and *Sforza*, in Milan, 1259-1447 A.D. The Marquisate of *Montferrat* was under its active rulers. *Venice* provoked the *League of Cambray*, comprising the *Pope*, the *Emperor*, *France*, and *Spain*, 1508-1511, through jealousy of her enlarged territory, which she had managed to acquire between 1404 A.D. and 1453 A.D., on the mainland

of Italy, which, together with her wealth and maritime power, excited the jealousy of her neighbours. Venice lost at once her continental territories, but soon recovered them when the leaguers broke up the League. Venice had its trials from the treason of its rulers, and had to execute its Doge, Marino Faliero, guilty of a conspiracy against the council, 1355 A.D. The nobles in the papal territory put down by Borgia, 1495 A.D.

In NAPLES and SICILY, Charles of Anjou, after the death of Conraddin, was master of Naples and Sicily, 1263 A.D. *Sicily*, by the revolution, accompanied by the massacre called the Italian Vespers, 1282 A.D., became a separate kingdom under the heirs of Conraddin, the kings of Arragon. Alphonso V., of Arragon, united *Naples* and *Sicily*, 1443 A.D. Ferdinand IV. succeeded, 1458 A.D.; Alphonso, 1494 A.D.; Ferdinand II., 1496 A.D. Frederick, his successor, applied to Ferdinand of Arragon and Castile, for help against Louis XII. of France, but both Ferdinand and Louis agreed to *divide* Naples and Sicily between them. Charles VIII. of France, in his Italian expedition, conquered Naples; but on his retreat the Spanish troops, under Gonzalvo de Cordova, conquered Naples and Sicily, which thus formed part of the inheritance of Charles I. of Spain and V. of Germany. SAVOY became a duchy under Amadeus VIII. Piedmont was annexed 1418 A.D.; and Nice, 1419 A.D.

The second great MONGOLIAN (Tartar) irruption under TAMERLANE, a descendant of Ghengis Khan, 1369–1405 A.D., swept away a large portion of the khanate of Kipshack, and thus aided the attempts of the *Russian* Czars to throw off the Tartar yoke, while, by the defeat and captivity of Bajazet, the TURKISH sultan, 1402 A.D., the GREEK BYZANTINE EMPIRE was saved and its existence prolonged for about half a century. All the khanates of Zagetai, and that of Persia under the Ilkanian dynasty, were divided into petty tributary states; India also was conquered as far as Delhi, which city was taken and one hundred thousand persons massacred. The Greek Empire paid tribute, and Tamerlane's empire extended from the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to the Bosphorus and the Mediterranean. On the throne raised at Samarcand he gave audience and issued his commands to ambassadors from Egypt, Arabia, Russia, Spain, and the remote Khans of Tartary. Desirous of atoning for the Mahometan blood which had been shed in his conquests, he determined to destroy the idolatries of China. Crossing the Jaxertes when frozen (March, 1405 A.D.), he died, in the seventieth year of his age, at a village seventy-six

leagues from Samarcand. His empire fell to pieces in the quarrels of his sons; *Khorassan* to one of his family. The white and black *Turcomans* ruled over the eastern provinces of what is now called Turkey in Asia. *Syria* fell to its old masters, the Mamelukes of Egypt, and *Asia Minor* to the *Ottoman Turks* under the successor of Bajazet. The contests between these pastoral tribes and the Turks and Mamelukes, made Asia, from the Euphrates to the Indus, the theatre of rapine and murder for nearly a century after the death of Tamerlane, until the settlement of a government in Persia.

PERSIA.—In 1502 A.D. Ismael Shah founded the Sefi or Seffanian Dynasty. Being the descendant of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet, he was consequently a Shite or Sheah, the heterodox Mahometan sect, while the Ottoman Turks were of the Sooni, orthodox sect. He drove out the Turcoman tribes and founded the modern kingdom of *Persia*, 1502 A.D. From the red cap, the distinctive head-dress of the people, the Persians received the name of Kuzzil-bash (Red Head). Ishmael Shah was fully employed in reducing the wandering nomads to subjection, and in wars with the Sultan of Turkey: he died 1523 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Tamasup.

INDIA.—The last of the Slave Dynasties in Delhi ended 1414 A.D.; but before this the Moguls under Tamerlane had invaded India 1398 A.D., took and plundered Delhi, followed by the slaughter already recorded, and advanced as far as the Ganges, and then suddenly left the country. After 1414 A.D., there was, from the quarrels of the petty princes, a very unsettled state of affairs and no power to resist invasion from without. *Shah Baber*, a descendant in the direct line from Ghengis Khan, and by his mother from Tamerlane, ruled over one of the petty states near *Bokhara* and *Samarcand*. After uniting these under his own government, he invaded India in five expeditions, in the last of which, 1525 A.D., he won the battle of *Paniput*, 1526 A.D. At that time there were five Mahometan states, which had arisen out of the preceding Mahometan dynasties. There were two important native pagan states, besides many others, not as yet brought in contact with the Mahometans. Baber fully established the *Mogul Empire in India*, and died at Agra, 1530 A.D.. Before his invasion the *Portuguese* made their appearance under *Vasco de Gama* at Calicut, 28th May, 1498. *Albuquerque*, 1496–1509 A.D., founded Goa, and began to establish the *Portuguese power* in India.

CHINA.—In 1368 A.D., the Mogul dynasty of the race of Ghengis Khan were expelled from China by Choo Yan Chang, the son of a

labourer, who founded the Ming Dynasty, under which the empire was in a disturbed condition, though Tartary was subjugated, at least, nominally. The capital was removed from Nanking to Peking, probably to secure the northern frontier more readily from invasion. Cochin China and Tonquin were conquered and held for a brief period.

JAPAN was disturbed by civil wars, and from 1336 A.D. had two dynasties, one in the south, the other in the north. An invasion by the Mogul Tartars was repelled, 1281 A.D.

THE TRADE with foreign lands in this period was promoted by embassies from the Pope to China and the Great Khan of Tartary—one John Corvina, a Franciscan, resided at Peking as Archbishop, 1300–1328 A.D., and there was a trade overland until the expulsion of the Moguls from China in 1368 A.D. A Franciscan, sent by Pope Benedict XII. to the Great Khan, resided at Peking, 1342–1346 A.D., as legate; the traders reached the remote East *viâ* Azoph, Astrachan, Khiva, &c.¹ Sir John Mandeville travelled in Palestine and the East, 1357–1371 A.D. The cities of Italy, the Hanseatic towns, and those of the Netherlands engrossed the trade of Europe. The Venetians, Genoese, and the Florentines were masters of the trade of the Levant. The Italian merchants, known as Lombards, were most influential in monetary affairs, as banking, and are supposed to have first invented bills of exchange. Manufactures of silk passed from Greece into Sicily, Italy, and at last to Venice. Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, and other towns in the Netherlands were famous for their manufactures of cloth, camlets, and drapery. The Hanseatic League declined from the beginning of the fifteenth century, through the jealousy of the Danes, the English and the Dutch; and especially through the increased facilities for inter-communication which arose in the fifteenth century, and which allowed more scope for rivalry in trade by Germany, Italy, Holland, and England.

8. THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY of this period is of great interest. It is a chronicle of the attempt at reform in the Romish Church by the general councils, and of the decline of the papal power which preceded the open outbreak against the papacy and the teachings of the papal Church, by Martin Luther, which led to the Reformation.

The Popes and the Councils.—Boniface VIII., whose quarrel with Philip le Bel has been narrated, celebrated for the first time the

¹ *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition, "China."

jubilee for 1300 A.D. at Rome. On this occasion "he showed himself to the crowding pilgrims seated on the throne of Constantine, arrayed with sword, crown, and sceptre, shouting aloud, 'I am Cæsar ! I am Emperor !'"¹ The States-General, in its three orders, supported Philip and remonstrated with the Pope ; the friends of Philip seized the Pope at Arragon, and held him in prison a short time. He died soon after, aged eighty-six. This Pope added a second crown to the tiara (the first having been added by Hormisdas, 514 (523) A.D. The next Pope but one, Clement V., under the influence of Philip le Bel, removed the papal Court to *Avignon*, where it remained until 1377 A.D. An inquiry into the character of Boniface VIII., necessitated by a charge of heresy and of sundry atrocious crimes (preferred by Philip le Bel), was held in Avignon, 1310 A.D., by this Clement. Philip was at length persuaded to drop the prosecution, to the great relief of Clement. "This Boniface was a man of learning and capacity, but he was incapable of comprehending or allowing for those changes in the state of political affairs which rendered a corresponding change—at least, in tone and temper—indispensable to the maintenance of his influence."² John XX. or XXII., 1316–1344 A.D., added the third crown to the tiara. Gregory XI., urged by St. Catherine of Sienna, took back the papal chair to Rome, 1377 A.D., and died, 1378 A.D. Then began the *great schism* after the election of Urban VI. at Rome, by a counter election at Avignon of Clement. Two councils were called to correct this great evil to Christendom—that of Pisa, 1409 A.D., and that at Constance, 1414–1418 A.D. In this latter council, the two rival popes being removed after much negotiation and trickery on all sides, Pope MARTIN V. was chosen, the sole and only legal occupant of the papal see. But, in choosing a Pope, the intentions of the council to reform abuses were nullified, as the newly-elected Pope continued all the evils of which the council had complained. "It was Martin V. who established the principle and sowed the seed which was to be developed into Ultramontanism. . . . The Pope claimed to be the universal ordinary ; the bishops of the national Churches, only acting as his delegates, were to obey his orders ; hence we shall find from this time the continual appointment of legates *à latere* to control the metropolitans."³ The Council of BASLE, 1431 A.D., which continued by adjournment several years,

¹ Bryce.

² Greenwood, vol. vi. pp. 348, 349.

³ Dr. Hook, "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," vol. v. pp. 88–90 ; Dean Milman, "Latin Christianity," vol. viii. pp. 312–315.

was called in the hope of imposing checks on the papal power, and of establishing the doctrine of the superiority of general councils to the Pope. In this, as in the previous councils, the opponents of the papal authority were fairly beaten by the persevering astuteness of the popes. For a short time there were two councils and two popes at once. The Council of Basle, having passed various decrees asserting its superiority, 1434 A.D., was dissolved by the Pope, but continued its sittings. In 1437 A.D., the Pope called a new council at FERRARA, which was removed to FLORENCE in 1439 A.D., and to Rome, 1442 A.D. At the Council of Florence the doctrine of purgatory was declared to be that of the Church. The election of Nicholas V. gave outward peace to the Church, 1447 A.D. He was a lover and patron of literature. The Council of BASLE, which had removed to Lausanne, acknowledged him and dissolved, 1449 A.D. Nicholas V. died broken-hearted when he heard of the loss of Constantinople to the Turks, 1455 A.D., the only potentate (to his credit be it recorded) who testified any deep feeling for this disgrace to Christendom. Æneas Sylvius (Piccolomini) was elected Pope under the title of Pius II., 1458 A.D., having retracted all his liberal opinions advanced in the Council of Basle. We condone the tergiversation of this wily ecclesiastical politician when we read that, in his deep concern for the interests of Christendom, he was ready to risk his own person in the crusade against the Turks, and died at Ancona, 1464 A.D., while superintending the preparations of the Venetian fleet. Sixtus IV., who began his popedom 1471 A.D., scandalised the Church by his nepotism. So also Innocent VIII., his successor, 1484–1492 A.D. Alexander VI. (Borgia), 1492–1503, the most disgraceful of the popes, made the name of Borgia a byword of infamy. His abominable vices, poisonings, murders, and treacheries, partly to benefit his illegitimate children, no one denies. If it be possible to add any additional infamy to his character, it is found in the fact that he and Alphonso, king of Naples, applied to Bajazet II., Sultan of Turkey, for assistance against the invasion of Naples by Charles VIII. of France, stating that Charles looked on Naples as a mere stepping-stone towards Constantinople. He was poisoned by unwittingly partaking of food which had been prepared for a rich cardinal whose property was needed for the Borgias, 1503 A.D. We need not wonder that in the reign of this Pope the monk Savonarola, at Florence, a great reformer,

¹ Gascoigne, quoted by Robertson, "*History of Christianity*," vol. viii. 12mo. p. 247.

1490–1498 A.D., but was at last burnt alive, 23rd May, 1498 A.D. Julius II. was more of a general than a Pope. His desire was to free Italy from all foreign princes and rulers. He took back Romagna from the Borgias, was engaged in the League of Cambray against Venice, and held the nineteenth Lateran Council, which decided sundry matters of discipline, 1512 A.D. Leo X. (Medici) was elected in 1513 A.D., through the influence of his family at Florence. His patronage of literature, his indifference to all religion, and his love of pleasure, the characteristics of the period of “the Renaissance,” make him, to this day, a favourite of a large class of literary men who are like-minded. Adrian, his successor, endeavoured to reform the papal court, and restore decency and the appearance of morality at least, 1522, 1523 A.D. Clement VII. succeeded, 1523 A.D., and ruled until 1534 A.D.

The resistance to some of the teachings of the Romish Church on Scriptural grounds was maintained by the WALDENSES, who, persecuted in Spain and the south of France, had found a refuge in the valleys of Piedmont, 1448–1452 A.D., and there were called the VAUDOIS. JOHN WYCLIFFE, the English reformer, 1374–1384 A.D., had translated the Bible into the English vernacular, and his numerous treatises, in which he opposed the popular teaching of the Romish Church, had been freely circulated in Germany, and had been the means of arousing the action of JOHN HUSS and JEROME OF PRAGUE, in resistance to the corruptions of the Church. Although the Emperor Sigismund had guaranteed the safety of Huss, both he and Jerome were condemned and burnt by the COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, 1415, 1416 A.D. Huss was no heretic in the ecclesiastical sense of the term. He held all the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, and was unquestionably as orthodox as those who burnt him. He was a martyr to the power of the hierarchy, provoked by his testimony against ecclesiastical wealth and power. The friends of Huss and Jerome, enraged at the breach of faith on the part of Sigismund and the council, raised a rebellion under one Ziska, which lasted for several years. In England the followers of Wickliffe were called LOLLARDS. For some time they were protected by some of the leading barons, as John of Gaunt, &c., but on the accession of Henry IV., whose interests led him to propitiate the clergy, they were persecuted. The statute, “*de heretico comburendo*,” was passed. William Sawtre, a parish priest, was the first martyr to Protestantism in England, 1402 A.D.; and, under Henry V. Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) was burnt, in 1418 A.D. In imitation of the action of the Inquisition in the south of France against the

Albigenses (in the beginning of the thirteenth century), the Inquisition was established in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1480, and similar courts under various names in all papal Europe, though generally viewed with jealousy by the secular power. Yet there was then, and there has ever been, much real piety existing in the Romish Church, to which various Protestants have delighted to bear witness, among others John Wesley.¹ There was also a strong feeling of repugnance against the abuses and superstitions of the Church, especially against the sale of indulgences by papal agents in Germany. The "MYSTICS," some of whom may be called "reformers before Luther in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries," were men of undoubted and singular piety. The names of Tauler, Ruysbrock, Gerhard, Groote, John Wessel, Thomas à Kempis, some of whom were members of the society of "the Brethren of Common Life" at Deventer, deserve to be remembered by all Christians. Among every class of the clergy were found men truly Christian, and fully alive to the evils prevalent in the Church. They were deterred from open opposition, because of their dread of breaking the *formal* unity of the Church under the popedom, which they regarded as essential to the existence of the Church. The "Imitation of Christ," attributed to Thomas à Kempis, supplied some imperious want in the Christianity of mankind. ". . . . Its sole, single, exclusive object is the purification of the individual soul. . . . That which distinguishes Christianity, &c., the love of man, is entirely left out."² The dean forgets that the book was intended as a guide to help the individual to deal faithfully with his own soul in the work of self-examination. It was not intended to discuss relative or other duties, but to enable the pious soul to attain that purity of heart through which such duties can be discharged.

9. LITERARY HISTORY FROM 1273-1520 A.D. Two of the great scholastic doctors, mentioned in connexion with the scholastic philosophy, properly belong to this period. Duns Scotus, 1275-1308 A.D., and William of Ockham, 1270-1350 A.D. The first, Duns Scotus, "might seem a mere reasoning machine logic worship is the key of his whole philosophy."³ William Ockham was a political fanatic, advocating the rights of the state against the Church, and was excommunicated by Pope John XXII., 1330 A.D.; "by his strong, rigid Nominalism he may seem to have anticipated the famous axiom of Leibnitz, that 'there is nothing in the intellect, which was not from the sense, except the intellect itself,' and to have

¹ Works, vol. ii. p. 77; iii. p. 342.

² Milman, vol. vi. p. 484.

³ Ibid., p. 467.

taken the same ground as Kant.”¹ GERSON, the Chancellor of the University of Paris, 1393-1410 A.D., the great advocate of the rights of the state and of the councils against the claims of the popes, has been associated with the later Schoolmen. There are also a few names which properly belong to the universal literature of the Church rather than to any particular nation. Cardinal Hugo St. Cher, 1225-1265 A.D., gave to the Church a Bible with various readings, a commentary (Postilla), and a concordance of the Latin Bible. NICHOLAS DE LYRA, 1291-1340 A.D., wrote “Postilla,” the first ever printed, 1472 A.D., from which Martin Luther so largely profited, that it was said: “Si lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.” Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1325-1348 A.D., a strong Augustinian theologian. WYCLIFFE, 1374-1384 A.D., who translated the Bible into English, and wrote a large number of treatises which had no small influence in promoting the feeling against the corruptions of the Church. Laurentius Valla, a great classical authority, wrote (1465 A.D.) “Annotations on the New Testament,” and Cardinal Ximenes, in Spain, patronised the great work, the “Complutensian Polyglote,” 1482-1517 A.D. *The revival of letters*, to which the impulse was at all events accelerated by the influx of learned Greeks into ITALY, &c., some time before, and especially after the conquest of Constantinople (1453 A.D.) by the Turks, was felt at once in the increased study of Greek. Boccaccio had revived the study, 1350-1370 A.D., and Chrysoloras had taught in Florence, 1400-1415 A.D.; LORENZO DE MEDICI founded an academy for its study, 1470 A.D.; at Paris it was studied (1458 A.D.) in the University; in ENGLAND taught by Linacre and Grocyn at Oxford, 1480-1491 A.D.; but this study was generally opposed by the schools and universities, and its introduction and continuance as a study was owing to the secular authorities. Meanwhile, instead of one literary language (the Latin) with which the clergy and the leading laymen were more or less familiar, the vernacular languages began to be used as vehicles of thought. The ITALIAN, FRENCH, SPANISH, ENGLISH, GERMAN, DUTCH, and the PORTUGUESE, in all seven languages, had begun separate national literatures.

ITALY.—PETRARCH, the lover of Laura, celebrated in his sonnets, 1306-1374 A.D.; DANTE, 1265-1322 A.D., in his “Divine Comedy,” gave to modern literature a new beginning and fresh starting-point distinct from the classics (Olifant); BOCCACCIO, 1313-1375 A.D., whose pure Italian is no excuse for his coarseness and indecency; Poggio,

¹ Milman, vol. vi. p. 474.

1410-1459 A.D. ; Picus of Morandola, 1485-1494 A.D. Under the patronage of the Medici in Florence, 1470-1492 A.D. and following year, literature flourished at Florence. Cardinal Bembo, 1490-1540 A.D. ; Politian, 1480-1490 A.D. ; Pulci, 1481 A.D. ; Boiardo, 1495 A.D. ; ARIOSTO, 1503-1516 A.D. ; were the fruits of the Renaissance. Ficennius, in 1482 A.D., published his "Platonic Theology," in which the soul, an emanation from God, is taught to be reunited to him by æsceticism and contemplation. There was also Peter Martyr (Anghiera), 1427-1500 A.D., the first literary announcer of the new discoveries of the Spaniards. From the eleventh century PAINTING began to be pursued in ITALY, and created the Bolognese, Sienese, Tuscan, Umbrian, Paduan, Roman, Venetian, &c., schools. LEONARDO DA VINCI, the most celebrated, 1452-1470 A.D. Italian literature was the favourite foreign literature of the educated nobles and ladies in England in this period.

FRANCE had writers, but no literature comparable with Italy at this time. FROISSART, the chronicler, 1401 A.D., and PHILIP DE COMINES, 1468-1579 A.D., are her leading writers. Raymond Sebonde wrote a philosophical defence of natural and revealed religion, 1430 A.D. Budæus, 1467-1540 A.D., belongs to the next period.

SPAIN could boast of the famous romance "Amadis de Gaul," in the fourteenth century, besides many theologians and writers of mere chronicles. The poem on the Cid was in existence in the fourteenth century, but was not well known until much later. Le Brixia became to Spain what Budæus was to France and Erasmus to Germany ; he was the reviver of classical and Oriental literature, 1473 A.D. Popular songs were known in Spain and Portugal from an early period.

ENGLAND.—The English language was taught in the schools, 1350 A.D., and in courts of law, 1368 A.D. It was first used in a proclamation issued by Henry III. in 1258 A.D. The first English letter extant is by a lady, 1399 A.D., "proved to be genuine by the badness of the grammar." The long poem, "Piers Ploughman," by Robert Langland, a monk, 1362 A.D. GOWER the poet, 1354-1398 A.D. ; CHAUCER, whose "Canterbury Tales" (1328-1400 A.D.) are read now with increasing pleasure ; the PASTON Letters, 1420-1480 A.D., faithfully depict the then state of society. The poet Lydgate, 1461 A.D. ; Linacre the physician, 1460-1521 A.D., a great friend and promoter of literature ; Dean COLET of St. Paul's, with Bishop Fisher, and Sir THOMAS MORE, who wrote "THE UTOPIA," 1516 A.D., were contemporary with Henry VIII. and Cardinal

Wolsey. "The Utopia" is an ideal picture of a perfect commonwealth never to be realised. Hawes, 1515 A.D., and Skelton, 1460-1528 A.D., were later poets. Other chroniclers also, as Thomas of Walsingham, 1440 A.D., Hardyng, 1450 A.D., and Fabyan, 1500 A.D., with Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, and the lawyer, Sir J. Fortesque, 1450 A.D., and Thomas Lyttleton, 1460-1487 A.D. *Scotland* had King James I., 1395-1437 A.D.; Fordun, 1300-1386 A.D.; Andrew of Wyntown (Chronicler of Scotland), 1400 A.D.; Harry the Minstrel, at the court of James IV., 1410 A.D.

GERMANY owes much to the school of Deventer (Overysse, Holland), planned by Gerhard Groot, but not established until fifteen years after his death, 1400 A.D. The associates of this school were called "the Brethren of the Common Life," resembling the Moravians by their strict life, by a partial community of goods, by industry in manual labour, and by their fervent devotion; they were also distinguished by their love of learning and their efforts to disseminate it. Eichhorn says that "these schools were the first genuine nurseries of literature in Germany . . . and in them was, first, taught the Latin, and, in process of time, the Greek and Eastern tongues." THOMAS À KEMPIS, the supposed author of "The Imitation of Christ," 1380-1471 A.D., was of this pious fraternity. It is now thought that a monk named SCHOMHOVEN, of Zwolle, who lived thirty years before Kempis, was the author. Rudolf Agricola, Von Langen, Hegius, Wimpheling, the Abbot Tethem, Dr. J. Eck, the opponent of Luther, a man of real learning, and many others, were connected in early life with this college. HANS SACHS, the Nuremburg poet, 1497-1576 A.D., and SEBASTIAN BRANDT, 1454-1521 A.D., in his "Ship of Fools," appealed to the people. REUCHLIN, the reviver of Hebrew and Oriental literature, 1455-1520 A.D., was persecuted by the ignorant clergy and others, but protected by the secular power; he defended himself in a publication the most severe and telling of all satires, judging from its results on the mind and opinions of Germany. The "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum," by unknown hands, "fell among the opponents of Reuchlin like a bombshell, scattering dismay. . . . The enemies of the new literature are made to represent themselves, and the representation is managed with a truth of nature only equalled by the absurdity of the posture in which the actors are exhibited." The result was a radical reform in the universities of Germany. ULRIC VON HUTTON, Crotus Rabianus, Hermann Buschius, were the three authors of this effective satire.¹

¹ Sir William Hamilton's "Essays," 8vo.

THE NETHERLANDS, HOLLAND.—From an early period the Low Countries had their national songs. John I., Duke of Brabant, was the first lyric writer; Jacob von Maerlandt (Bruges), 1263–1270 A.D.; the Rhyming Bible, 1270 to 1291 A.D.; Jan von Boendale, poetry, 1286–1365 A.D.; Melis Stoke, rhyming chronicler, 1305 A.D.; Dirk Potter, poet and diplomatist, 1409–1412 A.D.; Ruysbrock, a religious writer, 1294–1310 A.D. Theatrical companies for mysteries and miracle plays existed in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, and preceded the Chamber of Rhetoric in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There were also Tournaments of Rhetoric at Antwerp and Brussels, 1426–1620 A.D.

It is remarkable that the largest library in Europe in this period was one in BUDA, HUNGARY, collected by the king, Matthias Corvinus, 1458–1490 A.D. It contained 50,000 volumes, but it was dispersed and lost in the conquest of Hungary by the Turks.

State of the World 1520 A.D.

EUROPE.

SCANDINAVIA united by the Union of Calmar. Sweden discontented and prepared to separate.

BRITISH ISLANDS. *England* and *Ireland*, with Wales, form one kingdom. Scotland under its own king.

FRANCE. All the fiefs reunited to the Crown (Lorraine and part of Burgundy excepted, which yet belonged to the German Empire).

SPAIN. All the peninsula (except Portugal) united under one king, Charles I. of Spain, the fifth of Germany.

PORTUGAL, distinguished by its maritime discoveries under Prince Henry, 1412–1463 A.D.

THE NETHERLANDS (Belgium and Holland) attached to the empire of Charles V. (as the heir of Mary of Burgundy).

ITALY. *Savoy* and *Piedmont* form a Duchy—the States of the Church to the Pope. *Florence* and *Milan* under their respective dukes. *Genoa* and *Venice* were under republics. Venice had 3,300 merchant ships and 25,000 seamen.

Florence had 150,000 inhabitants and a revenue of £150,000. *Naples* and *Sicily* formed part of the Spanish kingdom under Charles V.

GERMANY. The empire under Charles V. consisting of a large number of independent principalities, duchies, electorates, and free towns.

BOHEMIA to the House of Austria, after the death of King Louis at Mohacz in the battle with the Turks, 1526 A.D.

HUNGARY united to the House of Austria by Albert II., 1437 A.D. ; after his death to Ladislaus, King of Poland, who was killed at Varna by the TURKS, 1443 A.D. It was then governed by the great Hunyades, 1445–1448 A.D., and then by his son Matthias Corvinus, 1458–1490 A.D., as regents, who resolutely defended the country against the TURKS. This was the most brilliant period of Hungarian history. Ladislaus II. reigned 1490–1516 A.D., and was succeeded by Louis II., 1516 A.D., who was, with difficulty, able to resist the TURKISH invasion.

PRUSSIA, under the Teutonic knights, whose master was Albert of Brandenburg, 1511 A.D., engaged in a war with Poland.

SWITZERLAND. Independent and aristocratic republics, too ready to hire out their enterprising youth as mercenary troops to any European power.

POLAND and Lithuania united under the Jagellons since 1386 A.D. ; wars with Russia until the peace of 1523 A.D.

RUSSIA became independent of the Khan of Kipshack, 1478 A.D. ; its power was being consolidated and extended, though occasionally ravaged by the Tartars of Kazan and the Crimea.

TURKEY. The Ottoman Turks first had a footing in Europe, 1356 A.D., and in 1453 A.D. conquered Constantinople and destroyed the Greek Eastern Empire, absorbing also Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia.

ASIA.

ASIA MINOR, SYRIA, and the territory *west of the Tigris* form part of the Turkish Empire.

PERSIA, east of the Tigris, &c., under the Sefi rule.

INDIA, the beginning of the Mogul Empire by Baber, 1509–1526 A.D., which gradually acquired the whole rule of India.

CHINA under the Ming Dynasty.

JAPAN disturbed by civil wars.

AFRICA.

EGYPT under the Mamelukes, 1250 A.D.; conquered by Selim, Sultan of Turkey, 1527 A.D.

MOROCCO. The Merins supplanted by the Oatzes, then by the Xeriffs, 1510–1519 A.D.

TUNIS. The Lazzis submit to Turkey, 1514 A.D. All Barbary nominally subject to Turkey, except Morocco. *Piracy* is specially located at ALGIERS, and troubled the Mediterranean before the end of the fifteenth century. The Corsairs were not seen in the Atlantic until the year 1585 A.D.

AMERICA.

Was first discovered by Columbus, in the service of Spain, 1492 A.D. First Spanish colony at *Hispaniola*, 1493 A.D.; at Cuba, 1511 A.D.

MEXICO conquered by Cortez for Spain, 1520 A.D.

BRAZIL discovered by Cabral, the Portuguese, 1500 A.D.

SOUTH AMERICA. Magellan discovered the Straits called by his name, and passed on to the Philippine Islands; his vessel made the first circumnavigation of the world, 1520, 1521 A.D.

TENTH PERIOD.

*From the Reign of Charles V. of Germany,
1520 A.D., to the English Revolution,
1688 A.D.*

1. MODERN HISTORY begins with the sixteenth century. Every event of importance from this time is more or less connected with the great questions that agitate Christendom in our day. Following, as near as possible, the order of time, the narrative will take up—(1) *the rivalry of France, under Francis I., with Germany and Spain under Charles V. of Germany and I. of Spain*; (2) *the Reformation*; (3) *the decline of the Spanish monarchy under Philip II., &c.*; (4) *the growth of the power of France and of England*; (5) *the Turkish power at its height under Solymán, and its subsequent decline*; (6) *the Thirty Years' War in Germany and Central Europe, with the brief predominance of Sweden*; (7) *the aggressive policy and wars of Louis XIV. (the Great) of France, and the resistance offered by England, Germany, and Holland*; (8) *the first appearance of Prussia and Russia in European politics*; after which the contemporary local histories, and the progress of maritime discovery.

I.—*The Rivalry of France with Germany and Spain.*

2. The rivalry of France, under Francis I., with Germany and Spain under Charles V. of Germany, and I. of Spain, led the European nations to study the great question of the balance of power, so necessary to the smaller states. At this time, France under Francis, and Spain and Germany under Charles V., were undoubtedly the two great powers of Europe. They were contemporary with the *three greatest* events affecting the interests of Christianity and of

civilisation :—(1) The opening out of the Eastern world to the commerce of Europe ; (2) the discovery of a new world, the continent of America, the most extensive of all fields for the settlement of a European population, the seed of future powerful Europeanised nationalities ; (3) the prevalence and force of new ideas, especially in the western and central nations of Europe, of which the Reformation in religion, and resistance to the papal authority, temporal and spiritual, are the most palpable results. At the same time, Christian Europe was threatened by the Turkish power, which had already over-run Hungary and Transylvania, and had reached the frontiers of Germany, and which even threatened Italy and Rome itself. It was in the power of *Charles and of Francis* to save Germany and ally, and to recover Hungary and the territories south of the Danube from Turkish domination, and perhaps to re-establish a Christian government in Constantinople. But these men, respectable as they stood, fully equal to any of their contemporaries, could not see the grandeur of their position, and the path in which, unitedly, they might proceed with honour to themselves and with advantage to the highest interests of humanity. Paltry contests for a few square miles in Italy and the Low Countries made them rivals, insensible to all higher objects and claims. The opportunity of mediating in the great struggle of mind, of religious feeling, and of endangered secular interests, which followed the outbreak of the Reformation under Luther and his confrères in Germany, was thrown away. The guilt of the general intolerance of nations in the persecutions for heresy, which stereotyped the embittered feelings of both Protestants and Catholics against each other, and which led at last to the religious wars in France, the Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572 A.D., and, eventually, to the Thirty Years' calamitous War in Germany, 1618–1648 A.D., is fairly traceable to the selfish rivalry of Francis I. (who burned Protestants in France, and tried to league with them in Germany) and Charles V. These men, great as they were, had no "understanding of the times," to know and to recognise their high duties ; and Europe has had to suffer the consequences of their ignorance and selfishness.

There were, however, causes of rivalry, which seemed to justify the course pursued by the French king and the German emperor. *Neither France nor Germany* were satisfied with the portions of the dukedom of Burgundy obtained by each on the death of Charles the Bold, 1477 A.D. *France* had also claims upon Naples and Sicily, disgracefully inherited from the House of Anjou. These states were now in the possession of Spain as the heritage of the

kings of Arragon, derived from the will of the murdered Conraddin. There was also *another claim* for the inheritance of the *duchy of Milan*, on the death of the last of the Visconti, 1447 A.D., which, by agreement, was to have fallen to the family of the Duke of Orleans, a descendant of the daughter of the first Visconti. It was, however, claimed as a fief of the empire, and had been granted to the Sforza family, 1494 A.D., by the Emperor Maximilian. Louis XII. had, for a time, recovered possession of Milan, but it had again reverted to the Sforzas. Francis I. renewed his claims, and, winning the battle of Marignano over the Swiss allies of Sforza, Sept. 13, 1515 A.D., recovered Milan, a very distant and precarious possession for France. Again, the *candidature for the empire* on the death of Maximilian, 1519 A.D., on the part of Francis and Charles, resulted in the election of *Charles*. The two rivals, each anticipating the future contests, sought to secure the friendship of Henry VIII. of England, who then fancied himself arbiter of the peace of Europe. The military power which each could command was about equal. *The emperor could claim superiority* as to territory and varied resources. *The King of France had a compact kingdom*, unhampered by the necessity of consulting German diets and princes, who regarded themselves as practically the equals of the emperor. The possessions over which Charles ruled were *Spain, Austria* with Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol: the *duchies of Limburg, Gueldres, Alsace*, with *Brabant*, and the Low Countries. He had also the nominal control of *Bohemia, Lusatia, Silesia, and Moravia*, with *Hungary and Transylvania*; but the Turkish occupancy rendered these latter kingdoms a burden rather than a source of strength. In *France* all the great fiefs had been absorbed by the crown. England retained the town of Calais, the sole relic, happily, of her former large possessions, the inheritance of the Norman and Plantagenet kings. In the *first* war, Charles defeated Francis at Pavia and took him prisoner, 1525 A.D., but released him in 1526 A.D.; in the *second* war, the Constable Bourbon, the rebel subject of Francis, serving under Charles, took Rome and held the Pope prisoner, 1527 A.D.; the *third* war lasted from 1536 to 1538 A.D.; in the *fourth* war, 1542-1544 A.D., Francis, the orthodox persecutor of Protestantism in France, scandalised Europe by allying himself with the Turkish Sultan Solymán, the sworn enemy of Christendom, though in so doing he only followed the example of Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia), in 1494 A.D. The balance of loss in these wars was unfavourable to Francis. Though released from prison in 1526 A.D., he had to pay a heavy ransom for his sons,

given as hostages, and had to renounce all claims on Italy, 1529 A.D. In 1536 A.D., he renewed the war with Charles, having entered into a league with Sultan Solymán, by which the sultan engaged that the pirate Barbarossa should land a Turkish army in Apulia, for the conquest of Naples, while Francis invaded Lombardy. By Barbarossa 10,000 persons were carried into slavery from Apulia, after which he retired. Peace was made in 1538 A.D. Francis died in 1544 A.D. Henry VIII., the supposed arbiter, died in 1547 A.D.; and Charles (after abdicating) in 1558 A.D.

II.—*The Reformation.*

3. "There is, perhaps, no event in history which has been represented in so great a variety of lights as the Reformation. It has been called a revolt of the laity against the clergy, or of the Teutonic races against the Italians, or the kingdoms of Europe against the universal monarchy of the popes. Some have seen in it only a burst of long-repressed anger at the luxury of the prelates and the manifold abuses of the ecclesiastical system. Others, a renewal of the youth of the Church, by a return to primitive forms of doctrine. All these, indeed, to some extent, it was; but it was also something more profound, and fraught with mightier consequences than any of them. It was, in its essence, the assertion of the principle of individuality—that is to say, of true spiritual freedom. . . . That which was external and concrete was, in all things, to be superseded by that which was inward and spiritual. . . . Truth was no longer to be truth to the soul until it should have been by the soul recognised, and, in some measure, even created."¹ "This great work was accomplished . . . only by the invisible power of *ideas* and *truths*, facilitated by circumstances which Providence had prepared, and by the energetic genius of some few men who made themselves masters of these ideas and circumstances. Thus . . . the great law of nature was fulfilled, according to which ideas are stronger than external power, and according to which excess and abuse of authority becomes its destruction, and according to which every power that resists the spirit of the time rests upon a hollow foundation, and accelerates its fall by its resistance." A long-prevailing unconcealed jealousy of the wealth of the Church influenced many who cared nothing about the teachings or superstitions of the Church. Even good Catholics, who, as in England, zealously approved of the

¹ Bryce, p. 325.

burning of heretics, at the same time, 1410 A.D., offered to aid Henry IV. in secularising the whole of the ecclesiastic property of the kingdom. The sale of indulgences by papal agents had long been annoying to the moral feeling of sincere Catholics, especially when carried on by persons of questionable character. There had been gradually growing up a feeling in favour of the reconsideration of certain views which had deformed the simplicity of the Catholic creed, and which did not accord with the writings of the early Fathers. Thus, "the Reformation was not, as is commonly supposed, an improvised revolution, for which men had not been prepared."¹ The train had been long preparing, and long laying, when the action of MARTIN LUTHER caused the explosion. The pious, simple monk, excited by the vile trade carried on by Tetzel in the disposal of indulgences, believed that the Pope had been deceived by his agents, and that, in protesting against the sale of indulgences, he was serving the interests of the Church of Rome. In 1517 A.D. he published his ninety-five propositions against indulgences at Wittenberg. In 1521 A.D. they were formally condemned by the Council at Worms. Political reasons, as well as his educational influences, led the Emperor Charles V. to support the papacy, and the same reasons influenced the ruling powers of Europe. The cause of reform was injured by the revolt of the German peasantry, in 1525 A.D., which was ascribed to the teachings of Luther, though the existence of political secret societies of the peasantry, for some generations previous, is a fact fully established by the German historians. This revolt was most cruelly stamped out, revealing at the same time the oppression under which the rebels groaned, and the thorough unfitness of their leaders to establish any practical reforms. At the Diet of Spire, 1526-1529, all further reforms in the Church were prohibited. The opposite party *protested* against this decision, and hence acquired the name of *Protestants*. In the Diet of Augsburg, 1530 A.D., the Protestants produced their confession of faith, which was condemned, and all attempts at a reconciliation failed. Protestantism then necessarily assumed a political character. By the formation of the *League of Schmalkalden*, consisting of the Protestant princes, 1531 A.D., the emperor was compelled to conclude the Peace of *Nuremburg*, 1532 A.D. In 1546 A.D., through the defection of Prince Maurice, the League was defeated at *Mühlberg*, and the cause of Protestantism, as a political power in the empire, appeared to be lost; but, in 1552 A.D., Maurice, suspecting the emperor's intention of enforcing

¹ Hook, vol. i., new series, p. 24.

the decisions of the Council of Trent (then in session), suddenly advanced against Charles, and compelled him to fly from *Innsbruck*, after which the *Treaty of Passau* was agreed to, by which a general toleration was established. This was followed by the religious *Peace of Augsburg*, which, for a time, gave religious freedom to Germany. In the course of the Schmalkalden War, *Henry II., king of France*, "the eldest son of the Church," leagued with the Protestant princes, took *Metz, Toul, and Verdun*, and proclaimed himself "*the protector of the liberties of Germany*," thus beginning a policy of aggression from which both Germany and France have so greatly suffered. THE CAUSE OF THE REFORMATION prospered in NORTH GERMANY, and, for a time, even in AUSTRIA. It was established in SCANDINAVIA, part of SWITZERLAND, the SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES. ENGLAND began its religious reform under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Mary was a papist and persecutor, and unwittingly helped Protestantism by the hateful impression she made by the fires of Smithfield, in which at least 288 persons suffered death during her reign. Under Elizabeth, Protestantism was firmly established. In SCOTLAND, also, Protestantism was deeply rooted into the national character. The "*Solemn League and Covenant*," so remarkable in Scottish history, proved that the reformer, *John Knox*, had left his stamp on the Scottish mind. In FRANCE, up to the death of Henry III., Protestantism was alternately tolerated and persecuted. The Catholic League under the Guises, supported by Spain, for the destruction of heresy in France, was accompanied by a secret league for the extirpation of Protestantism by *Spain and France, 1585 A.D.* Before this, the massacre in Paris on *St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572 A.D.*, had disgusted all Europe, except Pope Gregory XIII. and Philip II. of Spain. The accession of *Henry IV., in 1589 A.D.*, and the publication of the *Edict of Nantes, 1598 A.D.*, gave Protestantism a legal existence and security in France. In SPAIN, PORTUGAL, and ITALY, in the SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS, Protestantism was ruthlessly stamped out. The whole process may be profitably read in McCrie's history, and in Prescott and Motley. The Inquisition did its work thoroughly; and Alva, on a larger scale, put to death, by the hands of the executioner, eighteen thousand Protestants in the Netherlands, within the space of six years, with the full approval of his master, Philip II. of Spain. In POLAND, Protestantism obtained, through the labours of John A. Lasko, some considerable success from 1552 to 1570 A.D., and following years, until the introduction of the Socinian element alarmed the orthodox feeling of both Catholics and Protestants. The Socinians were banished, 1658 A.D., but the

reproach of their views affected the progress of the Protestants generally. In IRELAND, the Keltic population, which hated the English when Catholic, hated them in their Protestantism the more.

4. *The rapid progress of Protestantism was followed by an equally rapid reaction* in certain countries. This has been clearly and eloquently described by Macaulay. "In the northern parts of Europe the victory of Protestantism was rapid and decisive. The dominion of the Papacy was felt by the nations of Teutonic blood, as the dominion of Italians, of foreigners, of men who were aliens in language, manners, and intellectual constitution. The large jurisdiction exercised by the spiritual tribunals of Rome seemed to be a degrading badge of servitude. The sums which, under a thousand pretexts, were exacted by a distant court, were regarded both as a humiliating and as a ruinous tribute. The character of that court excited the scorn and disgust of a grave, earnest, sincere, and devout people. The new theology spread with a rapidity never known before. All ranks, all varieties of character joined the ranks of the innovators. Sovereigns impatient to appropriate to themselves the prerogatives of the Pope; nobles desirous to have the plunder of abbeys; suitors exasperated by the extortions of the foreign camera; patriots impatient of a foreign rule; good men scandalised by the corruption of the Church; bad men desirous of the licence inseparable from great moral revolutions; wise men eager in the pursuit of truth; weak men allured by the glitter of novelty: all were found on one side. . . . Within fifty years from the day on which Luther publicly renounced communion with the Papacy, and burned the bull of Leo before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism attained its highest ascendancy, which it soon lost, and which it has never regained. . . . In *England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wurtemberg, the Palatinate, in several Cantons of Switzerland, in the Northern Netherlands*, the Reformation had completely triumphed; and in all the other countries on this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees it seemed on the point of triumphing. But, while this mighty work was proceeding in the north of Europe, a revolution of a very different kind had taken place in the south. The temper of *Italy and Spain* was widely different from that of Germany and England. . . . The national feeling of the Italians impelled them to resist any change which might deprive their country of the honours and advantages which she enjoyed as the seat of the government of the Universal Church. . . . There was among the Italians both much piety and much impiety; but, with

very few exceptions, neither the piety nor the impiety took the turn of Protestantism. The religious Italians desired a reform of morals and discipline, but not a reform of doctrine, and least of all a schism. The irreligious Italians simply disbelieved Christianity without hating it. . . . Neither the spirit of Savonarola, nor the spirit of Machiavelli had anything in common with the spirit of the religious or political Protestants of the north. *Spain*, again, was with respect to the Catholic Church in a situation very different from that of the Teutonic nations. . . . The attachment of the Castilian to the faith of his ancestors was peculiarly strong and ardent. With that faith were inseparably bound up the institutions, the independence, and the glory of his country. . . . The existence of Spain had been one long crusade. After fighting Mussulmans in the old world, she began to fight heathens in the new. . . . It was with the cry of 'St. James for Spain,' that they charged armies which outnumbered them a hundredfold. . . . Thus Catholicism, which in the public mind of northern Europe was associated with spoliation and oppression, was in the public mind of Spain associated with liberty, victory, dominion, wealth, and glory. It is not, therefore, strange that the effect of the great outbreak of Protestantism in one part of Christendom should have been to produce an equally violent outbreak of Catholic zeal on the other."¹ . . . "About half a century after the great separation there were throughout the north Protestant governments and Protestant nations. In the south were governments and nations actuated by the most intense zeal for the ancient Church. Between these two hostile regions lay, morally, as well as geographically, a great debatable land. In *France, Belgium, South Germany, Hungary, and Poland*, the contest was still undecided. The governments of those countries had not renounced their connexion with Rome, but the Protestants were numerous, bold, and active. In *France* they formed a commonwealth within the realm, held fortresses, were able to bring great armies into the field, and had treated with their sovereign on terms of equality. In *Poland* the king was still a Catholic; but the Protestants had the upper hand in the diet, filled the chief offices in the administration, and in the large towns took possession of the parish church. . . . In *Bavaria* the state of things was nearly the same. . . . In *Transylvania* the house of Austria was unable to prevent the diet from confiscating, by one sweeping decree, the estates of the Church. In *Austria* proper, it was generally said that only one-thirtieth part

¹ "Essays," vol. ii. pp. 551-554.

of the population could be counted on as good Catholics. In *Belgium* the adherents to the new opinions were reckoned by hundreds of thousands. The history of the two succeeding generations is the history of the struggle between Protestant possessions of the north of Europe, and Catholicism possessed of the south for the doubtful territory which lay between. . . . At first the chances seemed to be decidedly in favour of Protestantism, but the victory remained with the Church of Rome. On every point she was successful. If we overleap another half century, we find her victorious and dominant in *France, Belgium, Bavaria, Bohemia, Austria, Poland, and Hungary*. Nor has Protestantism in the course of two hundred years, been able to reconquer any portion of what was then lost.”¹ This eloquent summary of the popish reaction, though substantially true, must be taken with some qualification, as will be seen in the course of events following. Macaulay has neglected to state the main cause of the reaction against Protestantism on the Continent, in France, South Germany and Austria, Hungary and Poland. This was the selfish secularity of the major part of the Protestant nobles and higher classes, whose zeal was too much the desire to acquire possession of Church property, to rule over the reformed Churches, and to establish a power in their several states necessarily opposed to the control of their respective governments. The greed, and tyranny, and intolerance of these men lost them the sympathy and support of the people. Gardiner justly remarks, in reference to the events which led to the revolt in Bohemia in 1621 A.D., what is true in respect to Germany and France: “The dispassionate inquirer, however badly he may think of the religious systems by which Protestantism was superseded in these territories, can hardly do otherwise than rejoice at the defeat of the political system of the men by whom Protestantism was in the main supported.” We may trace the decline of spiritual religion in North-Western Germany to the thorough subjection of the churches to the secular power, by which all freedom of thought in religious matters was suppressed. This great evil was felt by the reformer himself when he and Melancthon were betrayed into the great sin of authorising the Landgrave of Hesse to take a second wife while his first was living; a painful fact, which in all fairness cannot be concealed.

¹ “Essays,” vol. i. pp. 561-563.

² Gardiner, “History of England,” vol. iii. p. 263.

III.—*The Decline of the Spanish Monarchy under Philip II., and his Successors.*

5. By the abdication of the Emperor Charles V., the kingdom of Spain, the Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily, and the recent conquests in America came into the possession of his son, Philip II. The seventeen provinces (the Netherlands), though small in extent of territory, were the richest of the possessions of the Spanish crown. They comprised three hundred and fifty cities, six thousand three hundred towns, besides numerous villages. In agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, they were unequalled, as well as in wealth, by any kingdom then existing. They were, in fact, the main support of Charles V., and, for a time, of his son Philip II. Each province was a separate state, with separate constitutions and laws. The states-general, consisting of deputies from each province, met occasionally; there were states in each province elected as representative of the people by different processes, and a supreme tribunal at Mechlin. The King of Spain was in reality the head of a republican confederation, the people of which were perhaps the best educated in Europe, and all of them highly attached to their laws and political constitutions. The possessions of the Austrian family in Germany, with Bohemia and Hungary, and the imperial crown, fell to *Ferdinand I.*, the younger brother of Charles V. *Philip II.* possessed much of his father's talent and prudence, with all or more of his conscientious bigotry; his attention to public affairs intense and without intermission. His revenue was equal to that of *all* the other sovereigns of Europe combined. His army consisted of two hundred and eighty thousand men; he died in debt one hundred and forty millions of ducats. PORTUGAL, by the failure of the royal line, became united to Spain, 1580 A.D. By the fierce persecution of Protestantism in the NETHERLANDS, the SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES revolted under the Prince of Orange, 1568 A.D., and secured their independence. The remaining southern provinces remained under Spain, being intensely Catholic. In the persecution carried on by the Duke of Alva, some eighteen thousand persons suffered by the hands of the executioner; fifty thousand in all were destroyed, and large numbers emigrated, carrying with them their manufacturing skill, into England especially. In the administration of his Italian dominions, the troops of Philip relieved Malta when nearly captured by the Turks, 1565 A.D., and on 7th October, 1571 A.D., the fleets of Spain, Venice, and Rome, commanded by Don Juan, of Austria, defeated the Turkish fleet at

Lepanto. Thirty thousand of the Turks were killed, ten thousand made prisoners, and four-fifths of their ships destroyed; but this victory was not followed up, and produced no practical results. In his war with FRANCE, Philip gained the battle of St. Quentin, 1556, and then concluded peace. In the subsequent civil wars in France, Philip supported the Catholic League and the Guises, and kept up the disorders which continued until the accession of Henry IV. In ENGLAND Philip's marriage with Queen Mary led her to make war with France, in which Calais was happily lost, 1558 A.D. The grand Armada (one hundred and thirty ships, three thousand sailors, and twenty thousand troops sent out from Spain for the conquest of England) was defeated by the navy of Elizabeth. Thirty-two of the largest ships were destroyed, and one-half of the troops. An attempt on Ireland in 1596 A.D. was equally unfortunate. In SPAIN the Moriscos (the Moorish people) revolted, 1568 A.D., in consequence of attempts to modify their national usages; they, throwing off their profession of Christianity, massacred the priests, &c., but were finally subdued, 1570 A.D. Don Carlos, the eldest son of Philip, undoubtedly insane, died, 1568 A.D. Philip was succeeded by his son, *Philip III.*, 1598 A.D., of whom and his immediate successors little can be recalled beyond the reign of worthless favourites, the profligacy of courts, and the weakness of the government. "This singular race of submissive penitents, warm husbands, and mighty hunters, were all hypochondriacal, lethargic, and superstitious; incapable of business, exerting no energy except in bigotry; no activity but in the chase, and no sensibility but in that passion for their wives, which was not of the most refined sort. They submitted to any minister who saved them the trouble of government, and whom their consorts suffered or patronised. The Queen, the confessor, and the huntsman were the only important persons in the eyes of a Spanish monarch."¹ In 1609 the Moors, estimated at the improbable number of six hundred thousand in number, were expelled, partly owing to their frequent rebellions and concealed alliances with their African friends. The loss of so much valuable labour was perhaps made up by the peace thus secured to the population generally. These Moors were in Africa treated with "characteristic inhumanity by the most cruel and perfidious people on earth."² The Duke of Lerma, and Rodrigo Calderon were the favourites in this reign; but the duke was disgraced 1618 A.D., and in 1621 A.D. Calderon was executed.

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxi.

² Durham, "History of Spain," vol. v. p. 88.

Philip IV. succeeded, 1624 A.D.; his reign is the most disastrous in the annals of Spain. Portugal, in 1640 A.D., asserted its independence under the Duke of Braganza. In 1609 A.D., Spain had virtually admitted the independence of the Seven United Provinces. The insurrection of the Catalans led to a war with France, in which Spain had to cede Rousillon and Conflans to France, 1660 A.D., and the privileges of the Catalans confirmed. Naples was troubled by the revolt of the fisherman Massaniello, which ended in a few months, 1646 A.D. The Comte de Olivarez was the ruling minister in this reign. Philip IV. was succeeded, in 1665 A.D., by a child four years old, Charles II. Don Juan, of Austria, acted as Regent from 1677, and died 1680 A.D. The imbecility and fatuity of the king lowered the monarchy in the opinion of all Europe, and the succession after his death was the topic most interesting to all politicians. The ruin of the commercial prosperity of Spain began with Charles V., the Emperor, not only through his exhausting wars and those of his successors, but by his ignorance and neglect of the true principles of political economy. In 1552 the *export* of cloth, spun and combed wool, corn, cattle, leather, and manufactures of silk were forbidden! Heavy duties were levied on the exportation of Spanish produce, as well as on imported goods. In 1594 A.D., the Cortes complained that taxation was equal to the value of one-third of the capital of the trader. Such was the scarcity of money, through the wars in France, Germany, and Italy, that even Charles V. had to tamper with the currency, and his successors followed his example. Gradually, but rapidly, the agriculture and manufacture of Spain declined. The trading classes and the cultivators of the ground were despised, and most of the handicraft trades and the commercial transactions were in the hands of foreigners, of whom, in 1610 A.D., one hundred and sixty thousand were settled in Castile, while the population of some districts had decreased one-half between 1600 A.D. and 1619 A.D. The general distress was great, and the commerce of the Mediterranean was lost through the predominance of the Barbary pirates. Spain, in 1594 A.D., had eight million two hundred thousand inhabitants, while at that time the whole of England, Scotland, and Ireland had barely four millions. The civic list of Philip II. was £2,400,000. He left a debt of one hundred millions sterling, borrowed at high interest. There was in this sixteenth century a rapid decline in the population of the towns. Under Charles II., who died 1706 A.D., the population of Spain had fallen to six millions.

IV.—*The Growth of the Power of France and of England :
neighbours and antagonistic in their policies.*

6. FRANCE.—The reigns of *Henry II.*, *Francis II.*, *Charles IX.*, and of *Henry III.* were injurious to France, characterised by religious persecutions and civil war. The massacre of the Protestants in Paris and other towns on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572 A.D., had thoroughly alienated the Protestants from the governing power under the influence of Catherine di Medici, while the Catholic League, under the Guises, was equally inimical to the then King Henry III., as not trustworthy, because he had attempted to conciliate the Protestant party by the Edict of Pacification, 1576 A.D. This civil war ended in 1589 A.D., when Henry IV., the first Bourbon, ascended the throne. In these wars it is calculated that 300 Catholic and 400 Protestant gentlemen, with 10,000 Catholics and 16,000 Protestants of the middle and lower classes, were killed ; in all France, a loss of 40,000 lives. As a specimen of the bigoted feeling of Philip II. of Spain, the leading evil spirit of these wars, it is said that the only time in his life when he was known to laugh was when he heard of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1572 A.D. At that time the population of France was about fifteen millions ; about one-third of the land was in cultivation ; the country parts troubled by thousands of armed banditti. The territory of France had before this been enlarged by the acquisition of Metz, Verdun, and Toul, taken by Henry II. when leagued with the Protestants of Germany against Charles V. Philip of Spain, the son of Charles V., was the determined enemy of Protestantism and a supporter of the League against Henry IV., who was partially assisted by Elizabeth, Queen of England. By the Edict of Nantes, 1589 A.D., France was "de-ossified," "for the Protestants formed the backbone of the country."¹ Protestantism was acknowledged in certain territories, and the Protestants, free from all disabilities, permitted to hold certain fortified towns for their protection, a grant injurious to them and to the kingdom. Under Henry IV. the nation prospered, the debts of the Crown were paid, and industry revived. Sully, the great minister of Henry IV., paid off one-third of the debt of three hundred millions of francs, and raised the net income to sixteen millions of francs. Paris at that time had 450,000 inhabitants. The death of Henry in 1610 was followed

¹ *Quarterly Review*, vol. clii. p. 4.

by the reign of Louis XIII., under the regency of his mother, Mary di Medici. Cardinal Richelieu, who was in this reign the real governor of France, cared more for France than for the interests of his Church. He allied France with the Protestants of Germany in the Thirty Years' War, and procured for France, Alsace, Artois, and Rousillon. He compelled, not only the nobles generally, but even the Protestant party in France, which existed as an *imperium in imperio*, and was known as the Huguenot party, to submit; took Rochelle, their stronghold, in 1628 A.D. The Huguenots had, at that time, 700 parish churches and 200 fortified towns; about 4,000 of the nobility belonged to their Church, and they could bring into the field an army of 25,000 men. The death of Richelieu in 1642 A.D., was followed by that of Louis, 1643 A.D. Louis XIV., a child, succeeded, under the regency of Anne of Austria. Her administration was disturbed by the Prince of Condé, Cardinal de Retz, and other nobles. The local broils and riots in Paris, which have been ridiculously dignified by the title of "the Wars of the Fronde," reveal the levity, vanity, and rapacity of the nobles, and the weakness of the government, 1648-1653 A.D., and the demoralised condition of the Parisian mob, as serious a fact as any other (the conduct of the mob was a rehearsal, on a small scale, of the tragedies of 1793 A.D.). Cardinal Mazarin governed France wisely until his death in 1661 A.D., after which Louis was his own minister. Already, however, one great evil affecting French finance had obtained a footing. In 1664 A.D., there were 50,000 offices purchased, and the evil, once begun, was increased, as the money received was a present and immediate relief from financial difficulty. Louis XIV. soon assumed a high position in Europe. Lord Bolingbroke calls him "the best actor of majesty that ever filled a throne."¹ During this period France suffered from the ignorance of the true principles of political economy, first manifested by René de Birague, Chancellor in 1573 A.D., who forbade the importation of manufactured goods, and endeavoured to fix by rule the prices of goods, of food, and of wages, to the manifest injury and decline of the French manufactures and trade. The provinces were as separate foreign states to each other, exacting duties from all commodities entering or departing. The sole support of France under these restrictions was in its corn, its wines, its salt, and its hemp and flax.

ENGLAND.—The reign of Henry VIII. is remarkable for his quarrel with the Pope, and the separation of the English Church

from the Roman papacy. His son and successor, Edward VI., was a minor, and died a minor, 1547-1553 A.D. His reign was that of a Protestant king, but his ministers, the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, disgraced the Reformation by their inconsistency and cupidity. Mary, 1553-1558 A.D., the daughter of Henry VIII., earned the title of "Bloody Mary," from her fierce persecution of the Protestants in which more than three hundred suffered, chiefly at the stake. Her marriage with Philip II. of Spain, and the fear of Spanish rule, helped to fix the hatred for popery which the fires of Smithfield had called forth. By the fortunate loss of Calais to France, England was relieved of her fancied hold on France. On her death, Elizabeth, her sister, succeeded, 1558 A.D. In her reign, the Reformation was slowly, and perhaps prudently, carried out by the establishment of the National Church and by the persecution of all manifestations of dissent, whether by Papists or Puritans. The history of her reign is tiresomely full of petty treasons and conspiracies in favour of Mary, Queen of Scots, and for the restoration of popery. She unwillingly assisted the revolted Netherlands against Spain, and drew on herself the attack of the Spanish Armada, which was defeated, 1588 A.D., while her interferences in Scotland were not conducted with much wisdom, and tended to alienate her friends. Her reign was marked by the increased enterprise of sundry naval captains, as Drake, and by the general prosperity of the land, and is considered by *some* as the most glorious period of England's history. It certainly was one of the *most critical periods* of England's history, through which Elizabeth and her minister Burleigh guided the national affairs, in fact, a remarkably transition period, in which the necessities of society called for the Poor Laws, 1601 A.D. On the death of *Elizabeth*, 1603 A.D., *James VI.* of Scotland and first of England, succeeded. *Mary*, his mother, was the grand-daughter of James IV. of Scotland and of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England. She became Queen of Scotland when a child, and was educated and married in France to Francis II., king of France, and on his death returned to Scotland, married Lord Darnley, was charged with his murder, and by a revolt was driven to England, where she was kept in custody by Elizabeth, and in 1587 A.D. executed as a conspirator against the life of Elizabeth. *James I.*, of the Stuart line, endeavoured to govern England after the fashion of his Tudor predecessors, but without their tact and discretion. His reign was one of peace and progress in England, but is regarded as disgraceful, from the king's pusillanimity in refusing that help to his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, which it was impossible for him to

give. In 1625 A.D., *Charles I.* succeeded. His differences with his Parliament respecting the extent of the royal prerogative might have been peaceably settled even after the war had been carried on for some time, but the strong feeling of the majority of the soldiery and of the Parliament, belonging to the large class of the population averse to episcopacy and clerical rule, deepened during the Civil War, 1643-1649, and rendered all compromise impossible. The Parliament, suspected of an inclination to peace, was virtually superseded by the army, and the king executed. The new republic, under *Oliver Cromwell*, subdued Scotland and Ireland, and maintained in Europe the dignity of the English name. The Irish rebellion, in which many thousands of Protestants were massacred by the savage natives, who had reason enough to hate the English rule, began 1641 A.D. It was ruthlessly revenged by Oliver Cromwell in 1649 A.D. The fact of the massacre has been disputed by some, but the substantial credibility of the statements given in detail seems to be established by Mary Hicksens."¹ The hatred of the Irish mobs was, no doubt, aggravated by the difference of religion; but the massacre was not a religious, but a national outbreak. The wild Irish hated his English rulers impartially whether Catholic or Protestant. On his death, Richard, the son of Oliver, proved incompetent to rule, and in 1660 A.D. the monarchy was restored in the person of Charles II. The rule of Charles II. was disgraceful to himself, and yet more so to the nation which submitted to it. James II., his successor, attempted to establish arbitrary rule, and to restore popery. An influential party called in William of Orange (grandson, by his mother, of Charles I., and, by his marriage with Mary, the son-in-law of James), the republican chief ruler of Holland. James was deposed, and William and Mary reigned, 1688 A.D. The policy of William was that of opposition to the aggressive policy of Louis XIV. of France, in which he had the sympathy of Europe, not excepting the Pope himself. In the year 1657 A.D., the republic, jealous of the maritime power of the Dutch and irritated by the remembrance of the massacres of the English in Amboyna, in 1623 A.D., by the Dutch in that island, passed the famous Navigation Act, by which the importation of all goods into England was forbidden, except when brought in the ships of the country in which they were produced. This was a serious blow at the Dutch carrying trade. The national debt of England in 1688 A.D. was £1,325,000, with a floating debt of £640,000.

¹ "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century," 2 vols. 8vo.

V.—*The Turkish Power at its Height, under Solyman,
1528–1561 A.D., and its Decline.*

7. Had the great powers of Europe, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, been faithful to the interests of Christendom, the aggression of the Ottoman Turks would have been avenged, and these barbarians would not have been allowed to place themselves among the civilised nations of Europe. Much to be blamed is the conduct of the rulers of Austria, the nominal lords also of Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania, whose bigotry threw Hungary and Transylvania into the hands of the Turkish sultans, the nobles and people preferring the contemptuous toleration of the Turk to the priestly bigotry of the Roman Catholic rulers from the time of the death of Albert I. in 1439 A.D. Bohemia, Hungary, with Transylvania, though at times governed by their own kings in connexion with Austria, were so distracted by religious differences, and so repelled by the bigotry of the Austrian monarchs, that there was no disposition to resist the inroads of the Turks. Their histories are filled with details of rebellions against Austria, civil wars, the inroads of the Turks, and the craven submission of the princes and people to that barbarous power, assisted by the influence of France, ever leagued with the Turks against Germany. But the great powers of Europe were engaged in selfish contests for comparatively trivial objects, and the Ottoman Turks received for their ruler at that time Solyman II., the son of Selim, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. He had already acquired experience in administration, and had won the affections and respect of the people. In 1521 A.D., he took Belgrade, which Mahomet II. had failed to take. The island of Rhodes, the home and citadel of the Knights of St. John, was captured, December 25, 1522 A.D. The fame of his character, and the fact that from his position he was the natural enemy of the Austrian family and of the German emperor, induced Francis I. of France, when a prisoner at Madrid in 1525 A.D., to apply to him for help, and from that time the attacks of the Turks on Germany and Hungary were, to some extent, a diversion in favour of France. In 1526 A.D., Solyman was urgently pressed by Francis I. to invade Hungary. His army was 100,000 strong, with 300 pieces of artillery. At Mohacz, August 28, the battle was fought with Louis of Hungary, in which that king, a mere youth, with eight bishops, a large number of nobles, and 24,000 others, were slain. After taking Buda-Pest, he retired, leaving Hungary a desert, with 100,000 slaves—men, women, and

children—to sell in the Turkish slave-markets. Ferdinand of Austria claimed Hungary as the successor of Louis, but was opposed by Zapolya, who, being defeated, applied to Solyman. Ferdinand also sent ambassadors to Solyman. The arrogance of the Turkish officials was offensive. The grand vizier told the ambassadors that “every place where the hoof of the sultan’s horse once trod became at once and for ever part of the sultan’s dominions.” In 1529 A.D., Solyman entered Hungary, took Ofen, and sat down before Vienna with 250,000 men and 300 cannon, while 400 Turkish barks took possession of the river frontage. The city was defended by Palgrave Philip and Count Salm. Luckily for Vienna, the heavy rains had prevented the arrival of the most powerful cannon, so that, after repeated assaults, Solyman was obliged to withdraw from Vienna, October 14. The disappointed soldiers massacred thousands of Christian captives; the fairest girls and boys were preserved for slavery, the rest murdered or burned alive. Either through the bravery of the defenders, or through the non-arrival of the large cannons, or through the severity of the climate, which southern soldiers could not bear, Vienna was saved, and the repulse of Solyman “is an epoch in the history of the world. The tide of Turkish conquest in central Europe had now set its mark. The wave once again dashed as far, but only to be again broken and then to recede for ever.”¹ The dread of the Turkish power helped to consolidate the Austrian Empire. “After the terrible defeat of Mohacz in 1526 A.D., Hungary and Bohemia threw themselves into the arms of Ferdinand I., and so long as the conflict lasted they remained, on the whole, faithful to his successors. It was not till the peace of Sitvatorok, in 1606 A.D., that the terror of the Turkish conquest abated. And scarcely was the ink dry upon the treaty, when the commotions, which preceded the deposition of Rudolph II., gave an unmistakable sign that the light bond which had held the various races together for eighty years was being strained to the utmost.”²

8. There was a prospect of a battle between the Emperor Charles V. and Solyman in 1532 A.D. Solyman had advanced towards Vienna and had taken Güns. Charles kept his position near Vienna. Solyman turned aside, ravaged Styria, and returned to Constantinople. Ferdinand, in 1533 A.D., stooped so low that he called himself the brother of Ibrahim, Solyman’s favourite minister,

¹ Creasy, p. 170.

² S. W. Gardiner, “History of England,” vol. iii. pp. 261, 262:

and thus placed himself on a level with a slave! Solyman's wars with Persia were a relief to the terrified Austrians and Germans. The ambassador of Ferdinand writes: "'Tis only the Persian stands between us and ruin. The Turk would fain be upon us, but he keeps him back. This war with him affords us only a respite, not a deliverance." In 1541 A.D., Solyman was again in Hungary, professedly as the friend of Zapolya's son, but parcelling out the land into Turkish sanjaks. A truce for five years was concluded with Charles V., which left almost all Hungary and Transylvania to the Turks, Ferdinand binding himself to pay yearly thirty thousand ducats as tribute. To this treaty not only the Emperor Charles V., and Francis I., and the republic of Venice were parties, but the *Pope*! The Turkish power by land was aided by the command of the sea. The Mediterranean swarmed with Turkish ships, and cruisers from all the ports of North Africa, commanded by men like Barbarossa. Some of these were large vessels of one thousand to two thousand tons burden, but the galleys, by which the greatest mischief was accomplished, were generally mere row-boats, one hundred and sixty-five feet long and thirty-two feet broad, low and close to the water, capable of penetrating creeks and rivers, and able to move with great swiftness. An attack made upon Malta in 1565 A.D. failed, and in that year Solyman again invaded Hungary to defend Sigismund Zapolya from the attacks of Maximilian, the successor of Ferdinand. Although in his seventy-sixth year, he (Solyman) laid siege to Szigeth, and died in his tent, 4th September. His death was kept secret for seven weeks by the Vizier So-kolli, until Selim II. could be prepared to take possession. *Selim*, 1566-1574 A.D., was a very degenerate successor of Solyman, but the Grand Vizier So-kolli upheld the empire. In the attempt to conquer Astrachan, the Turks were brought, for the first time, into an armed collision with the Russians. The Russians had been engaged in wars with the Crim Tartars, and the Turks had simply looked on. But So-kolli had a plan of uniting the rivers Don and Wolga by a canal, through which the Turkish ships might approach the south border of the Caspian, and strike at Tabriz and the heart of the Persian power. This project would have barred the progress of Russia southward. The Turks found it necessary to besiege Astrachan, which was defended by the generals of Ivan the Terrible, 1569 A.D., and the Turkish forces were defeated. The Tartars were not anxious for the success of the Turks, and the inclemency of the climate inclined the Turks to refrain from any attempts to carry out the plan of the canal. A war with Venice ended in the conquest of Cyprus, 1570, 1571 A.D.,

in which fifty thousand Turks perished. This led to the league of Spain, Venice, and the Knights of Malta against Turkey. A fleet, consisting of two hundred and five large galleys, commanded by Don John of Austria, met (between the Gulf of Patras and the Gulf of Lepanto, 7th October, 1571 A.D.) three hundred Turkish vessels. The victory was won by the Christians; two hundred and sixty Turkish vessels were destroyed, thirty thousand Turks slain, and fifteen thousand Christian slaves captured and restored to liberty. In this battle the great Spanish author, Cervantes, fought. Through the jealousies of the confederates, and through the superior skill or the Turks in naval war, this great war was without commensurate results. The Venetians made peace with the Turks by ceding Cyprus and agreeing to pay the cost of the war, 1573 A.D. *Selim* (called the Sot) died, 1574 A.D. *Amurath III.* succeeded. The Grand Vizier So-kolli died, 1578 A.D. Queen Elizabeth of England sought the Turkish alliance in 1579, 1583, 1587, and 1588 A.D., when threatened by the Spanish Armada. *Mahomet III.* succeeded, 1595 A.D., and immediately put his nineteen brothers to death, and seven female slaves were thrown into the sea. *Achmet*, his son, 1603 A.D., made the Peace of Sitvatorok with Austria, 1606 A.D., by which the thirty thousand ducats pension was abolished, and the Austrian sovereign was styled "Padishah." Achmet died, 1617 A.D. *Othman II.* had an unhappy reign. He was murdered, 1622 A.D., and a lunatic placed on the throne, but in 1623 A.D. *Amurath IV.* succeeded, then *Ibrahim*, 1640-1648 A.D. In the reign of his successor, *Mahomet IV.*, the war with Venice for the possession of Candia commenced, 1645 A.D. Mohammed Kiuprili, the Grand Vizier, and his son Ahmed, 1661-1676 A.D., governed Turkey. In the war with Austria, 1663 A.D., the Turks were defeated at St. Gothard, on the Laufritz and Raab, 1st August, 1664 A.D., by Montecuculi, with a loss of ten thousand men and fifteen pieces of cannon. After this a truce for twenty years. Candia was conquered after a siege of twenty years, 1665 A.D. In the wars with Poland the Turks had, in the end, the advantage, and by the peace of 1676 A.D. the Ukraine was yielded to Turkey, but was not long held, as in 1686 A.D. it was given up to Russia. A revolt of the Hungarians under Tekeli against the bigoted tyranny of Leopold led to the expedition under Kara Mustapha, in 1682 A.D., which laid siege to Vienna. The Turkish force consisted of two hundred and seventy-five thousand men, and, including camp followers, nearly half a million. Vienna had a garrison of eleven thousand men. The siege lasted from 15th July to 12th September. Sobieski, King of Poland, came to the aid

of the city with seventy thousand men, including the force of the Duke of Warsaw and some German commanders. From Mount Kalemberg the whole army of Kara Mustapha was visible to Sobieski, who perceived the vizier's want of military skill. The attack followed, and the mass of the Turkish army fled in hopeless rout, 12th September. The Emperor Leopold, who had humbly begged the help of Sobieski, displayed on this occasion the stupid pride common to the Spanish and German branch of his family (both of which now happily extinct in the direct male lines),—he scarcely noticed his deliverer. "All Europe took an interest in the deliverance of Vienna. Louis XIV. alone was greatly confounded, and none of his ministers had sufficient courage to bear the news to him. . . . Credible writers assert that in the tent of the grand vizier letters were found from the king containing the entire plan for the siege of Vienna. . . . Austria lost eighty-seven thousand individuals, carried away into slavery, of which fifty thousand were children and twenty-six thousand women and young girls. Of the latter alone two hundred and four belonged to the families of the nobility."¹ Louis's character as a traitor to his professed Catholicism is not saved by his having sent a fleet to help Candia some twenty years previous. No one supposes that he desired to increase the power of the Turks, except when that power was necessary to his ambitious designs. The Duke of Lorraine, the commander of the Austrian army, reconquered Hungary, defeated the Turks in the old battle-field of Mohacz, 12th August, 1687 A.D. Solymán II. succeeded Mahomet IV., in 1687 A.D. He was engaged in war with Austria at the conclusion of this period, when Turkey had ceased to be a power dangerous to Europe.

VI.—*The Thirty Years' War in Germany and Central Europe
with the brief predominance of Sweden.*

9. This war arose out of the religious jealousies of the Romish and Protestant princes and people; it was not confined to Germany, as the points in dispute interested, more or less, France, Spain, England, and Scandinavia. "It was not, as Protestant writers delight to affirm, simply the resistance of an oppressed people to the forcible reimposition of Catholicism; neither was it, as Catholic historians assert, the defence of legitimate order against violence and fraud. It was a mortal struggle between anarchy and despotism. It was the misfortune of the Protestantism which sprang into ex-

¹ Kohlrausch, pp. 526, 527.

istence in the dominions of the House of Austria that its fate was intimately united with that of an anarchical aristocracy. Nowhere in Europe had the Protestant clergy so little influence. . . . To the great feudal families the adoption of the new religion had commended itself as the readiest way of shaking off the supremacy of the Crown. It gave them upon their own estates all the power which had been assumed by the German princes within their territories. It enabled them to seize Church property by force or fraud, and to trample at pleasure upon the wishes and feelings of their serfs. It annihilated the authority of the sovereign and of the clergy, to the sole profit of the landowner. Nor would the evil results of the victory of the aristocracy have ended here. Entailing, as it would necessarily have done, the dissolution of the ties which bound German Austria to Hungary and Bohemia, it would have thrown the whole of Eastern Europe into confusion, and would have reopened the road into the heart of Germany to the Mussulman hordes."¹ This is an impartial statement of the case of the two parties, politically, and in its bearing on the relations of Germany towards its Eastern neighbours and enemies, but it does not give sufficient weight to the religious feeling which, if secondary and comparatively little among the nobility and rulers, was, however, a vital point with a very large body of serious and thoughtful men. There was sufficient reason for the disquiet and dissatisfaction of all the parties concerned; but the solution of all the difficulties arising out of the opposite claims of the Churches and the states of Germany might have been possible, had Germany possessed at that time an emperor with average ability and a trustworthy character. The interference of foreign powers, with sinister designs upon German territory, which made a peaceable settlement impossible, was occasioned by the utter distrust of the imperial court, all but universal in Germany. Matthias, the emperor, 1612-1619 A.D., was undecided, and cramped by his nephew and successor, Ferdinand II., who was a thorough Romanist, of more than ordinary energy and activity; both of them equally incapacitated for the exercise of a moderating influence over the extreme parties whose religious and political rights were so difficult to reconcile. It had been decided by the Peace of Passau (1552 A.D.) that the Protestant princes who had possessed themselves of the ecclesiastical property in their several states should be freed from any claim of the Romish Church, but no provision had been made as to future changes of opinion on the part of the princes, and the con-

¹ Gardiner, vol. iii. pp. 262, 263.

sequent action resulting from novel circumstances. The Romanists were naturally annoyed at the continuance of the process of secularising Church lands, by which about two hundred monasteries had been dissolved in the Palatinate and North Germany, while the Protestants were equally annoyed at the evident design of the emperor and of the Catholic princes to stamp out Protestantism in their respective territories. A Protestant union in 1608 A.D. was the result of the general alarm, and then a Catholic league in opposition to the Protestant union. Open war began in Prague (Bohemia) on the 23rd May, 1618 A.D., when the two regents acting for Ferdinand were thrown out of the window of the great hall in the Castle of Prague, and the Bohemians chose Frederick the Elector Palatine (son-in-law of James I., King of England) for their king. In 1620 A.D. Frederick was driven out of Bohemia, placed under the ban of the empire, and lost his hereditary electorate. To Bohemia the consequences were equally serious; twenty-four nobles were beheaded; the estates of seven hundred and twenty-eight of that class were confiscated; five hundred noble families and thirty-six thousand of the burgher class found it expedient to leave Bohemia and settle in Saxony and the neighbouring Protestant states; all the Protestant clergy were banished, and Protestantism forbidden. The bestowal of the electorate, forfeited by Frederick, upon Maximilian of Bavaria gave an additional Catholic vote in the diet, and insured a Catholic majority. Ferdinand looked upon himself as appointed by God to be the champion of the Catholic Church and the restorer of the ancient faith. This he openly and honestly avowed. The Protestants of the northern German states, alarmed at the persecutions in the imperial territories, and unable of themselves to resist a zealous Catholic emperor supported by the Catholic princes, called in the help of Christian IV. of Denmark. He was defeated by Tilly and Wallenstein, and obliged to make peace at Lubeck, 1629 A.D. This crisis "revealed the incapacity of the Emperor Ferdinand to become the second founder of the Empire. He might have been the head of a united Germany, he might have given renewed life to the old national institutions, and have made the cold and calculating aggressions of Richelieu and Louis XIV. impossible. Lorraine and Alsace would still have remained German soil, and, what was of far greater consequence, two centuries of moral and political anarchy would have been spared to the noble German nation."¹ But the Emperor Ferdinand, emboldened by these successes, issued the

¹ Gardiner, vol. v. p. 166.

Edict of Restitution on the 6th March, 1629 A.D. By this edict two archbishoprics (Magdeburg and Bremen), twelve bishoprics, and one hundred and twenty benefices and monasteries were taken from the Protestants and restored to the Romish Church. The city of Augsburg and the duchy of Würtemberg were compelled to abolish Protestant worship and restore the monastic institutions. Wallenstein was opposed to this edict as most impolitic, and was dismissed, September, 1630 A.D. Meanwhile, the probable reconstruction of the empire under a powerful emperor was viewed with alarm by France and by Sweden. To Cardinal Richelieu the interests of the Romish Church were secondary to the interests of France. GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS of Sweden had under his rule part of what is now Prussian territory, with the German colonies of Ingria, Carelia, and Livonia. Already the emperor had mortified him by the rejection of his intercession in favour of his cousins the Dukes of Mecklenburg, and by the help which Wallenstein had afforded to the Poles, his enemies. He naturally feared for the interests of Protestantism, of which he was a sincere professor. He landed in Pomerania, and entered into a treaty with France, 23rd January, 1631 A.D., by which he obtained a subsidy, engaging on his part "to leave unmolested the Catholic religion where he found it established, and to respect the constitution of the empire as it was before Ferdinand's victories." On the 20th May Tilly had taken Magdeburg by storm, the city was destroyed, and the horrors which followed baffle description. Men, women, children massacred, babies taken from the breast and hurled into the flames, and every possible cruelty and torment continued for a day and a night, twenty thousand human beings slaughtered, and nothing left of the city but the cathedral and a convent. This event united all the Protestants to Gustavus. He defeated Tilly at Breitenfeld, 17th September. Wallenstein from his retreat entered into negotiations with Gustavus, willing to co-operate with him to unite and strengthen the empire on the foundation of religious liberty—quite ready, if necessary, to dethrone the House of Austria; but these plans were interrupted by his reinstatement in the command of the imperial armies November, 1631 A.D. "The plan of Gustavus was to form a *Corpus Evangelicorum*, a league of German Protestant cities and princes to stand up against the renewal of the overpowering tyranny of the emperor. If his scheme had been carried out, Gustavus would have been a nobler Napoleon, with a confederation, not of the Rhine, but of the Baltic, around him. . . . The establishment of Protestantism in Europe as a power safe from attack by reason of its own strength,

was the cause for which he found it worth while to live, and for which, besides and beyond the greatness of his own Swedish nation, he was ready to die. It may be that, after all, he was happy in the opportunity of his death.”¹

Gustavus defeated Wallenstein at Lutzen, Nov. 16, 1632 A.D., but his death on the field of battle was of itself a victory to the cause for which Wallenstein fought. Quarrels among the Protestant leaders ensued. Bernhard of Weimar desired to form a new duchy or Franconia, composed of the two bishoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg. A new league was formed by the cities of Swabia, Franconia, and the Upper Rhine with Sweden, for mutual support, April 23, 1633 A.D. Soon after, the Elector of Saxony entered into negotiations with Wallenstein, who, on his part, was anxious to dictate a peace with or without the consent of the emperor. It was proposed to cancel the offensive Edict of Restitution, to cede a few places on the Baltic coast to Sweden, and to restore a portion of the Palatinate to the son of the deposed elector, June 16, 1633 A.D. “Such a peace would, doubtless, have been highly disagreeable to adventurers like Bernhard of Weimar, but it would have given the Protestants of Germany all that they could reasonably expect to gain, and would have given the House of Austria one last chance of taking up the championship of national interests against foreign aggression.”¹ Cardinal Richelieu cared chiefly to see Germany too weak to support Spain, or to oppose in any way the aggrandisement of France, for which he aimed to procure the left bank of the Rhine. Wallenstein’s plan failed, because no one had any confidence in him. “It was a strange, Cassandra-like position to be wiser than all the world, and to be listened to by no one, to suffer the fate of supreme intelligence, which touches no moral chord and awakens no human sympathy. . . . He had determined to force a reasonable peace upon Germany; with the emperor, if it might be so; without him, if he refused his support.” In Vienna, his equivocal conduct led the emperor to distrust him as a traitor. His subordinate generals were gained over by the court, and, on February 25, 1634 A.D., WALLENSTEIN was assassinated while labouring under an attack of gout, at Eger, his favourite residence. “Thus, the attempt to snatch at a wise and beneficent peace by mingled force and craft failed . . . and is only excusable that there were no national institutions at the head of which Wallenstein could have placed himself, and not even a chance of creating such institutions afresh.”² The imperial power

¹ S. R. Gardiner, “Thirty Years’ War,” pp. 161, 162.

² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

seemed for a time to recover itself after the defeat of Bernhard by the King of Hungary at Nordlingen, Sept. 6, 1634 A.D.; and a peace was patched up at Prague, May 30, 1635 A.D., between the emperor and the Elector of Saxony, which was regarded with displeasure by the other princes and states concerned. The war had now degenerated, from a war for great ideas and principles, into a struggle for territorial acquisitions, in which the rights of the Protestants were little regarded. It soon became merely a struggle between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon. Eleven days before the Peace of Prague, the French herald delivered a declaration of war at Brussels against the Emperor and Spain. Richelieu desired the possession of Alsace and Lorraine as a matter of primary importance, "not because, as in our days, Germany needed a bulwark against France, or France needed a bulwark against Germany, but because Germany was not strong enough to prevent these territories from being the highway of intercourse between Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. The command of the sea was in the hands of the Dutch, and the valley of the Upper Rhine was the artery through which the life-blood of the Spanish monarchy flowed. If Spain or the emperor, the friend of Spain, could hold that valley, men and munitions of warfare would flow freely to the Netherlands to support the Cardinal Infant in his struggle with the Dutch. If Richelieu could lay his hand heavily upon it, he had seized his enemy by the throat, and could choke him as he lay."¹ So the war continued after the death of the Emperor Ferdinand, 1637 A.D., and of Richelieu and of his master, Louis XIII., 1643 A.D., for the most part in favour of France, until the Peace of Westphalia, Oct. 24, 1648 A.D. (1) The religious difficulty was settled fairly. New Year's Day, 1624 A.D., was the day from which all ecclesiastical benefices were to remain as they were *then*, whether Catholic or Protestant; (2) the question of toleration was left to the rulers of the different territories; (3) the Upper Palatinate was united to Bavaria, and an eighth Electorate, the Lower Palatinate, was created for Charles Louis, the worthless son of the Elector Frederick; (4) Western Pomerania, with Bremen and Verdun, were given to Sweden; (5) Brandenburg acquired East Pomerania, Camin, with Halberstadt, Minden, and a large portion of Magdeburg; (6) Saxony acquired the rest of Magdeburg and Lusatia; (7) France retained Alsace (but not Strasburg); Philipsburg received a French garrison. Metz, Toul, and Verdun were formally ceded to France; (8) the empire gave up all claim to Switzerland and the Netherlands;

¹ Gardiner, 170, 177, 189.

(9) the Imperial Chamber was to consist of twenty-six Catholic and twenty-four Protestant members. Six Protestants were to have a place in the Aulic Council, and an equal number of each party in the diet; (10) the virtual independence of the various states of the empire was recognised. The great mistake in this treaty was the disgraceful contempt for the rights of conscience, in leaving the question of toleration to the decisions of the sovereign of each state, so that in the hereditary estates of the emperor Catholicism was enforced by an edict in 1652 A.D., on pain of death, but Protestants were allowed to expatriate themselves to Transylvania, a debateable land of the empire and Turkey. Still, with all its imperfections, the peace was an absolute necessity. Already one-half or two-thirds of the population had been killed or dispersed, and the demoralisation of the remaining population was a still greater evil. As a sample—on one occasion an army of 40,000 men was followed by no less than 140,000 men, women, and children, who, without homes, were dependent on the soldiers, through the gains of immorality, or by the plunder of the peasantry. No medical assistance or hospitals were provided, for it cost less to enrol a new soldier than to cure an old one. The loss of property as reported seems incredible. As a specimen on a limited scale—in a district in Thuringia, out of 1,717 houses in 19 villages, only 627 were left; out of 1,773 families only 316 remained; out of 1,402 oxen, only 244 remained; of 4,616 sheep all were gone: the working classes had disappeared, and the manufactories had been burned down. Immense provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay waste and uninhabited, and were only by slow degrees repopled by foreign emigrants or by the soldiery. In Würtemberg, 354,000 men are said to have perished between 1634 to 1641 A.D.; and the duchy, which had half a million of inhabitants in 1618 A.D., had, in 1641 A.D., only 48,000. Even six years after the peace, when many of the scattered people had returned, there were fifty thousand households less than there were before the battle of Nordlingen, in 1634 A.D. In Franconia it is said that the Estates in 1650 A.D. abolished the celibacy of the clergy, and permitted each man to marry two wives. The depopulation seemed incredible; but if Saxony lost 900,000 in two years, and Bohemia had only one-fourth of her population left, and if every prominent town had suffered to the same extent, it cannot be denied, especially as traces of the desolation of this war remained for 150 years after. The very language had become adulterated, foreign dresses generally adopted. The local Estates had lost their authority, and the people their local old liberties. The nobles took service under the princes, and the princes

no longer cared for the emperor, or regarded German interests. "Germany had lost all save her hopes for the future." "Properly, indeed, it was no longer an empire at all, but a confederation, and that of the lowest sort, for it had no common treasury, no efficient common tribunals, no means of coercing a refractory member; its states were of different religions, were governed according to different forms, and were administered judicially and financially without any regard to each other. The traveller in central Germany now is amused to find every hour or two . . . that he has passed out of one and into another of its miniature kingdoms. Much more surprised and embarrassed would he have been a century ago, when, instead of the *present* thirty-two [now yet more consolidated under Prussia, whose king is emperor], there were three hundred petty principalities between the Alps and the Baltic, each with its own laws, its own courts (in which the ceremonious pomp of Versailles was faintly reproduced), its little armies, its separate coinage, its tolls and custom-houses on the frontiers, its crowd of meddlesome and pedantic officials, presided over by a prime minister who was generally the unworthy favourite of his prince and the pensioner of some foreign court. This vicious system, which paralysed the trade, the literature, and the political thought of Germany, had been forming itself for some time, but did not become fully established until the Peace of Westphalia, by emancipating the princes from imperial control, had made them despots in their own territories. The impoverishment of the inferior nobility and the decline of the commercial cities, caused by a war that had lasted a whole generation, removed every counterpoise to the power of the electors and princes, who were absolutism supreme. . . . After 1648 A.D. the provincial estates or parliaments became obsolete in most of their principalities, and powerless in the rest. Germany was forced to drink to its very dregs the cup of feudalism—feudalism from which all the feelings that once ennobled it had departed. . . . The Diet, originally an assembly of magnates, meeting from time to time like our early English Parliament, became, in 1654 A.D., a permanent body, at which the electors, princes, and cities were represented by their envoys. In other words, it was now not a national council but an international congress of diplomatists. . . . Properly speaking, it (the empire) has no history after this; and the history of the particular states of Germany, which takes its place, is one of the dreariest chapters in the history of mankind. It would be hard to find, from the Peace of Westphalia to the French Revolution, a single grand character, or a single noble enterprise, a single sacrifice made to great public

interests, a single instance in which the welfare of nations was preferred to the selfish passions of their princes. . . . When we ask for an account of the political life of Germany in the eighteenth century, we hear nothing but the scandals at buzzing courts and the wrangling of diplomatists at never-ending congresses.”¹

We may remark that this war was the last of the *Religious Wars*, in which the object was the extinction of Protestantism in Europe. Under Louis XIV. commenced purely political wars, in which the parties engaged, though not unaffected by a regard to the interests of their respective creeds, were mainly influenced by political considerations. It is a relief to escape from the history of the Catholic wars of the Philips, and the Guises, the Alvas, and others, varied by treasons, assassinations, and massacres. The subsequent wars, though mostly unjust at well as unnecessary, were caused on purely avowed political motives, free from all ostensible reference to the interests of the two great religious divisions of Europe: they were wars of Protestants and Catholics against Protestants and Catholics.

VII.—*The aggressive Policy and Wars of Louis XIV. (the Great) of France, and the resistance offered by England, Germany, and Holland.*

10. LOUIS XIV., from the death of Cardinal Mazarin, was his own prime minister. “He had the most extravagant ideas of the nature and extent of the royal prerogative. Regarding his authority from Heaven, he desired to concentrate in himself individually all the powers and functions of government (*L'état, c'est moi*). Never in the history of the world was there a more complete, nor, on the whole, a more favourable or successful specimen of absolute, irresponsible monarchy than that established by Louis XIV.” (1) He supported Portugal in its struggle against Spain for independence, and persuaded Charles II. of England, by his marriage, to follow his example, the object of Louis being to injure Spain; (2) Charles II. of England was his pensioned tool, and held back, as far as he could, the resistance of England; (3) Louis supported Holland against England, from no love of Holland, but from a desire to drive Charles II. into a participation in his own plans of conquest, 1667; (4) on the death of Philip IV. of Spain, 1665 A.D., he laid claim to the Spanish Netherlands. This brought upon him *the triple alliance* of England, Holland, and Sweden, and which led to a peace by which Louis was obliged to be satisfied by a portion of Spanish Flanders (May 2, 1668 A.D.), by the Treaty of Aix-la-

¹ Bryce, pp. 342–345.

Chapelle. This triple alliance was the work of the Grand Pensionary of Holland, John de Witt, and the English Sir William Temple; (5) the war against Holland was preceded by a private treaty with Charles II., and in 1672 A.D. commenced with the invasion of Holland by an army of 100,000 men, with Turenne, Condé, and Luxemburg at their head. The demands of Louis were too degrading to be listened to. They show the vanity, the insolence, and the intolerance of the man whom his flatterers called Louis le Grand. "He required a cession of all the Dutch provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, and of some towns and districts on the right bank, an instant payment of twenty millions of livres, a free passage through the whole territory of the states, by land or water, by highway or canal, for all his subjects at all times, the abolition of the reformed religion, and the establishment of Catholicism, and, moreover, insisted that every year an embassy should be sent to Paris to present him with a gold medal, the inscription on which should confess that the Dutch nation held their liberties at his pleasure."¹ Holland was brought to the brink of ruin. The populace of the Hague murdered the De Witts, and placed William of Orange in the stadtholdership. "Moderate, self-commanding, taciturn, firm, bold, indefatigable, prepared for every great exploit, this young warrior commanded confidence from the commencement of his career . . . the love of independence, and the hatred of foreign dominion broke out nowhere with so much ardour as in the *province* of Holland, and in the city of Amsterdam, where the nobles and the more wealthy citizens were resolved to emigrate to the East Indies, rather than to submit to France."² This desperate measure was proposed to the States-General by William. "The Hollanders might survive Holland." . . . The dykes were opened—the whole country was one great lake, from which the cities with their ramparts and steeples rose like islands. The invaders were forced to save themselves from destruction by a precipitate retreat, 1673 A.D.³ Luxemburg, in his retreat, "abandoned Bodegrave and Svammerdam to his soldiers. They sacked every house, set fire to the towns, and subjected the wretched inhabitants to every kind of misery. Their barbarity made so deep an impression on the whole province that, forty years after, Voltaire, while travelling in Holland, saw spelling-books in which the fate of these towns was described, that the very children might learn from their cradles to loathe the name of the merciless French nation."⁴

¹ Yonge, vol. ii. p. 237.² Rotteck, vol. iii. p. 205.³ Macaulay, vol. i. p. 219.⁴ Yonge, vol. ii. p. 231.

(6) The emperor, Spain, and sundry German powers leagued with Holland, and the contest was removed to the Rhine and the Spanish Netherlands. Ruyter fought three great naval battles against the English and French fleets, June and August, 1673 A.D. The English Parliament compelled Charles to make peace with Holland, 1674. In 1678-1679 A.D. Louis was compelled to make peace with Holland at Nimeguen, then with the emperor, and Sweden, and Spain, by treaties at *Nimeguen* and *St. Germain-en-Laye*, and *Fontainebleau*. By these treaties, though Holland recovered its losses, Spain gave up to France Franche Comté and portions of the Netherlands. Lorraine remained under France; Sweden was protected by France, and Denmark and Brandenburg compelled to make peace with it. It was in this war that Turenne (French general), 1674 A.D., laid waste the Palatinate, "the whole of the country along the river Saar, to such an extent, that throughout a space of more than seventy miles nothing else was to be seen but burning villages and fields . . . the unfortunate inhabitants were obliged to seek refuge in the forests, where a great number of them perished through famine and disease. . . . Charles Louis, elector-palatine, who, from his castle of Friedricksburg, beheld the smoking cities and villages wantonly set in flames by Turenne, sent that commander a challenge, which was refused, Turenne returning his customary excuse for his conduct, 'These things always happen in war time.'"¹ In 1677 A.D. the French garrisons in Germany systematically plundered and destroyed all in their vicinity. From four hundred to five hundred villages were burnt and destroyed. After the Peace of Nimeguen, in which Louis had reached the height of his glory, the most shameful times to Germany and Spain followed. Louis continued to occupy several places which he had promised to cede. He subjected, contrary to the Peace of Westphalia, the imperial nobility and imperial cities, and established "*Chambers of re-union*" in Metz, Breisach, Besançon, and Tournay, to search out and recover all that formerly, even in the most remote times, had formed part of the countries ceded to France. In this way several districts and towns in Brabant and Flanders were taken away. In this way the Elector of Trèves, and Spain, and Sweden suffered loss. Louis claimed twenty-two towns, and Strasburg, which latter he seized, 1681 A.D. The emperor, harassed by the Turks, and not supported by the princes, agreed to this by the Treaty of Ratisbon, 1684 A.D. (7) But, in 1685 A.D., followed

¹ Kohlrausch and Menzel.

the revocation of the toleration to Protestantism, granted by the Edict of Nantes (passed in 1598 A.D., and that of Nîmes, 1629 A.D.). In this Louis not only shocked the feeling of the Protestants of Europe, but also inflicted an injury on France from which it has suffered to this day. The public and private exercises of the Protestant religion were forbidden, the churches demolished, the ministers banished, the children of Protestants compelled to attend Catholic schools. The Protestants were forbidden to emigrate on pain of the galleys for men, and imprisonment and confiscation of property for the women. Dragoons were sent into Protestant districts to convert the people "by gentle compulsion." About 500,000 Protestants emigrated to England, Holland, and North Germany, carrying with them the industries in silk, &c., which up to that time had greatly flourished in France. In 1686 A.D. the German princes formed the *League of Augsburg* (July 9, 1686 A.D.) against France, to resist the continued insults offered to the empire by Louis XIV., to which Spain and Sweden were parties. Holland did not then join, as William was preparing to act as circumstances might require in England, and wished not prematurely to rouse Louis to any open breach. The expedition to England by William, which resulted in the deposition of James II. and the appointment of William and Mary, 1688, 1689 A.D., might have been prevented had Louis not neglected "the point on which the fate of the whole civilised world depended, and had made a great display of power, promptitude, and energy in a quarter where the most splendid achievements could produce nothing more than an illumination and a *Te Deum*. . . . Marshal Melac received orders to turn one of the fairest regions of Europe into a wilderness. Fifteen years earlier Turenne had ravaged part of that fine country . . . these ravages were mere sports in comparison with the horrors of this second devastation. The French commander announced to near half a million of human beings that he granted them three days of grace, and that within that time they must shift for themselves. Soon the roads and fields, which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women, and children flying from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger . . . meanwhile the work of destruction had begun. The flames went up from every market-place, hamlet, every parish church, every country seat within the devoted provinces. The fields where the corn had been sown were ploughed up; the orchards were hewn down. No promise of a harvest waved over the fertile plains near what had once been Frankenthal. Not a vine, not an almond-tree was to be seen on the slopes of the sunny hills round

what had once been Heidelberg. No respect was shown to palaces, to temples, to monasteries, to infirmaries, to beautiful works of art, to monuments of the illustrious dead. The far-famed castle of the elector-palatine was turned into a heap of ruins ; the adjoining hospital was sacked ; the provisions, the medicines, the pallets where the sick lay were destroyed. The very stones of which Mannheim had been built were flung into the Rhine. The magnificent Cathedral of Spires perished, and with it the marble sepulchres of eight Cæsars. The coffins were broken open and the ashes scattered to the winds. Trèves, with its fine bridge, its Roman amphitheatre, its venerable churches, convents, and colleges, was doomed to the same fate. But, before this last crime had been perpetrated, Louis was recalled to a better mind by the execrations of all the neighbouring realms, by the silence and confusion of his flatterers, and by the expostulations of his wife.”¹ This was early in 1689 A.D.—the destruction had commenced, October, 1688 A.D. Meanwhile William was King of England, and the life and spirit of the Augsburg League. Such was the amount of feeling against the ambition of Louis that even the Pope, Innocent XI., disgusted with the arbitrary conduct of Louis in maintaining “the right of sanctuary” in Rome, favoured the enterprise of William, and is believed to have contributed money towards it. Masses were offered in the chapel of the Romish representative at Hague for the success of the expedition, the object of which was to depose a Catholic king. “There were no less than 4,000 Catholics in the army with which William came over to defend the Protestantism of England.”²

VIII.—*The first appearance of Russia and Prussia in European Politics.*

II. Two new powers, the one *nearly* the most ancient of the European monarchies, the other the most recent, not as yet at the close of this period raised to the dignity of a kingdom, were meanwhile preparing to take important positions in the European family.

RUSSIA had already thrown off the Tartar yoke, and the work of consolidation begun by Ivan the Great, 1462–1505 A.D., had been continued by *Vasili Ivanovitch*, 1505–1533 A.D., who exchanged embassies with all the sovereigns of the west, and was friendly with the sultans of Turkey, Selim and Solyman, and with Baber, the Great Mogul of India. *Ivan IV., the Terrible*, 1533–1584 A.D., conquered

¹ Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 322.

² Lecky, vol. i. p. 272.

the khanates of Astrachan and Kasan, instituted the Strelitza 1546 A.D., an imperial body guard. The Don Cossacks were united to the empire, and Yermak, one of them in his employ, invaded and added Siberia to the empire; the peasantry became fixed to the soil as serfs, 1556 A.D. The Swedes and Poles obtained some advantages in war. Batory of Transylvania also successfully attacked him, but in the end he triumphed over all his enemies. From the cruelty of his administration he received the epithet of *Terrible*. The Germans having shut him out from the Baltic, *the English opened the White Sea to him*. Sir Hugh Willoughby and Chancellor entered the unknown White Sea, and from the monastery of St. Nicholas (where now Archangel stands) learnt that they were in Russia, 1553 A.D. Chancellor was presented to Ivan, and intercourse with England at once began, and a trade also with Persia by the Caspian. Chancellor and Sigismund, King of Poland, "expressed their forebodings of the peril to which the independence of other states might be exposed if once those rude masses acquired the arms and the discipline of civilised war."¹ *It was in this reign that the first collision with the Turks took place at Astrachan*. After a period of civil war and Polish invasion, *Michael Romanof*, descendant by the female side from the Ivans and the Ruricks, was elected Czar, 1613 A.D. *Peter the Great*, 1682 A.D., first made Europe acquainted with Russia, and made himself master of the useful arts by which civilised Europe had been made so superior in civilisation to Russia and similar barbaric lands. In his own nature as brutal as his own nobles (boyards), and unchecked by any considerations which might have interfered with his innovating reforms, he applied himself to supply the material wants of Russia. His object was to form a navy, to remodel his army, to introduce artificers as the teachers of his people; and, while doing this, he himself remained the unaltered savage, not going too far ahead of his people, and thus maintaining his hold upon their sympathies. Emancipating himself from the control of his sister Sophia, he laboured to extend his territory to the Baltic, and thus connecting his country more directly with Western Europe. His first wars were, therefore, with Sweden. He looked forward to the Black Sea and to access to the Mediterranean; hence his wars with the Turks.

PRUSSIA.—The electorate of Brandenburg, purchased by Frederick, Count of Hohenzollern, from the Emperor Sigismund in 1411 A.D., for one hundred thousand ducats, was the remote beginning of the

¹ Creasy, p. 214.

kingdom of Prussia. In 1511 A.D., Albert, the brother of the elector, was chosen Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers. In 1515 A.D. he embraced Protestantism and became Duke of Prussia, holding it as a fief of Poland. His line was extinct and reverted to Brandenburg under John Sigismund. The "Great Elector," Frederick William, grandson of Sigismund, made Prussia independent of Poland, 1657 A.D. He began a standing army, gradually increased to twenty thousand men, so wisely managed the finances as to avoid debt, encouraged emigrants and discharged soldiers to cultivate the lands left waste by the Thirty Years' War, received artisans from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and thus introduced new manufactures—improved internal communications by his roads and canals. He died 1688 A.D., having prepared the way for the assumption of the kingly dignity by his successor.

The contemporary histories of sundry nations now follow.

12. THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS, DENMARK AND NORWAY, remained united under the monster Christian II. (brother-in-law of Charles V.), until he was expelled in 1523 A.D. Nine years after, in attempting to regain his throne, he was taken prisoner and confined in a dark dungeon in the Castle Sonderberg, on the island of Alsen, where he died after seventeen years' confinement, 1532–1549 A.D. He had been popular among the people at large. The government of Denmark, after his deposition and the election of his uncle Frederick I., Duke of Holstein and Schleswick, was an aristocracy of the high nobles and clergy, to whom the king was subordinate. The citizens were degraded, the peasantry were reduced to serfdom. There was no diet held from 1536 A.D. to 1660 A.D.; only an Assembly of the Lords. The reformed religion was established in the reign of Frederick I. Christian III. completed the union of Norway and Denmark, abolished episcopacy, and annexed its property to the crown. With this reign began the complications respecting the succession to Schleswick and Holstein. In these duchies there was no law of primogeniture, and hence they had to be divided among the younger princes of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, to which the king belonged. By a treaty, 1554 A.D., with his brother, the king annexed the duchies to the kingdom by a *perpetual union*, which gave him and his successors a right of co-administration. Frederick II. made peace with Sweden, 1590 A.D. Christian IV., for a time, took part in the Thirty Years' War, until beaten and compelled by the Austrian troops to make peace at Lubeck, 1629. In a war with Sweden he lost Gothland and Bremen, and Verden; and the power of Denmark was reduced

very low, 1645 A.D. Though unfortunate, he was a patriotic and popular king, a patron of science, learning and commerce. Frederick III., 1648 A.D., successfully repelled the Swedes, and made peace 1660 A.D. His great triumph was over the aristocracy of his kingdom. There had been general discontent on the part of the citizens and peasantry. A general diet of the three orders of nobles, clergy, and peasants met at Copenhagen, 8th September, 1660 A.D.; the peasantry were not represented. Stormy discussions followed on the equalisation of taxation and on the abolition of the immunities of the nobles. Otto Krag, one of the senators, upbraided the commoners as "slaves," who ought "to keep within their own limits." This caused a tumult of indignation; the two leaders of the popular party retired from the senate-house, with the deputies of their orders (Svane, Bishop of Zeeland, and Nusen, a merchant and burgomaster). They resolved to make the crown hereditary, to abolish the restrictions on the king. The senate refused to sanction these proposals. The nobility attempted to retire to their estates, but were not allowed to leave the city. The senate and the nobility were obliged to agree to the resolution of the two inferior orders. The king received a sort of dictatorship, authorising him to regulate the new constitutional charter as seemed best to him. The nobility, the clergy, and burgesses, each drew up separate statements of the franchises they desired to have recognised. The homage of all classes followed 18th October and 15th November, and the king was declared absolute sovereign. This law, though arbitrary in theory, was in practice greatly modified. Frederick III. exercised his power with mildness. Nor did the people ever repine at the sacrifices they had made, conscious as they were that he had by his valour saved the kingdom from becoming a province of Sweden. This is the favourable account. His enemies regard his government and character with detestation. Christian V. succeeded, 1670 A.D.; he sought to imitate the state of Louis XIV. He was engaged in a war with Charles XI., of Sweden, which ended in 1679 A.D. He created numerous countships and baronies, and incurred considerable debts.

SWEDEN, under the Vasa family, acquired a preponderance in the north. John VIII., 1569-1592 A.D., was engaged in war with Russia for the possession of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria. Sigismund, who succeeded him, was already King of Poland and a Catholic. Charles, his uncle, was made king as Charles IX. His son, the great Gustavus Adolphus, succeeded, 1611 A.D. His main history is connected with the Thirty Years' War. On his death, 1644 A.D.,

Christiana, his daughter, with Oxenstiern as Regent, governed. Christiana, a frivolous, unsettled woman, abdicated her throne 1654 A.D., and left the country, abjuring Protestantism, and dying in Rome, 1689 A.D. Charles X., 1656 A.D., was engaged in wars with Poland, Russia, and Denmark, and died 1660 A.D. Charles XI., 1660 A.D., was a minor until 1675 A.D. The diets of 1680, 1681, 1686 A.D., manifested great hatred of the nobility, which led to a change of government in 1680–1693 A.D. The Estates of the Kingdom gave up the executive power to the king, 1680 A.D., and in 1693 A.D. declared him absolute.

THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES, commonly called Holland, together with the southern provinces of the Netherlands, revolted from Spain in 1566 A.D. The attempts of Philip II. of Spain and of his Viceroy, Alva, to put down heresy and discontent, have been already stated. The southern provinces, being Catholic, submitted to Spain; but the seven northern provinces being Protestant remained firm under their leader, William (the Silent) of Orange, and in 1579 A.D., by the famous Act of Union, laid the foundation of the Dutch republic. He was a truly great man, a Protestant, but tolerant of all forms of Christian belief, looking upon them as subordinate to the great principles of civil and religious liberty. He was assassinated at Delft, 10th July, 1584, *with the consent and approval of Philip II. of Spain*. (By the truce with Spain in 1609 A.D., the independence of the republic was virtually admitted). In trade Holland was the successful rival of the Hanse Towns, and became the mart and general merchant, supplying the Baltic States and Western Germany with the products of other lands. Even in 1586, 1587 A.D., in the time of the severest contest with Spain, commerce was but partially affected. In that year eight hundred ships entered Dutch harbours; new towns were built; agriculture flourished; while in the Netherlands trade and manufacture were almost destroyed and agriculture neglected, so that much of the country became desolate, and so remained for some time. In 1594 A.D. the Dutch first sent ships to India, and in 1598 they sent eighty. In 1602 A.D. the East India Company was formed with great powers—they occupied Bassorah, Batavia and the Moluccas, and monopolised the trade of Japan. Maurice, the son of William, as stadtholder, carried on the war with great ability. In civil affairs he was unfortunately thrown in collision with one of the truest patriots, Barneveldt, who suspected Maurice of a design to make himself a sovereign in name as well as in reality. In addition the two parties which divided the churches, the Gomarists (Calvinists) and the

Arminians were bitterly opposed to each other, and Barneveldt was attached with Grotius, &c., to the Arminian party. The Synod of Dordt, 1618, 1619 A.D., strengthened the Gomarist party, and deepened the bitter feeling of the religious parties against each other. The States-General, influenced by Maurice, arrested these men, and on the 21st February, 1618 A.D., Barneveldt was condemned and beheaded, 14th May, 1619 A.D., in spite of the opposition of the Princess Dowager of Orange and of the French Ambassador. Prince Maurice died 23rd April, 1625 A.D. Ferdinand, his brother, endeavoured to calm down the religious differences, and showed some favour to the Arminians. He died 1647 A.D., and William II. succeeded him. By the Treaty of Munster, 1648 A.D., Spain recognised the independence of the United Provinces, 1648 A.D. William was an accomplished scholar, and married the daughter of Charles I. of England. He secretly aspired to the sovereignty, but died in 1650 A.D., aged 24. His son, William III. (afterwards King of England), was born a week after his father's death, when all real power was withheld from the Orange family. The wars with England, under Cromwell, and again under Charles II. were impolitic and unjust, as well as injurious to both countries. The aggressions of Louis XIV. called forth the energies of William III. The De Witts, the supposed friends of France, the opponents of the Orange family, were murdered by the mob, 27th August, 1672 A.D., and all parties united in placing William at the head of affairs. In these wars with Louis XIV., 1673-1678 A.D., William was prepared, if driven to extremity, to remove with two hundred thousand families to the Indian settlements; but the Peace of Nimeguen gave the republic a breathing-time. William had married, 23rd October, 1677, Mary, the eldest daughter of James, King of England, his uncle; and when, in 1688 A.D., the tyranny and popery of James II. had alarmed the feeling of England, an invitation from a large and influential party invited him to come over with an efficient force to save Protestantism and free government. This act was the beginning of the Revolution of 1688 A.D.

PORTUGAL.—Sebastian, 1557-1578 A.D., through his unsuccessful attack upon Muley Moloc, Xerif of Morocco, lost his life in the battle of Alcazar-Seguer, 1578 A.D. Being unsuccessful, the undertaking has been censured, and deservedly, so far as the absence of an adequate force, disciplined and well provided, is concerned. Such a barbarian state as Morocco, within sight of Europe, is an anomaly and a reproach to Spain. The Mediterranean will not be European, nor the centre of civilisation, until all the governments

bordering upon it are under the control of enlightened European governments, towards which result events are tending. With France in Algiers and Tunis, and with European control in Egypt, it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell the end. Philip II. of Spain acted disinterestedly in endeavouring to moderate the zeal of Sebastian, and to prevent the attempt to conquer Morocco, for which the resources of Portugal were not adequate. On the death of Cardinal Henrique, 1580 A.D., Portugal became the lawful heirloom of Philip II., who was the son of Isabel, the eldest daughter of Manuel, whose male line had become extinct in Sebastian. The government of Philip being that of Spain was hateful to the Portuguese, and in 1640 A.D., by a well-arranged conspiracy, Joam, Duke of Braganza, whose mother was a younger daughter of Duarte, the youngest son of Manuel, was placed on the throne. By the friendship of France, England, Sweden, and Holland, and by the zeal of his people, he maintained his position against Spain, and by the battle of Villa Viciosa, 1665 A.D., the independence of Portugal was secured. Alphonso, the son of Joam, had succeeded in 1656 A.D., but deposed, on account of his intractable folly, by Pedro II. in 1683 A.D., who had acted as regent since 1668 A.D. (The Infanta Catherina, daughter of Joam, was married to Charles II. of England, 1662 A.D.) The separation of Portugal has lessened the maritime power of the Peninsula. Spain acknowledged the independence of Portugal in 1668 A.D.

SWITZERLAND.—The thirteen Cantons, free from foreign aggression, were engaged in quarrels with each other. The practice of hiring out the young men for service as soldiers to France, Austria, Italy, &c., which began in the fifteenth century, was carried out to a great extent, and proved unfavourable to the morals and economical habits of the population. The reformation under *Zwingle*, accepted by Zurich, 1519 A.D., and by Berne, Basle, the Grisons, Coire, Geneva, Neufchatel, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, &c., was opposed by Lucerne, Uri, Schuytz, and Unterwalden, Soleure, Friburg. In Glaris and Appenzell the people were divided. As the influence of the Reformers increased the Catholics became alarmed. Civil wars ensued. In 1531 A.D., Zurich and Berne (the Protestant party) were opposed to Lucerne, Uri, Schuytz, Unterwalden, and Zug. On the field of Cappel, October 12, the Catholics had the victory; *Zwingle* himself, the pastor of the army, was killed, with six hundred of his party. *Geneva*, in 1536 A.D., became Protestant, through the influence of John Calvin, the most logical and stern of all Protestant theologians; but the religious differences broke out in continual wars

between the cantons. These disasters were aggravated by Spanish and French support. In 1620 A.D., the Protestants of the Valteline were massacred by a banished party leagued with Spain and Austria. In 1648 A.D., the full independence of Switzerland from any claim of the Empire was admitted by the Peace of Westphalia. There was a revolt of the peasantry in 1653 A.D., and a renewal of the religious wars, 1656 A.D., Catholic cantons against Berne and Zurich, which the battle of Vilmergen decided in favour of the Catholic party. But at the end of this period Switzerland remained divided by religious and local differences.

POLAND.—The progress of the Reformation was accompanied by contests for tolerance by the one party and for persecution by the other. Sigismund I. and his successor, Sigismund II., 1548–1572 A.D., were persecutors. On the death of the latter, the race of the Jagellons was extinct. The crown became elective, and the king's power limited by the articles of the "Pacta Conventa," 1574 A.D. From the temporary rule of Henry (afterwards Henry of France) to the reign of John III. (Sobieski), 1676 A.D., the history of Poland is made up by wars with Russia, Sweden, the Cossacks, and the Turks. One reign, however, was specially injurious to Poland, that of John Casimir, 1648–1668 A.D. To him belongs the origin of the "Liberum Veto," which allowed the opposition of a single vote to frustrate the deliberations of the diet. When the Turks, in 1683 A.D., invested Vienna, the Emperor Leopold retreated to Linz, and dispatched messenger after messenger to hasten the help from Poland. When, by that help, the siege had been raised and the Turks discomfited, the proud emperor scarcely deigned to pay the usual civilities to Sobieski, his benefactor and saviour, but met him with insulting coolness, to the great annoyance of the Poles. But Sobieski continued his assistance until most of Hungary was free from the Turkish invasion. He was, however, compelled to cede Little Russia, Smolensk, Kiev, &c., to Russia, 1686 A.D. In his civil administration Sobieski was not successful. The government of Poland was that of a corrupt aristocracy; the towns and the peasantry bore all the taxation and had no share in the government. Poland was destroyed by its factions.

ITALY had no independent political status; it was the battlefield of France, Germany, and Spain. So little *direct* influence had the popedom in politics, that, in 1577, Rome was taken by storm by the army of Charles V. commanded by Constable Bourbon, and Pope Clement VII. kept a prisoner for some time. *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the duchy of *Milan*, remained in the hands of Spain.

The duchy of *Savoy*, with Piedmont, maintained its important position between France and Lombardy, varying its alliance according to its supposed interests. *Tuscany* was erected into a grand-duchy for the Medici of Florence, 1569 A.D., Cosmo I. being the first grand-duke. *Modena* remained to the D'Este family (of the old Guelf race). *Parma* and *Placentia* were made into a duchy by Pope Paul III. for his son Farnese, 1545 A.D. *Bologna* in 1506 A.D., and *Ferrara* in 1598 A.D., were united to the *Papal Territory*. *Genoa*, with the island of *Corsica*, remained independent ; so also VENICE. *Candia* was conquered by the *Turks*, 1669 A.D., but the *Morea* and part of *Dalmatia*, 1685, 1686 A.D., were some recompense to Venice, which was to some extent an efficient opponent of Turkey. The monopoly of the Eastern trade by the Italians ended by the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape. VENICE was, unfortunately, one of the first to impose fiscal regulations and restrictions on trade. Foreigners paid double customs ; could not buy Venetian ships, nor be partners in Venetian firms. Artificers were enticed to settle in Venice from foreign lands, but no Venetian artificer was allowed to carry his skill to another country under the most severe penalties. The island of MALTA, in 1530 A.D., was granted by Charles V. to the Knights of St. John, who had been expelled from Rhodes by Solyman in 1523 A.D.

13. Of TURKEY we have already treated. The BARBARY States, TUNIS, and ALGIERS, had come under Turkish influence, and by the example of Barbarossa had continued, with increasing vigour, their piracies ; their corsairs first entered the Atlantic in 1535 A.D. MOROCCO and FEZ were under the Xeriffs, the invasion by Sebastian, King of Portugal, having been repelled, 1578 A.D. In PERSIA, the Sefi family continued to reign, engaged in wars with Turkey and with the barbarous northern tribes. Shah Abbas, 1585-1628 A.D., was an able and politic ruler. In INDIA, the Mogul Empire reached its highest point under Akbar the Great, 1532-1604 A.D., when the revenue was calculated to be thirty millions sterling, and the army at 600,000. Aurungzebe, who began to reign 1658 A.D., by his craft and tyranny sustained outwardly the Mogul rule, but the decline commenced before his death. The *Mahrattas*, under Malek-Amber, and Sevajee, had (1600-1646 A.D.) commenced their ravages, and the *Sikhs*, in 1675 A.D., began to assert their independent action. These disturbances were favourable to the settlement of the Portuguese, French, and English in India. In CHINA, the Mantchu Tartars overthrew the Ming Dynasty and established themselves in power, 1647 A.D. Already the Romish missions in India and China

had obtained an establishment. The trade with India and China by sea was one highly valued by the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English nations, and was rapidly increasing ; so also in JAPAN, in which the struggles of the aristocratical factions continued. Christianity in the Roman Catholic form was carried to INDIA by the Portuguese early in the fourteenth century. Xavier, the Jesuit missionary—in India, 1542–1546, in Japan, 1549–1551 A.D.—died on the borders of China, 1552 A.D. Ricci was the most important of the missionaries in China, 1582–1602 A.D. Great success followed these labours in China, India, Japan, Siam, Cochin China, and Tonquin ; but in China the dissensions of the Jesuits and the Franciscans, Dominicans, and other missionaries was very injurious to their influence. In JAPAN there was a large number of converts, and it required many years of systematic persecution, ending in a general massacre, to extinguish Christianity, 1615–1637 A.D.

14. THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA began at the close of the fifteenth century, and continued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. SPAIN occupied *Mexico* in North America, and claimed the southern portion of what we now call the United States, with all the *West India Islands*. In 1513 A.D., Balboa crossed the *Isthmus of Darien*, and from the high land first saw the largest of all oceans, the Pacific. Cortez, in 1519 A.D., discovered and conquered Mexico, and Pizarro Peru, 1525–1534 A.D., soon also the whole of South America, except Brazil, which was discovered and claimed for Portugal by Pinçon and Cabral, 1500 A.D. ENGLAND commenced the settlement of North America in *Virginia*, 1584–1607 A.D. ; Maryland, 1633 A.D. ; then in *New England*, 1620 A.D. ; Carolina, 1650 A.D. ; they (the English) conquered *Jamaica* from the Spaniards, 1655 A.D., and *New York* from the Dutch, 1674 A.D., and occupied several of the West India Islands. The FRENCH settled *Nova Scotia*, *Cape Breton*, and *Canada*, 1604, 1605 A.D., and *Louisiana*, 1699 A.D. All *South America*, except the *Brazils*, was claimed by SPAIN. PORTUGAL claimed the *Brazils* conquered by Dutch from 1623 to 1654 A.D., when they were expelled by Portugal ; The ENGLISH, DUTCH, and FRENCH had claims upon *Guiana*. The importance of these colonies in America was not perceived until the middle of the eighteenth century.

15. THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY and enterprise was not neglected in the period from 1520–1688 A.D. The share which each European nation may claim in these labours is easily apportioned.

Spain.—Saavediara, sent by Cortez from Mexico, discovered New

Guinea, 1526 A.D. Menanda, sailing from Peru, discovered the Solomon archipelago, 1568 A.D., and the Marquesas, 1596 A.D. Don Quiros discovered the Society Islands, 1605 A.D., and the New Hebrides, 1606 A.D. Torres discovered the straits called by his name, 1606 A.D.; but this strait had been probably entered and sailed through by a Spanish vessel in 1546 A.D. Amerigo Vespucci, an Italian in the service of Spain, is said to have first come in contact with the mainland of South America (Gulf of Pavia). His name has been unfairly given to the continent which Columbus opened out to the European world. The African slave trade (to some extent created by the humanity of the benevolent Las Casas, in order to save the Mexican Indians from destructive labour) led to many African voyages in order to obtain slaves for the Spanish settlements in Mexico, and for the subsequent settlements in the West Indian archipelago.

Portugal.—Cabral, in his voyage to the East, discovered Brazil, 1500 A.D. Albuquerque, 1503–1575 A.D., was the founder of the Portuguese empire in India, of which Goa was the capital. Java, Ceylon, Malacca, and the Moluccas, with the settlement at Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, were Portuguese possessions. Portuguese navigators discovered the east and west coasts of New Holland in 1510 A.D., but these discoveries were not made known.

England.—Sir Francis Drake was the first English circumnavigator, 1577–1580 A.D., Sir T. Cavendish the second, 1586–1588 A.D. William Dampier, between 1673–1711 A.D., discovered New Britain, and touched the west coast of New Holland and the south coast of New Guinea. Sir J. Hawkins began to carry slaves from Africa to the Spanish colonies, 1562–1567 A.D. This was then regarded as a work of mercy, by which slaves in Africa condemned to death as captives were preserved and brought in contact with Christianity and civilisation! The Arctic explorations were conducted by Frobisher, 1576 A.D., Davis, 1585 A.D., Hudson, 1610 A.D., Baffin, 1616 A.D., all of them to the north-west. The names of these navigators are found on the maps. Willoughby to the north-east, 1553–1558, which led to the discovery of the White Sea and the port of Archangel, then the best practicable route to the dominion of the Czar of Moscovy (Russia). The first English East India Company was founded 1599, 1600 A.D.; the new charter, 1657 and 1688 A.D. The first English possession in India was Bombay, ceded by Portugal as part of the dowry of the queen of Charles II., 1662 A.D. The Navigation Act, 1657 and 1660 A.D., was passed to give special protection to the trade and shipping of England.

Holland.—Le Maire and Schouten discovered the Straits of Le Maire, and doubled Cape Horn, 1616 A.D. The west and north coast of New Holland was explored by Dutch navigators, and called by their names. Tasman discovered New Zealand and Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land), 1642 A.D. Barents attempted the discovery of the north-east passage, 1594 A.D. The Dutch East India Company, 1595–1642 A.D., made war on the Portuguese colonies in the east, and conquered Ceylon and the Moluccas. In 1623 A.D., the English settlers at Amboyna were put to death on a charge of conspiracy, for which Cromwell obtained satisfaction, 1654 A.D. The Dutch West India Company was established, 1621 A.D.

France.—Cartier discovered the river St. Lawrence, 1534, 1535 A.D. Canada was settled 1535–1604 A.D., by France. Nova Scotia also. Louisiana was explored, by the Mississippi, by French adventurers, and settled 1699 A.D. Sir J. Chardin in 1664–1681 A.D., and Thevenot, 1665–1667 A.D., were French travellers in the East. A French East India Company was established, 1664 A.D.

Denmark had an East India Company, 1616 and 1670–1686 A.D. Early in the eighteenth century the Danes had small factories in India.

16. THE BUCCANEERS.—A singular state of affairs continued for some time in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the seas bordering on South America and Mexico (the Caribbean Sea), arising out of the exclusive claims of Spain to the navigation and trade of these seas and of the adjoining continents. In asserting these claims, the Spanish governors acted with a high hand and with great cruelty, the sailors and traders if captured were either killed or sent as slaves to the mines. Hence arose a general feeling of hatred on the part of the seamen of all nations, which led English, French, Dutch, and others to lay aside all national jealousies, and as sailors to support each other in attacks upon Spanish ships and Spanish settlements as opportunity offered. The Spaniards, to repress these, employed the *guarda costas*, the commanders of which had orders to massacre all their prisoners. A permanent state of hostility was thus established, independent of peace or war ashore. These wild, irregular marauders, when not engaged in their ships, formed temporary settlements on the islands or on the coasts, made friends with the Indians (always in enmity with the Spaniards), and spent their time in hunting wild cattle, from the flesh of which they made their "boccan"—dried meat—hence the name "buccaneers," by which they are known. Some became logwood cutters in the Bay of Campeachy. The names of Peter of Dieppe, Bartolomeo

Portuguez, Henry Morgan, and others are recorded in an old book, "The History of the Buccaneers." Dampier, for some time, was connected with them. The war between England and France, 1688, led to a separation and opposition of the subjects of these nations, and thus began to relieve the Spanish settlements, and in 1697 A.D., these marauders were settled either in trade or in the plantations.¹

17. TRADE AND COMMERCE.—The great increase in the production of the precious metals which followed the discovery of America soon began to manifest itself, even so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. By the middle of that century the prices of almost all commodities had doubled. A great impulse was given to manufactures and trades, while no small inconvenience was experienced by those living on fixed incomes and salaries. Industrial nations were benefited, while SPAIN itself at first enjoyed a great outward prosperity, able to indulge in splendid buildings and luxurious, extravagant expenditure, yet, neglecting its old agricultural and manufacturing industries, fell into a rapid decline. In Spain—and, in fact, in all Europe—the notion of the duty of the respective governments to protect, extend, and otherwise benefit the commerce of their several countries, impeded the prosperity of each and of every one. The old error, that the prosperity of one nation detracted from the prosperity of others, was uppermost in the minds of all statesmen, in opposition to the more Christian view (now theoretically held by all) that the "whole world as to trade is but as one nation or people, and that therein nations are as persons."² Another error, common even now, was the considering gold and silver as constituting the exclusive wealth of a country, which they endeavoured to retain by enacting penalties against its exportation. *The early Italian writers* on commerce devote themselves to expound the great evil of their day, that of tampering with the currency. *In England* Thomas Munro, in 1621 A.D., exploded the notion that money exclusively constituted wealth. He compared their exportation for the purchase of goods for importation with the seed thrown into the earth, as the necessary step towards a plentiful harvest. Sir William Petty, in 1667 A.D., was the first to state that "it was the labour required for the production of commodities which determined their value." By the trade to the Indies beyond the Cape, the Indian Islands, China and Japan, and by the new markets opened

¹ See "The Buccaneers of America," a thick 12mo. published early in the eighteenth century.

² Sir Dudley North, 1661.

and rapidly growing in the English and French settlements in North America and the West Indies, which required supplies from the mother countries, the horizon of navigation and trade was largely widened. A wonderful impulse also was given to maritime discovery. The period of transition from the feudal system to the state of society distinguished by the growth of a middle class was one of difficulty to the ruling powers, owing to the pressure of the altered conditions of life upon the lower classes, the small proprietors, and the labourers. The trading classes in the cities became purchasers of land, and the new landlords, needing no retainers to support their dignity or to protect their interests, looked for higher rent from their tenantry. This change of proprietorship was the greater after the Reformation had thrown a large amount of Church property into the hands of the new landlords—the *gentlemen* in the place of the old barons. The high price obtained for wool tempted the proprietors of land to discontinue the cultivation of large tracts of land on which the small farmers had grown wheat, but which they devoted to sheep pasture. Thus large numbers of able-bodied men were deprived of employment; and, at the same time, the extensive common lands, which, from the earliest times, had been regarded as the poor man's estate, were gradually lessened by enclosures. All these changes, followed by the increase of prices after the discovery of America, produced a great degree of discontent and distress, followed by repeated insurrections of the common people. The Jacqueries of France in the fourteenth century, and the risings in England, and the insurrections of the peasantry in Germany in the sixteenth century, are mainly attributable to these causes. In due time the increase of trade and manufactures remedied these evils.

XVIII.—*Ecclesiastical History from 1520 to 1688 A.D.*

THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT SCHISM—the *division of Christendom into two distinct Church organisations*, the rapid spread of the Protestant reform, and the after reaction have already been detailed in Section II., pp. 328–333. The reform of LUTHER differed from that proposed by the Council of Basle, Constance, &c., which aimed mainly to correct the worldliness and greed of the clergy of all classes by a thorough reform in the disciplinary action of the Church, and especially to check and regulate the absolute power assumed by the popes, by the practical supremacy of general councils. In this effort, for centuries past, many Catholics of all ranks and classes had laboured, and with little effect. Luther's attempt went to the root

of the matter—the corruption of the pure doctrines of Christianity, especially in those dogmas which had crept into the Church, respecting justification and the pardon of sin. The careless priests taught that, by penance, by masses offered by the priest, by benefactions to the poor and to the Church, men might look for pardon. This naturally appeared to the ignorant to set aside the need of repentance and amendment of life and the exercise of a true faith in Christ. It placed the priest also in the position of a mediator, far above other men, as the sole possessor of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and with power to bestow or withhold it. All the evils complained of in the Romish Church are traceable to *this one leading misconception of a human priesthood with power to offer afresh a divine sacrifice*; and they were intensified in their bearing upon public morality by the sale of indulgences, which, to the popular mind, were supposed to save the purchaser, not merely from Church censures, but from all future punishment.

Against this grand fundamental error Luther protested, and was led step by step to teach that “repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ,” were the *sole* conditions of the sinner’s justification before God. This admitted, the whole complex ritualism of the Romish Church was shorn of much of its meaning as well as of its power. In the generation before Luther such views had been more or less received by many of the clergy and laity, but these proto-Protestants, yielding to the morbid dread of schism, and anxious to maintain the unity of the Church, while hoping for some change to be effected by a general council, outwardly conformed to the generally-received doctrines and worship of the Church. A large class, under the influence of the discussions of the Schoolmen and the power of the new ideas received in connexion with the revival of literature, had become sceptical, and, when prudence permitted, were not afraid to satirise the belief of the Church, while, generally, they were found among the foremost supporters of the papal power, and of outward conformity to the ritual. Many homes in secret cherished hopes of Church reformation, and approximated in their teachings to the views expressed by Luther. For instance, the Cardinals Contarini, and Caraffa, and Pole, though afterwards distinguished as firm Romanists. Juan Valdez, and the learned and accomplished ladies Vittoria Colonna (the friend of Michael Angelo), and Giulia Gonzaga sympathised with these views without leaving the Church of Rome. “On what we may call the philosophy of Christianity—or Augustinianism—that philosophy which is based on the grand dogma of justification by faith only—both parties were

agreed ; and, until the Council of Trent asserted authoritatively the opposite doctrine, the most determined papist would regard the subject of justification as an open question.”¹ THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, which first assembled December 13, 1542 A.D., was transferred to Bologna, 1547 A.D., again at Trent, 1550 A.D., and closed December 4, 1563 A.D., decreed many important reforms, but established the theology of the Romish Church, especially in the article on justification, and with respect to the papal supremacy its decisions were unquestionably confirmatory. The Pope had decreed that the title of the council should be “The Holy Œcumenical and General Council of Trent,” refusing to admit the following words, used at the Councils of Constance and Basle—“*representing the Universal Church.*” The objection was not to these words, but to what followed in connexion with them—“*which derives its power immediately from Jesus Christ, and to which every person, of whatever dignity, not excepting the Pope, is bound to yield obedience.*”² The Greek and Eastern Churches, and the Protestant Churches, then in their transition state, were not represented. The votes in the council were not taken by *nations* which had deliberated separately, as at Constance and Basle, but by individuals, by which means the large preponderance of Italian bishops secured decisions according to directions received from Rome. Thus it was that the Romish Church lost all claim to Catholicity, and became a *sect*. The decision of this council rendered any reconciliation or reunion of the two opposing parties in the Church impossible. The Church of Rome, however, reaped much benefit from the reforms of the Council of Trent, which was one result of the Reformation begun by Luther’s teaching ; and so far it owes its revival to the partial application of the principles advocated by the first reformers. New religious orders sprang up ; the most efficient and influential, *the Order of Jesus* (the *Jesuits*), which has since been the great power in the Church of Rome. This order was founded by Ignatius Loyola, 1534–1540, and was sanctioned by Paul III. Its one object was the maintenance of Romish doctrine and of the papal supremacy. It has so far succeeded that “for the last three centuries the history of the Jesuit order is the history of the Catholic Church gone into commission.”³ It was the outbreak of a genuine fanaticism, exceeding in fervour the most striking examples furnished by the experience of the spiritual life in the writings of Protestant nonconformity. The

¹ Dr. Hook, “Lives of the Archbishops,” vol. iii. p. 58, new series.

² Ibid., vol. i. p. 28, new series.

³ *The Spectator*, 19th July, 1884.

"Book of Spiritual Exercises" by Loyola is devoted to self-culture and self-abnegation, founded on a self-anatomisation of the most minute character. It is in fact Thomas à Kempis intensified. Ranke seems to think that Jesuitism had availed itself of Protestant religious experiences. This is not likely, as Augustine's "Confessions" and the writings of the German Mystics were sufficient to help Loyola to fathom the nature of his own spiritual emotions, and to judge those of others.

19. THE PAPACY stood the shock of the Reformation, by which the attachment of the Catholic sovereigns of Europe to its system had been tested and established. These Catholic rulers might be occasionally refractory, but they were fairly committed to the papal supremacy and Church, and, of necessity, the opponents of the reformed doctrines and Churches. Paul III. (Farnese), 1534-1549 A.D., was devoted to the aggrandisement of his family, and obtained for them the duchy of Parma and Placentia. Paul IV. (Caraffa), 1555-1559, an aged monk, with the spirit of Hildebrand, but without his power. Gregory XIII. had intelligence enough to carry out a reform in the calendar, and bigotry enough to rejoice in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris. He was the contemporary of St. Carlo Borromeo, the Milan philanthropist and archbishop. The institution of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide was originated by him. This is the grand Missionary Society of the Romish Church. He ruled from 1572 to 1585 A.D. SIXTUS V. (Montalto), a man of strong mind and efficient governor of Rome, who secretly admired the talent of Henry IV. of France and of Queen Elizabeth of England, though officially their enemy, 1585-1590 A.D. He sanctioned the murder of Henry III. of France in full consistory, 1589 A.D. Paul V. (Borghese), 1605-1621 A.D., was engaged in a dispute with the Republic of Venice respecting certain territorial claims, priestly privileges and tithes, which amounted to an open rupture. PAUL SARPI, a monk, was the adviser of the senate of Venice. Though a monk, his religion was speculative and undefined except in one point, "irreconcilable hatred towards the secular influence of the papacy—probably the only passion he ever cherished."¹ Paul Sarpi wrote, for the information of the government of Venice, "Consolations of mind, to quiet the conscience of those who live well against the terrors of the Interdict of Paul V.," in which the rights of sovereigns and subjects are fully discussed. This quarrel ended in 1607 A.D., just in time to prevent the formal separation of

¹ Ranke.

Venice from the Church of Rome. Paul Sarpi afterwards wrote a history of the Council of Trent, which is the great authority on the Protestant side, and against which Cardinal Pallavicino wrote his history, expressly in defence of the papacy, 1656 A.D. Gregory XV., in 1622 A.D., formally established the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. Urban VIII. formed the Mission College at Rome, 1627 A.D. Already the cardinals had begun to select for popes men of neutral character, as best adapted to the times, and most calculated to increase the influence of the curia. Innocent X., 1644–1655, was elected on the ground that “he had never said much, and had done less.” He did his best to oppose the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 A.D. Innocent XI., 1676–1682, with great prudence, parried the action of Louis XIV. of France and his clergy in the four resolutions of the bishops and clergy in 1688 A.D. Annoyed by the domination of Louis XIV., he favoured the revolution of 1688 A.D. in England, in which a Popish king was supplanted by a Protestant one. Masses were said in the chapel of the Pope’s legate at the Hague for a blessing on the enterprise. The FRENCH Church had been for some time a source of disquiet to the popedom; beginning in the rise and popularity of the Jansenist party, which professed to be in full accordance with St. Augustine, 1640–1713 A.D. Louis XIV. was much opposed to these opinions, and after a series of conflicts and controversies the convent of Port Royal, the head-quarters of the Jansenists, was suppressed, 1709 A.D.—the result of the papal bull “Unigenitus.” In these controversies the writings of Quesnel, Madame Guyon, Archbishop Fénelon, and Bossuet were largely circulated. But the great work of PASCAL, the “Lettres Provinciales,” 1656 A.D., are the only survivals, and, in fact, the main benefit to the world from these discussions. They remain to this day the most powerful, keen, witty, and sarcastic exposure of Jesuitical sophistry. But the most important movement affecting the position of the papacy was that of Louis XIV., who incited the clergy of France to establish the liberties of the Gallican Church, 1682 A.D., against the Pope. In a convention of bishops, four articles, drawn up by BOSSUET, and confirmed by royal edict, 1682 A.D., were put forth. The *first* confined the power of the Pope to spiritual matters; the *second* affirmed the authority of general councils; the *third* supported the canons of the Church; the *fourth* subjects the papal judgment to the assent of the Church. Alexander VIII. (the Pope) declared these articles invalid, 1689, 1690 A.D., and Louis XIV. had to compromise by abolishing the obligation to receive them, but would not allow any man to be hindered from acknowledging their validity. But there remained in France an *ultramontane* and also a *Gallican*

party up to the revolution of 1788 A.D. Bossuet, who had composed the four offensive articles, had to make the most abject apology to the Pope. But, the more the court was opposed to the power of the Pope, *the more zealously was the persecution against Protestants carried on.* The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685 A.D., was preceded by edicts against the Protestants who were attempting to emigrate, for which they were sent to the galleys, and their property confiscated. Then followed the quartering of troops upon the Protestant families. These were known as the Dragonades, by which every species of cruelty and annoyance was inflicted. Madame Sévigné, with the thoughtlessness of her class, remarks that "the dragoons have been good missionaries," and, with the bigotry in which all France sympathised, expressed her opinion that, "the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was an act alone sufficient to secure Louis an immortal renown." In 1686 A.D. the Vaudois in Piedmont, whose case had called forth the interference of Oliver Cromwell in 1655 A.D., were again persecuted and expelled by the Duke of Savoy, at the instance of Louis, but, in 1689 A.D., were permitted to return, under the care of Henry Arnaud, their pastor. Great evils resulted to France from the civil wars in the Cevennes, against the Protestants called Cameronians, 1703-1705 A.D. As in *France*, so in *Southern Germany*, the *Netherlands*, and *Hungary*, and *Poland*, attempts were made to expel the Protestants. In *England*, under Henry VIII. and Mary, we need but refer to our ordinary histories, which have fixed upon a poor, nervous, priest-ruled woman the sobriquet of "Bloody Mary." In *Italy* and *Spain* the persecutions were thorough, and Protestantism was literally stamped out with the full approval of the population. It is characteristic of the Spanish feeling that the marriage of Charles II. of Spain, the last of his race, was, in 1679 A.D., celebrated by an "*auto da fé*," in which twenty-two heretics were burnt.

20. THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES, in their separation from Rome, asserted the right of the free exercise of the judgment and conscience on the part of the individual and the community, in opposition to the dogma and assumed infallibility of the Pope as the head of the old Church. This opposition to Romanism was, however, the only point on which they were fully agreed, though we may regard the *Augsburg Confession* as the standard of Lutheran orthodoxy, 1530 A.D. In the attempt to form one united organisation, with a fixed creed embracing every minutia of doctrine and with one form of ecclesiastical order and rule, they happily failed. It is not yet fully understood by the Churches that the *flock* may and must necessarily have many *folds* (John x. 16), and yet belong

to one Shepherd. Meanwhile, Roman Catholicism appeared to speak with one voice and to act as under one will. "Not only was there at this time a much more intense zeal among the Catholics than among the Protestants, but the whole zeal of the Catholics was directed against the Protestants, while almost the whole zeal of the Protestants was directed against each other."¹ From the first, the teachings of ZUINGLE, the reformer of Switzerland, differed from those of LUTHER, especially in regard to the eucharist. CALVIN (in Geneva) differed from Luther, not only on this point, but also in the predominance given by him to the views of St. Augustine (improperly called Calvinistic): on these and other questions of minor importance, in which difference of opinion appears to arise naturally from the exercise of freedom of thought, the Protestant leaders wasted their strength in angry, bitter controversies. Mutual toleration might have made these differences of opinion a useful discipline to all the Churches, especially as a warning against the assumption of infallibility. But the truths implied in the language of OUR LORD (John x. 16) and of ST. PAUL (Philippians i. 15-18; iii. 15) were overlooked, and all parties, Romanist and Protestant, regarding errors of judgment as mortal sins cognisable by the state, aimed at the formation of a perfect creed, and an equally perfect Church order, the reception of which was obligatory, and opposition to which was punishable. That *the state* should support a Church which should be *the sole Church* of the nation was assumed by all parties as an indisputable truth, hence nonconformity was naturally regarded as disloyalty to the state. Great importance was, therefore, attached to schemes which had for their object the reunion of the Protestants and Catholics, and especially to the union of all the Protestant Churches. The desire of reconciliation with Rome was felt by many of the learned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. CALIXTUS, 1586-1656 A.D., a Lutheran divine, aimed at the union of all the Protestant Churches, and advocated a system (branded by his opponents as *Syncretism*) which can only be carried out when religious indifference to dogma has prepared the way. JOHN DURÆUS (Dury) was a fellow-labourer in this work of union and charity, 1634-1674 A.D. SAMUEL HARTLIB, the friend of Milton, was another, 1630-1660 A.D. It is pleasant to know that at a conference of the Protestant Churches held at Cassel, 1661 A.D., the common-sense and right feeling of the divines confirmed the opinion long before given by Martin Luther (in one of his wiser

¹ Macaulay.

moods) that "the difference between the Lutheran and other reformed Churches does not affect the foundations of the faith." Some of the controversies which troubled the German Churches lowered the reputation and lessened the intellectual influence of Protestantism among the learned. Take, for instance, the names by which these controversies were known to theologians: the Adiaphoristic controversy, the Majoristic, the Ossiandrian, the Predestinarian, the Synergistic, the Antinomian, the Crypto-Calvinistic, the Supralapsarian, the Syncretistic, and the Cocceian controversies. Great use was made of these differences of opinion by the Romanists in their attacks on Protestantism. BOSSUET, in his history of the variations of the Protestant Churches, luxuriates in his description of these differences, choosing to forget that in the Romish Church an equally large number of conflicting opinions exist, and have been advocated from time to time, but have been wisely overlooked by the Roman curia. In GERMANY, as the result of these contentions, there was a great decline in the spiritual teaching and practical piety of the Churches; and during the war, 1618-1648 A.D., there was almost a complete cessation of the ordinary work of the ministry. After this war, Spener, Francke, and others, by their labours and the example of their lives, were the means of reviving religious feeling. They endeavoured to establish colleges of piety in the towns and villages, and hence acquired the name of PIETISTS. Their headquarters were in the University of Halle. In HOLLAND, the disputes between the Arminians and the Calvinistic party on the doctrines of general redemption, free-will, and election were the occasion of the assembling the SYNOD OF DORDT, 1618, 1619 A.D., which aggravated and stereotyped the opposing views of the divines. The Arminians were afterwards called the Remonstrants; and many of them, after the death of their leader Arminius, adopted semi-Pelagian and Socinian views. In ENGLAND, the success of the Protestant party, on the accession of Elizabeth, was accompanied by serious divisions of opinion, mainly on the question of Church government. While in exile, during the reign of Mary, the English exiles had come in contact with the reformed Churches of Germany, France, and Switzerland. Many of them became anxious to modify the episcopacy and to simplify the ritual and liturgy of the reformed Church of England, while the court ecclesiastical rulers were resolved to maintain substantially the established order by an Act of Uniformity, 1558 A.D. The HIGH CHURCH party regarded the *Church of England* and that of *Rome* to be true branches of THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, possessing the true apostolical

succession handed down through a series of bishops traceable to the apostles ; they were, therefore, CHURCHES ; all others were mere SECTS, as, for instance, the Protestant Churches in Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, which were Presbyterian in their Church government. The PURITAN CHURCHMAN was more disposed to trace the succession of his Church through the Vaudois and other religious bodies (which had in every age been opposed to the corruptions of the Church of Rome), and so on to the Eastern Churches, while regarding the question as of little importance. His view of the credentials of a Church were expressed in Article XIX. : "*The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered,*" &c. THE SEPARATISTS regarded the true succession to be found in men whose teaching and whose lives resembled those of the apostles. The *rationale* of the constitution and order of worship in the Anglican Church is fully exhibited in Dr. Hook's life of Archbishop Parker.¹ In 1565 A.D., the Act of Uniformity was rigidly enforced, as the numbers of the nonconforming party gradually increased ; and, not only so, but, in addition, the SEPARATISTS, sometimes called Brownists, caused no little disquiet to the heads of both the civil and ecclesiastical government. Their "principles were very much those which were afterwards held by the *Independents*, regarding every Christian congregation as a complete Church, competent to regulate its own government, and opposed to any interference on the part of any assembly of clergy or of the government. No other body of men had so clear an idea of the spiritual nature of religion, and of the evils which resulted from the dependence of the Church upon the state."² In 1593 A.D., the first law *imposing penalties on Protestants* was passed against these especially (though others were included) by an *English* Protestant government. *The death penalty* was enforced in some cases. Very few Churchmen or Nonconformists in our day are aware of these persecutions in the reign of Elizabeth. It is some comfort to believe that the bishops who, by their agents, "ferreted" these men out from their conventicles or homes, would, under changed circumstances, have been quite ready to have suffered in like manner for their opinions ; both parties felt that their opinions were more important than their lives.³ There was some plausible excuse for the

¹ "History of the Archbishops of Canterbury," vol. v., new series.

² Gardiner, vol. i. p. 67.

³ "Congregational History," 1567-1700, by John Waddington, D.D., pp. 61-95.

persecutors in the fact of the existence of a widespread alarm that "the multitude would be so distracted by the spread of so many opinions as to lose faith in all religion." In the list of confessors who languished in prison I mark with pleasure and pride two bearing my own name, though I am unable to claim them as ancestors. The religious irreconcilability which produced the civil war and the Commonwealth, 1642-1660 A.D., is chargeable both to the High Anglican party and the Puritan party (as distinct from the Independents). Both desired one Established Church, one form of worship, one dogmatic teaching. "The belief that the state was to settle a definite Church order, to which all were bound to submit, was too deeply rooted in the English mind to be easily eradicated."¹ There was no reconciliation possible except in unlimited freedom of thought, preaching, writing, and printing as the right of every individual, and also for the existence of separate systems of Church government; and for these the age was not ripe, though Henry Burton and Lord Brooke had, to some extent, in their writings thrown a clear light on this the great difficulty of the state.² Yet nothing was more desirable than religious peace to unite all parties in the great work of evangelising the ignorant and degraded populations of England and Protestant Germany. Although sixteen universities had been founded before the Reformation, and almost an equal number between the Reformation and the close of the seventeenth century in Germany, the middle and higher classes were so far influenced by the dread of witchcraft, that we read of *hundreds* of women put to death on this charge,³ though this is scarcely credible. But the desired peace through a mere doctrinal uniformity, was impossible. It could only be found in TOLERATION. It is the singular and distinctive honour of the BAPTIST Churches to have defended, from their earliest history, *the rights of conscience*. Not one sentiment in all their writings is to be found inconsistent with the principles of religious liberty. One Leonard Busher, a Baptist and citizen of London, was its first advocate in England, 1610 A.D. Next to the Baptists are the INDEPENDENTS. John Goodwin (minister of Coleman-street), in 1644 A.D., advocated toleration in the fullest extent. Milton, in November of that year, published his "Areopagitica," in defence of the freedom of the press; Jeremy Taylor his "Liberty of Prophesying," in 1647 A.D.; after which our philosopher John Locke, his treatise on "Toleration," in 1689 A.D.

¹ Gardiner, vol. x. p. 83.

² Ibid., pp. 35, 36.

³ See Menzel, "History of Germany," vol. ii. pp. 441-445.

(written in 1667 A.D.) ; but none of these great men have, in their advocacy of this important principle, excelled their Independent forerunner, John Goodwin. His *Life*, by the Rev. Thomas Jackson,¹ is one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the religious controversies of the seventeenth century. Justice has also been done to him by Dr. Stoughton in his able, impartial, and fascinating work.² We have two remarkable instances of the inutility of the attempt to alter the national predilections ; the one is the failure of the High Anglican party in England to impose episcopacy and the Prayer-book upon the Scotch in the reign of Charles I., the other is the failure of the Scotch Presbyterians to establish their system in England during the rule of the Commonwealth. But the lesson of non-interference on the part of government with the religious prepossessions of the people was a difficult one to comprehend. After the Restoration the revival of the Act of Uniformity, 1662 A.D., drove from the English Church two thousand men whose labours and lives were thus lost to the national Church. Of these men the names of Baxter, Howe, Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Bates, Charnock, and Calamy are the best known. The Anglican Church, though retaining the memory and the influence of the writings of "the judicious" Hooker, and the labours of such men as Barrow, Archbishop Leighton, Scott of St. Giles, Bishops Taylor and Stillingfleet, could ill spare such men. The INDEPENDENT, BAPTIST, and PRESBYTERIAN Churches formed a powerful minority among the middle classes especially. A new sect, the FRIENDS, called in derision Quakers, commenced in the preaching of George Fox, and patronised by William Penn and Barclay, offended many by the eccentricities of its first preachers, but had fair success. In a second generation the "Friends" exhibited the grace and practical power of Christianity, and disarmed all opposition to their peculiarities. Among the BAPTISTS, JOHN BUNYAN gave to the Churches the "Pilgrim's Progress," which, from the beginning, circulated largely among the middle and lower classes of society. In our day it has become a classic. With respect to the PURITAN party generally, even HUME has been compelled to do them some scant justice. "The same bold and daring spirit which accompanied them in their addresses to the Divinity appeared in their political speculations ; and the principles of civil liberty, which

¹ 8vo., 1822 and 1872.

² "The History of Religion in England, from the Opening of the Long Parliament to the end of the Eighteenth Century," 6 vols., 1881 (*see* vol. i. pp. 337-340) ; Boyce's "The Higher Criticism and the Bible," crown 8o., p. 40.

during some reigns had been little avowed in the nation . . . had been strongly adopted by the new sect.”¹ LECKY remarks that Puritanism is the most masculine form that Christianity has yet assumed.²

THE GREEK CHURCH remained in a state of subjugation in Turkey after the fall of Constantinople, 1453 A.D. In RUSSIA it was the Established Church. The patriarch Nikon, 1652–1667 A.D., endeavoured to reform the corrupt text of the religious books used in the Churches, and thus incurred the enmity of the priesthood and monks. He retired in 1658 A.D., was deposed in 1667 A.D., and died, 1681 A.D. His character and literary labours have been celebrated by Dean Stanley.³

LITERATURE FROM 1520 A.D. TO 1688 A.D. :—

A bare sketch of names and dates is a very unsatisfactory record of literature ; but it is useful as an index and as a memorial to remind us that amid the political changes of the period the cultivation of the intellect kept pace with the general improvement. It must not be forgotten that the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth century had to create a reading people. Readers and lovers of literature, classical and theological, there were in considerable numbers, but not sufficiently numerous to form a reading public, upon whom an author could depend for support. The learned scholar who devoted himself to literary labour had to depend upon Church endowments and state employment, but more especially upon the patronage of the great officials of the Church or of the government. He had to affix a dedication to his patron, and on presentation expected his fee. The possible profit arising from the sale of works was not contemplated by the author. “It would be a degradation for the scholar to sink into a tradesman. The printer undertook the expenses of publication, and, although the sale of the works of Erasmus” (for instance) “was large and rapid, the expenses of printing” (and the cost and difficulty of circulation) “were at this time so great that the profits were not likely to be considerable.”⁴ It is probable that the theological and party literature of the English commonwealth found its supporters in the large increase of readers, deeply interested in the affairs of the Church and the State, but with this exception, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, literary men placed much dependence upon the pecuniary gifts of their patrons, as well as upon the liberality of their publishers.

¹ Vol. v. pp. 192–195. ² “History of Christian Morals,” vol. ii. p. 390.

³ “Eastern Churches,” 8vo.

⁴ Hook’s “Lives of the Archbishops,” vol. i. pp. 325, 326, new series.

The *leading scientific men* of this period were—Copernicus, a Pole, who discovered the true system of the universe, now all but universally accepted, 1546–1602 A.D.; the other great astronomers, Tycho-Brahe (Denmark), 1546–1600 A.D.; Galileo (Italy), 1583–1602 A.D.; Kepler (Germany), 1586–1680 A.D.; Gunter, 1581–1626 A.D.; Horrocks (England), 1639 A.D.; Sir Isaac Newton (England), 1642–1719 A.D.; Flamsteed (England), 1646–1719 A.D.; Pope Gregory XIII. had the good sense to reform the calendar (the error was ten days up to 1699 A.D.; after 1700 A.D., eleven days; after 1800 A.D., twelve days.) It was not received in England until September 2nd, 1752, when the day following was reckoned as September 14th. Russia alone maintains the old calendar. William Gilbert, 1573–1603 A.D., studied magnetism. Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, 1593–1607 A.D. Napier (Scotland), 1550–1617 A.D., invented logarithms in 1614 A.D. Robert Boyle cultivated natural philosophy, 1626–1691 A.D., and in 1660 A.D. helped to form the Royal Society. Sydenham, the physician, 1624–1689 A.D. Torricelli, in Italy, invented the barometer, 1643 A.D. The Marquis of Worcester began to see the nature of a steam engine, 1663 A.D. Sir Thomas Gresham founded the Royal Exchange, 1566 A.D. John Ray (naturalist), 1686 A.D. Tusser wrote on agriculture, 1520–1586 A.D. But the greatest of all these names is undoubtedly Lord Bacon, 1561–1626 A.D. “In the name of utility, Bacon laboured to divert the modern intellect from the idle metaphysical speculations of the Schoolmen to natural science, to which his own sounder method and a cluster of splendid intellects soon gave an unprecedented impulse. To the direct influence of this movement, perhaps, even more than the teaching of Gassendi and Locke, may be ascribed the great ascendancy of sensational philosophy among modern nations, and it is also connected with some of the most important differences between ancient and modern history. Among the ancients the human mind was chiefly directed to philosophical speculations, and in which the law seemed to be perpetual oscillation, while among the moderns it has rather tended towards physical science, in which the law is perpetual progress.”¹

In reference to non-scientific literature, it may be well to classify the great authors according to their several nationalities.

ENGLISH LITERATURE before the Restoration, 1660 A.D.—John Lilly (Euphues), 1582 A.D.; James Howell, 1610–1660; Felton,

¹ Lecky, “History of Christian Morals,” vol. i. p. 130.

1627 A.D.; Sir Thomas Brown, 1634-1671 A.D. Harrington in his "Oceana" indulged in daring speculations on the principles of government, 1611-1627 A.D. Roger Ascham, in his "Schoolmaster" advocated the interests of education, 1525-1568 A.D. Burton, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," 1576-1639 A.D., gives a miscellaneous collection from the libraries of his day, and has earned the praise of Dr. Samuel Johnson. *Poetry and the Drama*: SPENSER'S "Faërie Queen," 1557-1598 A.D., a poem redolent with beauty, but too long for the readers of our day; SHAKESPEARE, 1564-1616 has combined wisdom and moral teaching in his dramas, which makes them the admiration and wonder of the English and of the Teutonic nations; Ben Jonson, 1574-1637 A.D., a poet and a dramatist; Sir Philip Sydney, the "Arcadia," 1572-1586 A.D.; Chapman, poetical translator, 1557-1624 A.D.; Fairfax, 1602-1632 A.D.; Beaumont, 1597-1616 A.D.; Fletcher, 1590-1624 A.D.; Marlow, 1563-1593 A.D.; Massinger, 1606-1640 A.D.; Ford, 1602-1604 A.D., belonging to the drama. Amongst the *Historians and Antiquaries*, John Leland, who died 1553 A.D.; Stowe, 1527-1605; Camden, 1551-1623 A.D.; Speed, 1562-1641 A.D.; Usher, 1600-1656 A.D.; George Buchanan (Scotland), 1506-1582 A.D.; John Foxe, the martyrologist, 1577-1587 A.D.; Hollingshead died, 1581 A.D.; Baker died, 1645 A.D.; Sir Walter Raleigh, 1522-1617; Knolles (Turkish history), 1610. The collections of voyages, &c., by Hakluyt, 1552-1636 A.D., and of Purchas, in his "Pilgrims," 1577-1628 A.D., stimulated the maritime enterprise of England. *Theology*.—The divines of the Reformation, John Knox, A. Melville (Scotland), with Cranmer, Latimer, Jewell, Parker, are little read, Latimer and Jewell perhaps excepted. HOOKER, "the Judicious," 1553-1600 A.D.; Chillingworth, the great champion of religious freedom, 1602-1649 A.D., ought to be read as well as praised by all educated Englishmen; John Hales, 1600-1646 A.D.; John Smith, 1636-1652 A.D.; Dr. Thomas Jackson, 1600-1640; Bishop Hall, 1617-1656 A.D.; Henry Moore, the platonist, are yet read with pleasure; Mede's writings on prophecy, 1610-1618 A.D., are very occasionally quoted. The leading *Puritans* were Bolton, 1572-1611 A.D.; Perkins, 1580-1602 A.D.; Preston, 1587-1628, A.D., and Sibbs 1577-1615 A.D., quoted more than studied. The great English *Lawyer* is Sir Edward Coke, 1580-1584, whose comments on Littleton's "Tenures" used to be the study of young lawyers; Selden, 1584-1654 A.D., is more remembered by his "Table Talk" than by his other legal and antiquarian writings. In *Biblical Literature* we have Walton's Polyglott, and Castell's

Lexicon, 1655 A.D.; Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum*, 5 vols., folio, 1669-1676 A.D.; the critics are those in the bulky *Critici Sacra*.

ENGLISH LITERATURE AFTER THE RESTORATION, 1660-1688 A.D. —In general literature, Isaac Walton, Evelyn; Pepys, for the diaries especially; Dennis, the critic; Sir William Temple, 1660-1700; Algernon Sydney, 1637-1683 A.D. *Poetry and the Drama*: Butler, the coarse satirist of hypocrisy and often of religion itself, 1622-1688; JOHN MILTON, whose "Paradise Lost" is the great and only epic in our language, 1608-1674 A.D.; JOHN DRYDEN, whose poetry and prose still hold their ground—the prose is described as "standing at the head of the plain English prose style, possessing at the same time a capacity for magnificence" (Saintsbury); Cowley, 1636-1667 A.D.; Waller, 1625-1687 A.D., are in the collection of the poets. *Historians and Antiquarians*: Fuller, the witty and pithy, 1608-1661 A.D.; Clarendon, 1608-1673 A.D., the historian of the Civil War; Bishop Burnett, 1643-1715 A.D., historian of his own times and of the Reformation in England; May's *Parliamentary History*; Lucy Hutchinson 1653-1711, *Life of Col. Hutchinson*. *Theology*: ISAAC BARROW, 1630-1677 A.D., the most exhaustive of ethical preachers, leaving nothing unsaid; Pearson on the Creed, 1612-1686 A.D.; Bishop Jeremy Taylor, 1646-1677 A.D., whose prose was poetry, and whose piety was deep, but of whom it is truly said that he had "genius; but yet how little was he capable of handling any great question";¹ Bishops Stillingfleet, Louth, and Bull; JOHN SCOTT, of St. Giles (author of the "Christian Life"), 1660-1716; Hammond, 1660 A.D.; Archbishop Leighton, 1641-1684 A.D.; Bishop Beveridge, 1774-1908 A.D.; Bishop Ken, 1630-1710 A.D.; Archbishop Tillotson, 1651-1694 A.D.; Bishop Sherlock. The *great Puritan Divines*, whose writings in the seventeenth century were the chief mental food of the respectable trading classes and the middle class of gentry: RICHARD BAXTER, 1615-1691 A.D., whose "Saints' Rest" was read more than any other book except the Bible and Bunyan; JOHN HOWE, 1630-1688 A.D.; Howe did not consider religion so much a system of doctrine as a divine discipline to reform the heart and the life";² John Owen, 1616-1683 A.D., a diffuse but highly spiritual writer; JOHN BUNYAN, 1628-1688 A.D., of whose great work we have already spoken, and of whom Dr. Arnold speaks as a man of incomparably greater genius than any of the other divines, and of profound wisdom;³ Matthew

¹ Dr. Arnold's "Life," p. 400.

² Stoughton, "History of Religion," vol. iv. pp. 387, 388.

³ Dr. Arnold's "Life," p. 410.

Henry, the commentator, 1662-1714 A.D., whose work is an encyclopædia of practical and spiritual theology; add to these the names of Joseph Allein, Richard Allein, Ambrose, Binning, Charnock, Culverwell, JOHN GOODWIN (the Arminian), Thomas Goodwin, and Manton: Rutherford, Scougal, and THOMAS HALYBURTON, the Scotch divines. *Biblical Literature*: John Lightfoot, the great Rabbinical scholar, and Edward Pococke, the Orientalist; Gale, "Court of the Gentiles," 1652-1678 A.D. *Political Economy*: Louis Roberts, 1641 A.D.; Thomas Munro, 1620-1664 A.D.; Sir J. Child, 1670 A.D.; Sir W. Petty, 1667-1692 A.D.; Sir Dudley North, 1677 (also Hobbes and John Locke). The first English newspaper printed, 1588 A.D. (the "English Mercury," by Lord Burleigh). The "London Gazette," in 1665 A.D.

French Literature, in the vernacular, begins a little before the reign of Francis. Before the accession of Henry IV., the satire "Menippe," the work of several lawyers and poets, contributed much to the peaceful succession of the king to the throne. Clement Marot, 1513-1544 A.D.; Jodelle, 1552-1575 A.D., were *popular poets* in their day. RABELAIS, the satirist, 1537-1559 A.D.; MONTAIGNE, the essayist, 1554-1592 A.D.; Balzac, 1621-1659 A.D.; Voiture, 1631-1648 A.D.; Rochefoucault, 1650-1680 A.D., belong to general literature; so also MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ, 1644-1694 A.D., whose inimitable letters never tire. The *poets* and miscellaneous writers are Scarron, 1610-1660 A.D.; La Bruyère, 1673-1696 A.D. (the essayist); Corneille, 1647-1684 A.D.; Racine, 1673-1699 A.D.; Molière, 1658-1673 A.D., are the great dramatic poets. BOILEAU, the critic; La Fontaine, the fabulist. *Historians*: De Thou (Thuanus), 1572-1617 A.D.; Sully, 1572-1641 A.D.; Brantome, 1566-1644; Bodin, political writer and historian, 1577 A.D.; he outstepped all the political writers of this day; Mezerai, 1610-1683 A.D.; Salmasius, 1604-1649 A.D., the opponent of Milton; De Retz, 1643-1679. The Ecclesiastical Historians: Patavius, 1617 A.D.; Fleury, 1658-1713 A.D.; Tillemont, 1666-1698 A.D.; Du Pin, 1684-1719 A.D. The Benedictine congregation of St. Maur, which has contributed so much to historical literature, was established 1621 A.D. *Theology*: BOSSUET, 1647-1704 A.D.; FÉNELON, 1666-1715 A.D.; Massillon, 1681-1742 A.D.; Huet, 1670-1721 A.D.; St. Vincent de Paul, the philanthropist, 1600-1660 A.D. PASCAL, the opponent of the Jesuits, 1623-1662 A.D.; Father Simon, 1678-1712 A.D., Orientalist and critic, belong to the Catholic Church. To the Reformed Church belong CALVIN, 1533-1564 A.D.; BEZA, 1548-1605 A.D.; D'Aille, 1637-1670 A.D.; Jurien, 1674-1713 A.D.; Abbadie, 1684

Farel, 1523-1565 A.D.; Claude, 1645-1687 A.D.; Saurin, 1674-1730 A.D.; most of these were obliged to exercise their functions in Holland or Switzerland, and were thus lost to France. In *Classical Literature*: Budæus, 1525-1540 A.D.; the Stephens, 1535-1572 A.D.; with Scapula, 1579-1612 A.D., famous for their lexicons; Madame Dacier, 1672-1720 A.D. The DELPHIN CLASSICS, edited by Huet for the Dauphin, 1670-1680 A.D. *Biblical Criticism*: Bochart, 1621-1667 A.D.; Capellus, 1624-1650 A.D.; Father Simon, 1678-1712 A.D.; PETER BAYLE, the great critic, theological, philosophical, and historical, and the author of the famous "Dictionary," was a Frenchman, but was domiciled in Holland, 1647-1706 A.D. Perhaps of all these writers the most read, next to the dramatists, are Pascal, and Fénelon's "Télémaque"; Colbert, the economist, 1648-1683 A.D. The first regular French journal, the "Gazette of France," 1631 A.D. The French Academy founded 1635 A.D.; the "Journal des Sciences," 1665 A.D.

SWITZERLAND was the asylum of French Protestants. ZWINGLE, the reformer of Zurich, 1508-1531 A.D.; Turretine, 1630-1687 A.D.; LE CLERC, the critic, 1651-1706 A.D.; Bullinger, 1527-1571 A.D., were native-born theologians. CASAUBON, philologist and critic, 1559-1614 A.D.; Diodati, translator of Italian Bible, 1576-1649 A.D.; Vattel, law, 1741-1767 A.D.

HOLLAND was also the asylum of French, and other Protestants, but, previous to the separation of the Netherlands, Anna Bigus, a fierce Catholic poetess at Antwerp, 1520-1567 A.D.; Marnix of Aldegonde wrote the song called "Wilhelmuslied," 1530-1598 A.D.; then the purely Dutch Hooft, historian and poet, 1581-1647 A.D.; Vondel, 1587-1679 A.D.; Cats, 1577-1660 A.D., poets. Huygens, diplomatist and poet, 1596-1687 A.D.; Vos, 1667 A.D.; Bekker, philosophy, 1634-1698 A.D. The *theologians* were ARMINIUS, the father of Remonstrant theology, 1588-1609; Gomar, his opponent, 1583-1640 A.D.; GROTIUS, 1583-1645 A.D.; Episcopius (both of them Remonstrants, Grotius being also a legist of great repute), and VITRINGA, 1659-1722 A.D. Then, in philology, Heinsius, philologist and critic, 1580-1655 A.D.; Erpennius, Biblicist and Orientalist, 1600-1613 A.D.; Golius, Orientalist, 1622-1667 A.D. *Historians*: Hooft, the poet; Brandt, 1628-1725 A.D. Justus Lipsius (Louvain), philologist, 1546-1606 A.D.; ERASMUS, the reviver of learning, 1496-1536 A.D.; the Elzevirs, 1565-1590 A.D.; and Spinoza, the philosopher, 1632-1677 A.D.

GERMANY.—The early Mystics and the Deventer theologians:

LUTHER and the German Bible, 1516-1546 A.D.; MELANCTHON, 1540-1560 A.D.; ECOLAMPADIUS, the reformer, 1522-1531 A.D. Then ARNDT, author of "True Christianity," 1590-1621 A.D.; CALOVIVS, 1612-1656 A.D. CALIXTUS, who attempted to unite the Churches, 1639-1656 A.D.; Gerhardt, hymnologist, 1640-1675 A.D.; Cocceius, 1640-1669 A.D.; FRANKE, 1685-1727 A.D., with Spener and the Collegian pietests at Halle, 1671, 1650-1705 A.D. *Historians*: the Magdeburg Centuriators (ecclesiastical history), 1559-1574 A.D.; Seckendorf, 1626-1692 A.D.; F. Spanheim, 1652-1701 A.D. *Law*: Sleidan, 1540-1556 A.D.; Puffendorff, 1661-1694 A.D. *Classical literature*: J. Comenius, 1624-1671; Gronovius, 1643-1671 A.D.; Grævius, 1658-1703 A.D. *In Biblical and Oriental literature*: The BUXTORFFS, 1591-1732 A.D.; Glassius, 1633-1656 A.D. Opitz, the poet, 1551-1639 A.D., began the revival of German vernacular literature. The *Bohemian* golden age of literature was from 1570-1600 A.D. *Science*: Conrad Gesner, 1516-1565 A.D. (he is called the German Pliny); Otto Guericke invented the air-pump, 1650 A.D.

ITALY.—Poetry: Guarini, 1461-1573 A.D.; TASSO, 1544-1595 A.D. *Theologian*: Cardinal Bellarmine, 1574-1621 A.D. *Historians*: Machiavelli, 1482-1528 A.D.; Guicciardini, 1505-1540 A.D.; Paul Jovius, 1528-1552 A.D.; Cardinal BARONIUS, 1557-1617 A.D.; PIETRO SARPI (Father Paul), 1572-1623 A.D.; Davila, 1594-1613 A.D.; Elias Levita (*Orientalist*). *In Political Economy*: Gaspero, 1579 A.D.; Serra, 1613 A.D.; Bernardo, 1588 A.D.; Turbulo, 1616-1629 A.D.; Montinaro, 1680 A.D.; Scaliger, the critic, 1559-1593 A.D.; the Aldi, 1490-1574 A.D.; the Academy Della Crusca at Florence, 1582 A.D.

SPAIN.—*Poets*: Calderon de la Barca, 1540-1566 A.D.; Lopez de Vega, 1585-1635 A.D.; Herrera, 1575-1582 A.D. (fought in the Armada). *Theology*: Suarez, 1564-1615 A.D.; Molina, 1553-1601 A.D.; Du Parron, 1580-1618 A.D. *Fiction*: CERVANTES (Don Quixote), 1569-1626 A.D.; Quevedo, 1646-1686 A.D. *Historians*: Osorius, 1525-1580 A.D.; Oviedo, 1514-1558 A.D.; Mariana, 1514-1625 A.D.; Mendoza, 1565 A.D.; De Solis, 1655-1686 A.D.; Herrera, 1549-1625 A.D.

PORTUGAL.—CAMOENS, the poet of "The Lusiads," 1553-1579 A.D., fought at Lepanto. *Historian*: De Barros, 1522-1570 A.D.

Miscellaneous.—(1) IN THE FINE ARTS:—

ITALY boasts of MICHAEL ANGELO, 1492-1564 A.D.; RAPHAEL, 1502-1520 A.D.; TITIAN, 1521-1576 A.D.; Benvenuto Cellini, 1518-1572 A.D.; Bramante, 1506-1524 A.D.; Bernini, 1598-1680 A.D.; Domenichino, 1581-1641 A.D.; Guido, 1575-1642 A.D.;

Palladio, 1518–1580 A.D.; Salvator Rosa, 1635–1673 A.D.; Paul Veronese (Cagliari), 1513–1588 A.D.; the *five* Bassanos, 1510–1622 A.D.; CORREGGIO, 1493–1534 A.D.; the *four* Carracci, 1559–1619 A.D.; Agostino, 1490–1536 A.D., and Poussin, 1630–1675 A.D. were engravers; Claude Lorraine, 1600–1652 A.D.

HOLLAND has Dürer, 1494–1554 A.D.; HANS HOLBEIN, 1524–1543 A.D.; RUBENS, 1605–1640 A.D.; VAN DYKE, 1616–1633 A.D.; Sir P. Lely, 1618–1680 A.D.

ENGLAND.—Sir C. WREN (1653–1714 A.D.), INIGO JONES (1573–1652 A.D.), architects.

GERMANY.—Louis Cranach, *painter*.

(2) The *Bollandist Fathers* recommenced the publication of the “Acta Sanctorum,” which had been projected by Herbert of Roswych, a Flemish Jesuit, who died 1629 A.D. The Bollandists persevered with this to 1794 A.D. The society revived after the year 1837 A.D., and published the fifty-fourth volume.

PHILOSOPHY.—So far the philosophical schools had followed in the main Aristotle and Plato, to whom even the Schoolmen, though they occasionally criticised and differed, paid due reverence. The Renaissance brought forward a series of speculators, as Paracelsus, Cornelius Agrippa, Cardan, and Böhme, whose views are difficult to understand, and perhaps scarcely worth the labour required for the effort, as they appear to have exercised no abiding influence; but *Bruno*, 1550–1600 A.D., as far as his system can be understood, taught a double pantheism, one connected with “the Soul of the World,” and the other embracing a Universal Unity. *P. Ramus*, a great theologian, was killed in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572 A.D. *SPINOZA* (1632–1677 A.D.), the Jew, a remarkable man, framed a system essentially pantheistic, partly disguised under a Scriptural phraseology, and considered by himself quite orthodox. He insists upon the existence of an Infinite Substance which possesses extension and thought (this is God), possessing no personality, but simply an absolute essence, which is ever unfolding its own self-existent nature in the universe. He is ridiculously called “the God-intoxicated man” by some of his followers. Of the philosophy of the seventeenth century, *BACON* may be regarded, with *Descartes*, as the founders, the former leaning to sensationalism, the latter to idealism. *DESCARTES* is remembered by most through his “Cogito ergo sum;” his philosophy is built upon the fact of *thought*, 1616–1650 A.D. *Malebranche*, 1660–1715 A.D. His system considers mind and body as having no power of self-action except by divine action; “he sees all things in God.” *Gassendi*, 1614–

1655 A.D., criticised Descartes, and partly anticipated JOHN LOCKE ; so had *Hobbes*, 1608–1679 A.D. *Cudworth*, in his great work, “The Intellectual System,” attacks the Atheistic systems, 1640–1688 A.D. LOCKE, in his essay concerning “Human Understanding,” published 1690 A.D., traced the origin of our ideas to outward impressions received through our senses ; hence his followers taught that “there is nothing in the understanding which did not first pass through the senses.” LEIBNITZ, 1665–1714 A.D., added “except the intellect itself.” On these two principles *the English and Scotch philosophy* of Locke and his modern followers depend. *Leibnitz* taught that all substance is of necessity active, consisting of the atoms or monads of which God is the absolute original and the creator. The action of these monads is regulated by the original constitution of things as perfected by God himself, by a *pre-established harmony*, so that they work in complete unison, and bring about at last the great end for which they were intended.

The *Jesuit Schools* in this and the following period cultivated Latin, logic, rhetoric, the mathematical sciences, and their practical application, and were most successful teachers ; but in their schools all freedom of thought was suppressed.

State of the World 1688 A.D.

EUROPE.

NORWAY and DENMARK united under the same king.

SWEDEN, with Western Pomerania, and Bremen in Germany. Finland, Carelia, Ingria, Eastland, and part of Livonia, also under the Swedish crown.

GERMANY. *The Empire* held by the House of Austria, a mere nominal authority. *Austria*, with *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. HUNGARY, on the death of Louis II., killed in the battle of Mohacz, 1526 A.D., was overrun by the Turks, but Ferdinand of Austria was regarded as the lawful king. From that time the history of Hungary is that of the *Vaivoides* of Transylvania, the Zapoli, the Boczkai, the Racoczi, and others, supported by the Turks in opposition to Austria. A Turkish pasha ruled at Buda, while the Austrian governor resided in Presburg. The bigotry of the Austrian emperors drove the Protestants into rebellion under Bethlem Gabor, 1620–

1630 A.D., and again under Count Tekeli, 1676-1679 A.D. The history of Bohemia, Hungary, and the German states, testify to the incurable, insensate bigotry of the *then* House of Austria, now happily extinct. In 1687 A.D., Joseph, son of Leopold I., was crowned hereditary King of Hungary, but a large part of Hungary was in possession of the Turks until the Peace of Carlowitz, 1699 A.D. Bohemia became Austrian after the death of Louis at Mohacz, 1526 A.D. Its previous history is that of a struggle for religious liberty, under Ziska, the leader of the Hussite insurrection. This was granted by Sigismund, 1436 A.D. ; again by the diet of Prague, 1571 A.D., and again by the "Letters of Majesty" of Matthias in 1609 A.D. After the rebellion of 1619 A.D., followed by the success of the Austrians, Protestantism was totally suppressed.

SWITZERLAND. A republic composed of thirteen independent republics, all of an aristocratic character, oppressive to the country peasantry.

HOLLAND. The Seven United Provinces. An aristocratic republic, with William III. of England as *stadtholder*.

NETHERLANDS under Spain ; the object of desire to France.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Practically one kingdom since the accession of James I. of Scotland, 1603 A.D.

FRANCE under Louis XIV. (not including Lorraine).

ITALY. SAVOY (including Piedmont) under its dukes. MILAN and LOMBARDY to Spain. VENICE, which had a large territory on the mainland, and Dalmatia with the Morea was a very important republic, strictly oligarchic. The dukedoms of MODENA and TUSCANY under their respective dukes, together with the PAPAL STATES under the Pope, had no political importance. GENOA was an independent republic, to which *Corsica* was subject. NAPLES and SICILY were under the kings of Spain, together with the island of SARDINIA. The *Knights of Malta* were in possession of MALTA and GOZO.

SPAIN. Much decayed in population and power, notwithstanding the large supplies of bullion from her American possessions.

PORTUGAL, which had been united to Spain, on failure of the royal line, 1580 A.D., revolted under the Duke of Braganza, 1640 A.D.

POLAND. As the natural result of an elective monarchy, distracted by factions. The great John Sobieski was king.

RUSSIA had subjected the Tartars of Kazan and Kipshack, had received the addition of SIBERIA by the conquest achieved by the Cossack Yermak, 1580–1584 A.D., and had reached the confines of Chinese Tartary; but had not yet reached the Gulf of Finland or the Black Sea, and was, therefore, without a direct outlet to the west or south by water. Peter the Great was preparing for a new state of things.

TURKEY IN EUROPE included the Crimea, Moldavia, and Bessarabia north of the Danube, with Wallachia, Bulgaria, Roumelia, Bosnia, Servia, Albania, and Greece (except the Morea). Hungary had just been wrested from the power of the sultans.

ASIA.

TURKEY IN ASIA included the territory which yet is found on our maps. ARABIA claimed by Turkey.

PERSIA, under the Sefi Dynasty, claiming authority over the tribes as far as the Indus.

INDIA yet nominally under the Great Mogul at Delhi, but disturbed by the Mahrattas, Seiks, and others, and by small settlements of Portuguese, French, Danish, and English traders. Goa was the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India and in the Eastern Archipelago. The PHILIPPINE Islands were settled by *Spain*, 1585 A.D., the MOLUCCAS by the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch. CEYLON to the Dutch, taken from the Portuguese, 1656 A.D.

CHINA under the Mantchu Tartars. The Portuguese occupy Macao, 1586 A.D.

JAPAN troubled by internal disputes and wars. The Dutch allowed to have a factory at Nagasaki, 1641 A.D., the Portuguese having been expelled and the Christians massacred, 1637 A.D.

SIBERIA and all northern Asia, as far as explored, subject to Russia.

AFRICA.

EGYPT under the Turks.

BARBARY STATES—*i.e.*, *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*—nominally acknowledged the Sultan of Turkey, 1574 A.D., and soon began their piratical attacks on European shipping in their corsairs.

They were first seen in the Atlantic, 1585 A.D. They were wickedly permitted by the two great maritime powers, England and Holland, to rob and plunder the ships of the southern nations on the Mediterranean. Portugal claimed the coast of Guinea, Congo, &c., Mozambique, 1506 A.D. Cape of Good Hope (Dutch), 1650 A.D.

MOROCCO was under the Xeriffs, and was also engaged in plundering and piracy.

NORTH AMERICA.

CANADA, 1497-1663 A.D., with all the territory bordering on the Mississippi (west of the English colonies) down to the Gulf of Mexico, forming the Province of LOUISIANA, 1683 A.D. Also ARCADIA (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, 1604 A.D.) to FRANCE. All the EASTERN COAST (of the present United States) from Main to Florida to England, *i.e.*, MAINE settled, 1635 A.D.; NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1623 A.D.; MASSACHUSETTS, first settled by the Puritans, 1620 A.D.; RHODE ISLAND by Roger Williams, 1631 A.D.; CONNECTICUT, NEW YORK, settled by the Dutch, 1614 A.D., conquered by England, 1664 A.D. NEW JERSEY settled by the *Dutch*, 1634 A.D.; by the *Swedes*, 1638 A.D.; then by the English united to New York, from which it was separated, 1736 A.D. VIRGINIA, first settlement by the English, 1585 A.D.; second in 1587 A.D.; third when Jamestown was founded, 1607 A.D.; MARYLAND by a Catholic colony, 1633 A.D. The CAROLINAS first at Roanoke by Raleigh, 1585 A.D.; settled, 1650 A.D. NEWFOUNDLAND to England, 1583 A.D.; settled, 1621-1633 A.D.

MEXICO to Spain (first viceroy, 1530 A.D.), with CALIFORNIA, discovered by Cortez, and NEW MEXICO. And FLORIDA to *Spain*.

SOUTH AMERICA.

PERU conquered, 1531, 1532 A.D.; CHILI conquered, 1535 A.D. TERRAFIRMA (North Coast), 1532 A.D. BUENOS AYRES and PARAGUAY, 1580 A.D., to SPAIN.

BRAZIL settled, 1520 A.D.; DUTCH occupation, 1623-1660 A.D.; then yielded to PORTUGAL.

GUIANA, including Demerara, Surinam, and Cayenne occupied by English, Dutch, and French, but frequently changing masters.

WEST INDIES.

CUBA, PORTO RICO, TRINIDAD to Spain.

JAMAICA conquered by the English, 1655 A.D.; the Bahamas, 1666 A.D.; the Bermudas, 1612 A.D. The smaller Caribbee Islands divided among England, France, and Holland, frequently changing their possessors.

SAN DOMINGO (Hayti, Hispaniola) settled by Spain, partly occupied by the French, 1664 A.D., and divided between them, 1690 A.D.

ELEVENTH PERIOD.

*From the English Revolution, 1688 A.D., to
the French Revolution, 1788, 1789 A.D.*

THE occurrences of this period may conveniently be classified :—
(1) A Retrospect; (2) the Revolution of 1688 A.D. to the Peace of Ryswick, 1697 A.D.; (3) the preparation for the War of the Spanish Succession, to 1700 A.D.; (4) War of the Spanish Succession, 1703–1713 A.D., to the Peace of Utrecht; (5) Great Northern War of Russia and Sweden, 1697–1709 A.D.; (6) the Western Powers and their negotiations, 1717–1731 A.D.; (7) War of the Polish Succession, 1733–1738 A.D.; (8) War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748 A.D.; (9) the Seven Years' War between Prussia and Austria, 1756–1763 A.D.; (10) the first partition of Poland, 1772 A.D.; (11) the War of American Independence, 1773–1783 A.D.; (12) moral condition of the Governments of Europe in the eighteenth century; (13) the efforts towards improvement and progress in the eighteenth century; (14) local histories; (15) ecclesiastical history; (16) literary history.

I.—A Retrospect.

1. A period of one hundred years separates the English Revolution from the beginning of the greatest of modern political catastrophes, the overthrow of the monarchy of France. The connexion between the two Revolutions is obvious, for the gradual spread of the principles which triumphed in 1688 A.D. in England were felt more or less in all Europe. In France they quietly and imperceptibly took possession of the minds of the educated classes, and to vague desires for the revival of free institutions. But, though connected, the two Revolutions differ greatly in their character.

The English Revolution "was a movement [conducted by leaders] essentially aristocratic. The whole course of its policy was shaped by a few men who were far in advance of the general sentiments of the nation, though backed by an intelligent and active minority."¹ In the French Revolution the movement was controlled by the refuse of the population of Paris, in the absence of the natural leaders of the people, acting through the irresponsible municipality, effectually destroyed the legal authorities in every department of government, and were guilty of excesses and atrocities which made the very name of Liberty a bye-word of reproach. The educated classes had no direct share in this Revolution. "Profound and searching changes in the institutions of France were inevitable; but, had they been effected peacefully, legally, and gradually, had the shameless scenes of the Regency, and of Louis XV., been avoided, that frenzy of democratic enthusiasm, which has been the most destructive product of the Revolution, and which has passed almost like a new religion into European life, might never have arisen, and the whole Napoleonic episode, with its innumerable consequences, would never have occurred."² The wars of Louis XIV., followed by the equally unnecessary wars of his successors, in the period upon which we are entering, involved France in financial difficulties, and increased the burden of taxation until it became unbearable. A just and popular government might have grappled with and overcome all the financial and social difficulties of their position; but France had a government neither wise nor just, and which had no hold on the affection or confidence of the people, and no support from the obedience of the army. The general misery of the population gave to the Revolution its peculiar and singular ferocious character.

II.—*The Revolution of 1688 A.D. to the Peace of Ryswick, 1697 A.D.*

2. The Revolution of 1688 A.D. placed William III., the Stadtholder of Holland, on the throne of England. He was the nephew of James II., and the grandson of Charles I., through his mother, the daughter of Charles I. Mary, his wife, the daughter of James II., was a firm Protestant, and in all things of one mind with her husband. The position of king in England was specially gratifying to William from the additional power and prestige which it gave him in his leadership of the League of Augsburg (founded in 1685), consisting of the German and other princes, against Louis XIV.

¹ Lecky, "English History," vol. i. p. 16.

² Ibid.

The emperor, Spain, Holland, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, Denmark, and Savoy on the one side, and France, with the Sultan of Turkey on the other. The Catholics, who were allied with Protestants in opposing Louis XIV., justified themselves by the still greater inconsistency of the French alliance with the Turks, incited by France to ravage Hungary, and, as the ally of France, to enslave thousands of Christians, carried away and sold in the slave-markets of Turkey. Thus was formed the Grand Alliance, in the spring of 1689 A.D. This was the *third* great war in which Louis XIV. had engaged—a nine years' war, 1688–97 A.D., in which France displayed again her astonishing power, and exhausted her ample resources. Already the Palatinate had been laid waste by the French armies, early in 1689 A.D. The first campaign was, on the whole favourable to the allies; but in 1690 A.D. the war became a game of chess the Netherlands, in which the Marshal Luxemburg was opposed first to the German generals, and then to King William. The battle of Fleurus, June 30, 1690 A.D., was a great victory for the French over the German generals; but, on the other hand, the Irish rebellion in favour of James II. was quelled July 12, 1691 and the English fleets were victorious at Harfleur and La Hogue, May 29, 1692 A.D. King William, at the head of the army of the allies, was able to check the progress of the French generals, although Luxemburg, June 5, 1692 A.D., took Namur, defeated William at Steinkerck, August 3, 1692 A.D., and again at Neerwinden, July 19, 1693 A.D. In Italy, the Duke of Savoy was obliged to make peace with France, August 4, 1696 A.D., and the French took Barcelona from Spain, August, 1697 A.D. The French found, however, that their victories were barren of results through the singular skill and power of William to check the advance of his enemies, even when defeated by them. Louis desired a respite, and peace was made at *Ryswick*, September 30, 1697 A.D. France surrendered all its conquests, and gave up the barrier fortresses in the Low Countries to the Dutch. William was also recognised King of England. The Duke of Lorraine was restored to his territories, after an absence of twenty-seven years. In this war William, though often defeated, was so judicious in his retreats that his opponents were not able to profit by their success. The allies, though not successful in every instance, accomplished their great aim of checking the encroachments of the French monarch. They mortified his vanity and compelled him to give up the acquisitions which he had made in violation of public faith. On one point there was a mean yielding to France,

on account of the religious feeling of the emperor. It had been properly yielded to France that the Romish religion should be continued as it had been in the places yielded by France to the allies. The Protestant princes also demanded that Protestantism should be restored in the places in which it had formerly been established ; but this was set aside as disagreeable, not only to France, but to the emperor. This same emperor, Leopold I., and his predecessor had repeatedly violated the settlement of the Peace of Westphalia, made in favour of the Protestants, 1648 A.D., and was at that time persecuting them in Hungary. It is not gratifying to think that King William's statesmanship, and English and Dutch blood and treasure were in any degree subservient to the maintenance of this worthless and bigoted dynasty in Austria, and we need not wonder at the general alarm of the Protestants in England, Holland, and in the Electorate of Brandenburg. It was during the campaign of 1692 A.D. that, in May, Louis, accompanied by his court and a large number of the nobility, held a review of his two armies of 100,000 men at Mons, the line presenting a front of eight miles. As a sample of the pomp and luxury of his camp, the son of the Duke St. Simon had a suite, thirty-five horses and sumpter mules, and servants in proportion. Racine, the poet and historiographer of Louis, was present, and left the ground on which the review had been carried on from early till late on a summer day, deafened and tired, regretting that "all these poor fellows (the soldiers) were not in their cottages with their wives and children." To men like Louis war was a pastime. His successors and their families to this day are paying the penalty of his unscrupulous selfishness and pride. He agreed to the Peace of Ryswick "in order to gather new forces for a not very distant, but a far more important, transaction about the Spanish Succession."

III.—*The Preparation for the War of the Spanish Succession, to 1700 A.D.*

3. The brief period of peace was occupied by the great powers in arrangements respecting the Spanish Succession. Charles II. of Spain was dying, childless, of incurable maladies. "He was too weak to lift his food to his misshapen mouth. At thirty-seven he had the bald head and wrinkled face of a man of seventy, his complexion turning from yellow to green. He frequently fell down in fits, and remained long insensible, and was a victim to superstitious fancies." ¹

¹ Macaulay, vol. v. p. 145.

The succession to his many kingdoms was that great question in which every European government felt that its own prosperity, dignity, and security depended. A partition of these extensive dominions seemed inevitable, and even desirable. There were, however, three claimants—(1) the dauphin, the son of Louis XIV. by the Infanta Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV., and sister of Charles II. of Spain. The fact that at the marriage *she* had renounced for herself and posterity all pretensions to the Spanish crown did not weigh much *under altered circumstances*, though it had been made an article at the Treaty of the Pyrenees (November 7, 1659 A.D.), and Louis had pledged his faith for its observance; (2) the claim of the emperor was derived from his mother, Mary Anne, daughter of Philip III. and aunt of Charles II. of Spain, in which case no renunciation of the claim to the crown had been made; (3) the son of the Elector of Bavaria, whose mother, the Electress Mary Antoinette, was the only child of the Emperor Leopold by his first wife Margaret, a younger daughter of Philip IV., and sister of the Queen of France. Margaret had also renounced her rights; but Philip IV. had settled that, failing male issue, Margaret and her posterity would be entitled to the crown of Spain. “The partisans of France held that the Bavarian claim was better than the Austrian claim, the partisans of Austria held that the Bavarian claim was better than the French claim. But that which really constituted the strength of the Bavarian claim was the weakness of the Bavarian government. The electoral prince was the only candidate whose success would alarm nobody. . . . He was, therefore, the favourite candidate of prudent and peaceable men in every country.” As the union of the two crowns seemed altogether too dangerous to the notions then entertained of the balance of power, a *Treaty of Partition* was made by England, France, and Holland, October 11, 1698 A.D., at *Loo*, by which the elector’s son was to receive Spain, the Netherlands, and the colonies; the dauphin the Two Sicilies, Guipuscoa, and some small Italian islands; the Archduke Charles, Milan. Such an interference on the part of the makers of this treaty is only defensible, or rather excusable, on the desire to prevent a general war by a mutual agreement on the part of those specially interested in the avoidance of war. Unfortunately the electoral prince died suddenly, February 6, 1699 A.D. A *Second Treaty of Partition* was proposed by France, and signed by England and Holland, March 3, 1700 A.D., by which the archduke was to receive the crown, the dauphin Lorraine (Milan being given to the Duke of Lorraine as an indemnity). These partition treaties were not popular in England.

Neither France nor the emperor were satisfied, though not ready to dispute this arrangement. But the whole affair changed its aspect when, on October 5, 1700 A.D., Charles II., influenced by his confessor, appointed Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis, his heir, and died November 1, 1700 A.D. For some time Louis hesitated, but at length he formally presented the Duke of Anjou to his court as King of Spain as Philip V. On December 4 Louis took leave of the new king, exclaiming, "Go, my son, there are no longer Pyrenees," an anticipation of unity in politics not in this case realised. This disposal of Spain and its empire in Europe and America was not immediately opposed by either England, Holland, or Austria. England was not willing to contest the point until roused by Louis acknowledging the son of James II. as King of England, September 16, 1701 A.D. Then a cry for war arose, and parliament granted the necessary supplies. King William died March 8, 1702 A.D.; but his successor, Anne, carried out his policy, and the War of Succession began. (The national debt of England at this time was £16,394,702.)

IV.—*War of the Spanish Succession, 1702–1713 A.D., to the Peace of Utrecht.*

4. The War of Succession continued from 1702–1713. France, the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and Spain on the one side; England, Holland, and the Empire on the other. Savoy changed sides occasionally, never needing an excuse. On one occasion Victor Amadeus withdrew from the alliance because an "arm-chair" was denied him in the presence of the King of Spain. The chief battles were fought in the Netherlands. The great commanders on the side of the allies were the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince Eugene. On the side of France Vendome, Tallard, and Villars. Battles were gained by the allies at Blenheim, August 13, 1704 (when thirty-four carriages of French ladies were captured); at Ramilies, May 23, 1706; at Oudenarde, July 11, 1708; Malplaquet, September 11, 1709. Such tedious campaigns, so different from the short wars of late years, explain the extraordinary pomp of the King of France and of the King of the Romans (Joseph son of the Emperor Leopold), when present in the campaigns. This prince, at the siege of Kaiserswerth, had a retinue of 232 persons, among whom were gardeners, poultry-keepers, cellarers, and 20 cooks and assistant-cooks. The queen had 170 attendants, 77 carriages, requiring 206 horses at every station as reliefs. Schlosser calls this an illustration

of "the union of the greatest pitifulness and meanness, with the most absurd expenditure and pomp of the higher classes at the courts of this time."¹ On each side the combatants were prevented from bringing out their full strength. France, owing to the civil war in the Cevennes, carried on by the Protestants, provoked by the bigotry of the king, 1703, 1704 A.D.; and the emperor, through the revolt of the Hungarians, caused by a similar bigotry and misgovernment of that important frontier province, 1701-1707 A.D. In Spain the allies were at first triumphant, and the Archduke Charles was acknowledged as king. Gibraltar was taken by the English, 1704 A.D.; but on April 25, 1707 A.D., the army of Charles was defeated at Almanza, and Philip recovered his throne. France, however, suffered from the exhaustion of the war, and in 1706 and 1709 A.D., Louis desired peace, and was willing to make the most humiliating concessions, which the allies, flushed with success, most unwisely refused. By anticipating the taxes for eight years, and by the sacrifice of gold and silver plate on the part of the king and nobles, and by supplies of bullion from Spanish America, Louis was able to hold his ground. Fortunately for him, the caprice of Queen Anne, influenced by the Tory party, led to the change of a Whig ministry for one composed of Tories. The new ministry, whatever might be their reason, acted the part of traitors to their allies, and compelled them to consent to the Peace of Utrecht, April 11, 1713. Spain was left to Philip V., a ruler neither better nor worse than his competitor Charles; both of them equally ignorant and bigoted. Austria received Naples, Milan, and Sardinia; Savoy received Sicily and Montferrat; England gained Gibraltar, and the Assiento contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves from Africa, and obtained a guarantee that the kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united. A fear of the overwhelming power of France was the bugbear of the English rulers then and for some years following—in fact, there is never wanting an occasion for war between powers jealous of each other and not afraid of a conflict. We ought now to look with indifference upon the aggrandisement of the Continental powers, conscious of our ability to protect our own interests. Prussia gained part of Gueldres and Neufchatel. Holland a small increase of territory. The treaty was as good as either party deserved. France was reduced to the lowest state of depression, with a debt of eighty-six millions sterling. Louis himself, depressed by his ill success and by family losses, died, 1715. The news of

¹ Vol. iii. p. 35.

his death was received by his people with undissembled joy. He was succeeded by his great-grandson Louis XV., a child, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. So far as England was concerned, the continuance of the war after 1706 A.D. was a great mistake, or rather a crime. A peace *then* would have saved England thirty millions sterling, as well as the lives of many thousands of its soldiers. "There can be little doubt that the party interests of the Whig ministry were a main cause of the failure of the negotiations. Still more indefensible was their conduct in 1709 A.D."¹ Louis then offered to abandon his conquests, and to give up Spain to the Archduke, but the allies insisted that he should unite with them in expelling his grandson from Spain. "There are few instances in modern history of a more scandalous abuse of the rights of conquest than this transaction. It may be in part explained by the ambition of the emperor, who desired a complete ascendancy in Europe, and in part also by the excessive demands and animosity of the Dutch, who remembered the unprovoked invasion of their country in 1670 A.D. The prolongation of the war, however, would have been impossible but for the policy of the Whig ministry, who supported the most extravagant claims of their allies."² In the Peace of Utrecht, England and the Empire shamefully abandoned their allies, the Catalans, to the vengeance of Philip V., the Bourbon King of Spain. England permitted, and, to some extent, aided, in the siege of Barcelona, which was taken by storm September 11, 1714 A.D. A frightful massacre followed, and then legal prosecutions. The old privileges of Catalonia were finally abolished. England, however, was satisfied, and, to its further disgrace, became, by the Assiento contract, "the greatest slave-trader in the world." The secret understanding which the Tory ministry of Oxford and Bolingbroke had maintained with France during the negotiations "formed afterwards one of the most formidable of the articles of impeachment against Bolingbroke, and they admit of but little palliation."³ The national debt at the death of Queen Anne was £52,145,363. The debt of France at the death of Louis XIV. was 120 millions sterling, and the annual deficit three millions sterling.

V.—*Great Northern War of Russia and Sweden, 1697–1709 A.D.*

5. The great northern war arose out of the struggle of Russia with Sweden for access to the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland, a point of the utmost importance then to the development of Russia

¹ Lecky, vol. i. pp. 45, 46.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 109–112.

as a European power, far more than the possession of Crimean Tartary, which afterwards gave it access to the Black Sea. At that time Russia had no maritime port for trade with Europe except at Archangel, a port on the White Sea to the extreme north, inaccessible in the winter, and at the extremity of the empire. Sweden, since the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648 A.D., had been placed in a position formidable to its neighbours. On the death of Charles XI., his successor, Charles XII., was a minor, fifteen years of age, 1697 A.D. The kings of Denmark and Poland and the Czar Peter of Russia attempted to despoil him of his German, and Polish, and Baltic states. By a resolute attack on Copenhagen he compelled the King of Denmark to make peace, on August 18, 1700 A.D.; he defeated the Czar at Narva, November 20, 1700 A.D.; the Saxons and Poles at Duna, July, 1701 A.D.; and placed Stanislaus on the throne of Poland in the place of Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, 1706 A.D. In 1707 A.D. the allies, by extraordinary civilities, kept Charles XII. neutral in the war with France. Peter the Czar defeated him at Pultowa, June 27, 1709 A.D.; Stanislaus was dethroned and Augustus replaced; Charles fled to Turkey, and remained there until 1714 A.D., when he returned suddenly to Stralsund, the only place left to Sweden in Germany. He renewed his efforts against Denmark and Russia, but fell at Frederickshall, Norway, December 11, 1718 A.D. A scheme for the overthrow of the Hanoverian Dynasty in aid of the Pretender, by the help of Spain and Sweden, with the Czar's approval, ended with his death. Peace was made between Russia and Sweden, 1721 A.D., Russia obtaining a small part of Finland, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, and Courland. Russia had now access and territory on the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea. Europe recognised Peter as emperor, and added the title of "the Great." St. Petersburg was founded 1703 A.D., by which he had opened a window to the west, at the mouth of the Neva, where Sweden had a small fort, which he destroyed, and on a neighbouring island founded the citadel of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1703 A.D., amid dark forests, vast marshes, dreary wastes, where no building could be erected except on piles of wood. From this time the power of Russia was supreme in Sweden, Denmark, and Poland. In our admiration of the genius and indomitable perseverance of Peter, we must not forget the cost of the misery arising out of his contest with Charles XII. Livonia and Esthonia suffered a devastation "worse than that of the Palatinate by Louis XIV." All the towns were pillaged except Riga, Pernau, and Revel, and the whole country made a desert. The

Cossacks and Tartars did not know what to do with their prisoners. One tribe alone took 4,000 men, women, and children to the Lower Dnieper.¹ Sweden also was completely exhausted, having in this war lost, it is said, 400,000 men.

VI.—*The Western Powers and their Negotiations, 1717–1731 A.D.*

6. The alliance made by the western powers against their neighbours show the unsettled state of European politics and the permanence of national jealousies. (1) *A quadruple alliance of the emperor, France, England, and Holland against Spain*, January 4, 1717 A.D. The regent Philip, Duke of Orleans, on the death of Louis XIV., found Spain his greatest enemy. This led him to ally himself to England, and to favour the new Hanoverian Dynasty. At that time both France and England had been disturbed by the failure of two grand financial schemes,—that of the Mississippi scheme of Law in France, 1717–1720 A.D., and the South Sea scheme in England, 1719 A.D., speculations which ruined thousands of all classes of society. Alberoni, the prime minister of Spain, intrigued with the Czar and Sweden to obtain a position in Italy for the son of the second wife of Philip V., but without success. Alberoni was, however, suddenly exiled December 5, 1719 A.D., and peace was made, June 13, 1721 A.D., by which Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia were to be given to Don Carlos, the son of Philip's second wife (on the decease of the Medici and the Farnese family). Sardinia was to be given to Savoy in lieu of Sicily, which was to go to the emperor. (2) *The League of Herrenhausen*, September 3, 1725, was formed by England, France, and Prussia against Spain and Austria. Spain and Austria, allied against France, by the intrigues of Baron Rippenda; the formation of an East India Company at Ostend, the granting of Tuscany by the quadruple alliance to Don Carlos, and the jealousy of the friendship of Spain and Austria, were the main causes. Peace was made through Cardinal Fleury, the wise minister of Louis XV., at Seville, November 9, 1729 A.D., between England, France, and Spain; and March, 1731 A.D., at Vienna, with the emperor, by which the Italian States of Don Carlos were to be garrisoned by Spanish troops, and the East India Company at Ostend given up. George I. of England had died 1727 A.D. The national debt at that time was £52,092,235.

¹ Rambard, vol. ii. p. 7.

VII.—*War of the Polish Succession, 1733–1738 A.D.*

7. The war of the Polish succession followed on the death of Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, February 1, 1733 A.D. Stanislaus, the deposed king, and Augustus, the son of the late king, were the competitors. France supported Stanislaus, Russia and Austria Augustus, who was crowned king, 1734 A.D. France, Sardinia (Savoy), and Spain ally against Austria; “thus from Cadiz to Archangel the gold and blood of nations were demanded for the decision of the contests about the Sarmatian throne.” England, under the prudent Walpole, declined to assist Austria with subsidies. Cardinal Fleury endeavoured to make a peace from October, 1735, to November, 1738 A.D., and at last succeeded. Augustus was acknowledged King of Poland, Stanislaus had the duchy of Lorraine, which was to be absorbed by France after his death. This was a great gain to France, which had been long desired. Francis, Duke of Lorraine, was to have the duchy of Tuscany when vacant; Naples, Sicily, and Elba given to Don Carlos of Spain; Parma and Piacenza to Austria. Walpole had had great difficulty to keep England out of this war. Voltaire regards the war which brought the accession of Lorraine as the only one which produced any solid success to France since the days of Charlemagne. It was the great glory of Fleury’s administration.

VIII.—*War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748.*

8. With the exception of a war between England and Spain, arising out of the American trade, 1739 A.D., there was peace in Europe, when *Charles VI., the last male of the Hapsburg family, died, October 20, 1740 A.D.* Frederick, the first King of Prussia, had died 1713 A.D., and his successor, Frederick William I., on May 31, 1740 A.D. The Hapsburgs, since Rudolph, 1272 A.D., had flourished four hundred and sixty-seven years, and had given sixteen emperors to Germany. There was every reason to expect that Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI., would peaceably succeed to the hereditary possession of Austria, as the arrangement called the Pragmatic Sanction had been acknowledged and guaranteed, not only by the states of the Austrian Empire, but also by nearly all the powers of Europe. The opposition to her succession was a manifestation of the weak hold which the public law of nations possessed over the consciences of European statesmen—further instances of which were furnished by the division of Poland

and the overleaping of all the bounds of public law in the wars of the French Revolution. (1) *Prussia*, under Frederick, afterwards surnamed the Great, a great prince, master of the arts of peace and war, a friend to the sciences and literature, but without respect for religion or law, and without German sympathies, immediately invaded Silesia, without any declaration of war. A few days after his ambassador appeared at Vienna, offering Maria Theresa an alliance with Frederick, with Russia, and the maritime powers for the protection of her inheritance, together with his vote and interest for her husband at the imperial election and a loan for defraying the expenses of war—on this one condition, the cession of Silesia: this offer was refused. (2) *Bavaria*, by its elector, had refused to sign the Pragmatic Sanction, and now openly and honestly claimed the whole Hapsburg succession, as a descendant of a daughter of the Emperor Frederick I., who had not renounced the succession unconditionally, but merely in favour of all the *male* heirs of Frederick's sons; but the original document kept at Vienna, and produced, did not say *male*, but legitimate heirs, by which the Bavarian claim was nullified. (3) *Spain*, influenced by Queen Elizabeth, wanted a principality in Italy for her second son Philip, having already obtained Naples and Sicily for her eldest son Don Carlos. (4) *France* declared openly for Bavaria, thus violating the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, given most solemnly and most explicitly, and for which she had received the high price of Lorraine, ceded expressly for this guarantee, the object being the desire to destroy the power of the house of Austria, and eventually to profit by accession of territory either in Flanders or on the Rhine. (5) *Saxony*, by its elector, as heir of the elder daughter of the Emperor Joseph, claimed the whole succession, although he had been paid for his acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction. (6) *Sardinia* (Savoy) laid claim to Milan, the duke being descended from Catherine, a daughter of Philip II. An eight years' war followed against these unprincipled oath-breakers, these would-be robbers of the heritage of a woman who had only the public law of nations and the pledged public faith of Europe on her side. *France* proposed a plan of agreement by which the various claimants were to be pacified by a fair share of the Hapsburg domains, leaving only Lower Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, with Hungary, to Maria Theresa, and *securing the Spanish Netherlands for France*. The French-Bavarian army, under the elector, who was Lieutenant-General of all the French forces in Germany, had threatened Vienna, when Maria Theresa, September 11, 1741, entered the assembly of the Hungarian States at Presburg with the infant Joseph, her

first-born in her arms, claiming their aid; the effect was indescribable. These men, the descendants of the nobles and commoners, whom Leopold I. had sent to the scaffold, and who had hated the dominion of Austria, filled with enthusiasm, drew their swords, and exclaimed "Let us die for Maria Theresa, our king." New regiments were formed, all the nobility called to arms, and large subsidies granted. Francis Stephen, the husband of Maria Theresa, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was appointed regent, and the liberties of Hungary established immediately on the accession of Maria Theresa. The French and Bavarians, leaving Vienna undisturbed, advanced northward, and with the Saxons took Prague, November 20, 1741, and on January 24, 1742, Charles Albert was elected Emperor of Germany, as Charles VII. Almost immediately the army of Maria Theresa drove the French out of Austria, and occupied Munich and all Bavaria, February 13, 1742. Bavaria suffered from the violence of an exasperated barbarian enemy; pillage, conflagration, and murders by the Croats, and by the unscrupulous bands of the army. Meanwhile peace was made with Frederick by the cession of Silesia, June 11, 1742 A.D., and July 26, while England, Hanover, Prussia, and Saxony entered into an alliance with Maria Theresa, December 20. England (under Walpole), 1741 A.D., granted subsidies (being at enmity with Spain). King George II., with an English-Hanoverian army, gained the battle of Dettingen over the French, commanded by Noailles, June 27, 1743 A.D. France declared war against England, 1744, and the King of Prussia, jealous of the success of Maria Theresa, allied with the French and took possession of Bohemia with one hundred thousand men, August 10 to September 17, 1744. A quadruple alliance of England, Holland, Hungary, and Poland, to re-take Silesia for Maria Theresa followed, January 8, 1745, A.D. Then the death of the Emperor Charles VII., January 20, 1745. Marshal Saxe gained the battle of Fontenoy, March 11, 1745 A.D. Peace was made with Prussia, Austria, and Poland, December 25, 1745 A.D. Russia, as the ally of England, saved Holland from the French, 1748 A.D. By this peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, November 7, 1748 A.D. (1) King of Sardinia kept his possessions. (2) England gained the revival of the Assiento Treaty. (3) Don Philip, Parma and Placentia, and Guastalla. This treaty was *thought* to secure the balance of power, supported by more than a million of men in the standing armies of the Great Powers. "Thus small were the changes effected in Europe by so much bloodshed and treaties by nearly nine years of wasteful and

desolating war. The design of the dismemberment of Austria had failed, but no vexed question had been set to rest. International antipathies and jealousies had been immeasurably increased, and the fearful sufferings and injuries that had been inflicted on the most civilised nations had not even purchased the blessings of an assured peace. Of all the ambitious projects that had been conceived during the war, that of Frederick alone was substantially realised, and France, while endeavouring to weaken one rival, had contributed largely to lay the foundation of the greatness of another.”¹ Little did the French politician of that day anticipate the Prussia of 1870 at the head of united Germany; little did Louis XV., who, while living in adultery with four sisters, was so “religious” as to object to employ Marshal Saxe, a Protestant, imagine, that within another century there would be a government in France which would scarcely tolerate Romanism itself.

9. Eight years of peace followed, well employed by England. Holland was on the decline. So also France and Spain. *The hatred and rivalry of Austria and Prussia occasioned the Seven Years’ War, 1756–1762 A.D.* England and France were already at war about their possessions in America, 1755, 1756 A.D. France sought to seize Hanover. *England allied with Prussia, January 16, 1756 A.D.* France with Austria, May 1. Russia and Sweden united with France and Austria. Frederick of Prussia was the soul of the war, animating his army and the Prussian people. Maria Theresa, loved and venerated by her people, was able to raise and support a mass of forces which astonished Europe. The commanders were Prince Charles of Lorraine, Counts Browne, Laudon, and Daun, on the side of Austria; Marshal D’Estrees, the Duke of Richelieu, and Soubise on the part of France; Soltikow, the Russian count, and Frederick Duke of Brunswick, on the part of Prussia. The chief battles were Lowritz, October 13, 1756, A.D., in which Austria was beaten by Prussia; Prague, May 6, 7, 1756, A.D., in which Austria was beaten; Collin, in which Prussia was defeated, June 18, 1757, and the cause of Prussia appeared quite lost; then the battle of Rosbach, November 5, 1757, in which the King of Prussia defeated France and Austria, and in a panic terror the army was annihilated; then the battle of Leuthen, December 5, 1757 A.D., the most glorious of Frederick’s victories, in which eighty thousand men, under Daun, were defeated by twenty thousand Prussians; followed by the battle of Kunersdorf, August 12, 1759, in which the Russians and Austrians defeated the Prussians with great loss. After the death

¹ Lecky, vol. i. p. 430.

of George II., 1760 A.D., England withdrew from the war. This loss to Frederick was more than compensated by the friendship of Russia, 1762 A.D. No results beyond heaps of dead from these contests. England had triumphed at sea and had driven the French from North America by the conquest of Canada, and had increased the national debt to above one hundred millions. The Bourbons of France and Spain formed the family compact, August 15, 1761 A.D. England took the Havannas and Manilla, and peace was made, November 3, 1762 A.D., England gaining Canada and Florida. France ceded Louisiana to Spain; then peace was made between Austria and Prussia at Hubertsburg, February 10, 1763 A.D. "Thus ended this terrible and unexampled war, which had deprived Germany of more than a million of men, and which had accumulated misery and sufferings without number upon Central Europe, without any fruit either for Europe, or for any particular state except the British, the commercial power of which it strengthened."¹ It would be more correct to say that there were no real advantages to any party; these wars prepared the way for the success of the French in the revolutionary wars of the next generation, by the exhaustion of the resources of the German powers, and by the loss of all that mutual confidence which was necessary towards united action in opposition to the common enemy the French. The expulsion of the French from Canada was not to the advantage of England, as it freed the southern colonies from the fear of French conquest and made them independent of the help of the English troops for their defence, by which their separation from England was precipitated. It was, however, an advantage to the world and to the United States of the future, which had from that time neighbours secured to them of people of their own race, religion and language.

X.—*The first Partition of Poland by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, August 21, September 13 and 18, 1772 A.D.*

The death of Augustus III. (Elector of Saxony and King of Poland), October 5, 1763, led to the civil war which always preceded the choice of a new king. Catherine II. of Russia supported the Count Poniatowsky, her favourite (as Stanislaus Augustus), and procured, by force and intimidation, his election, September 7, 1764. A general disunion and civil broils arising out of the claim of the Dissidents (the non-Catholics) to full equality of privilege, was opposed by the Catholic

¹ Rotteck, vol. iii. p. 327.

party, but supported by Russia and Prussia. The Russian troops attacking the rebellious Poles, even in Turkish territory, roused the Turks, already jealous of Russian and Prussian influence in Poland; they declared war against Russia, 1768 A.D., which, in 1774 A.D., was concluded on terms favourable to Russia. Meanwhile, Austria and Prussia had taken possession of portions of Poland adjacent to their respective territories,¹ an act which led to the idea of mutual accommodation of the threatened contest by the partition of Poland. The author of this project, there is reason to believe, was Frederick II. It was first mentioned to Catherine II. by his brother Henry, and reluctantly agreed to by Maria Theresa, through the influence of her son Joseph. On the authority of Von Hammer, the scheme originated with the Sultan Mustapha III., who directed the Turkish envoy in Vienna to propose the division of Poland between Turkey and Austria ten months before Prince Henry had brought the matter before Catherine II. No one can justify or excuse the conduct of the three powers. Poland had been for some time a disturbing nuisance to her neighbours, but by a cordial support of a rational constitution she might have been made a valuable member of the European commonwealth, and an invaluable bulwark between western and central Europe and Russia, the want of which has been felt in the nineteenth century. No one of the three powers had any ground of justification for this partial spoliation of Poland. That Poland, with its elective monarchy, was more or less in a state of chronic disorder, troublous even to its neighbours, might have been a reasonable ground for attempting to erect there a strong government and a prolonged occupancy; but to curtail its territory was only calculated to perpetuate the anarchy of the country. The cession comprised one-third of the territory and one-half of the population. Poland was left with a population of four millions. *Prussia* obtained West Prussia, which made them masters of the Vistula and of Polish commerce, besides the port and customs of Dantzic—3,060 square miles; population, 600,000. *Russia* took Lithuania and the country between the rivers Dwina and the Dnieper—9,200 square miles; population, 1,800,000. *Austria* obtained the most fertile and the most populous part, Galicia.—6,440 square miles, with 300 towns, 6,000 villages, and nearly 3,000,000 of population. The *three* powers guaranteed to Poland most solemnly the portions left to Poland. This portion was erected into an hereditary kingdom

¹ Rotteck, vol. iii. p. 338.

for Stanislaus Augustus. "The fall of Poland, announced . . . to the civilised world the complete overthrow of the balance of power. The empire of the law of the strongest, and consequently the fall of all public law, according to the forcible expression of Ion Von Müller, 'God designed it to show the morality of the great.'"¹ Much of the blame of this partition of Poland is due to the impracticable character of the Poles themselves, and the essentially defective political constitution of their republican monarchy. But the partition of Poland was not less an evil to Europe. It prepared the way for the fearful preponderance of Russia in the councils of Prussia and Austria, which at one time seemed to give the Czar the leading position in Europe. It was the first instance, on a large scale, and by what were considered respectable legal governments, of the disregard for treaties and the rights of long-established nationalities which had occurred for more than three hundred years; it was the beginning of the lawlessness and the contempt of public law, which was imitated by the French republic and empire, and also by the sovereigns of Europe in 1815 A.D., and since then, as opportunity has been offered for successful aggression.

XI.—*The War of the Thirteen Colonies of North America against England, and the establishment of their Independence, 1773–1783 A.D.*

The thirteen English provinces in North America had grown up since the end of the sixteenth century. They were all of them practically self-governed republics, but warmly attached to England, not only from their dependence upon English protection from the French in Canada and Nova Scotia, but also from sympathy with the religion and institutions of the mother country. The population was not quite three millions. According to the narrow notions of the English people and government—and, in fact, of all peoples and governments—colonies were supposed to exist merely for the advantage of the mother country. Hence it was deemed perfectly right and reasonable that by mercantile regulations, by navigation laws, and by restrictions on their manufacturing industries, and by compelling them to purchase their manufactured supplies from England, the mother country should have the monopoly of their custom and trade. The revolt of the colonies was foreseen by

¹ Rotteck, vol. iii. p. 334.

Montesquieu and Turgot, on account of these English restrictive trade laws, the object of which was to subordinate the commerce and manufactures of her colonies to her own. They were to have no emporium but England ; there their produce was to be sold, all they imported was to be from England. All manufacturers competing with England were crushed ; they were not to export their woollens to England or to any of her colonies. Every obstacle was thrown in the way of all manufactures. These absurd regulations would, in due time, have been superseded, and it is no just cause of complaint that the English and its rulers of that day were no wiser than the rest of the world. But there was a just cause of complaint when England attempted to raise a revenue from them by Act of Parliament, in order to reimburse the English treasury for the expense of the late war with France, by which the colonies were so greatly benefited. The duty of contributing towards the cost of that war was readily admitted, and large supplies would have been raised, if required, in the legal way, through the colonial assemblies. It is painful to read the narratives of the blunderings of the English officials, and the growth of estrangement on the part of the colonies, and to notice the conceit and presumption of the English people, the majority of whom resented the claims of the colonists as insolence to the British nation. What claims had the English nation on the regard of the American colonists? The first actual resistance took place at Lexington, April, 1775 A.D. ; then at Bunker's Hill, June 17, 1775 A.D. The general Congress published the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776 A.D. Washington was the cool and wise leader of the new government. He had to contend with the indifference of the farmers to the military service, and the want of supplies. His patient ability and the blunders of the English government and governors, secured the independence of the States. France, willing to embarrass England, acknowledged the independence of the United States, December, 1777 A.D., and sent money and regiments. In a word, after every blunder possible had been committed by the English Parliament and governors, as well as by the Congress and its generals, the independence of the United States was acknowledged by England, September 24, November 30, 1783 A.D., in the Treaty of Paris between England and France. " Thus, then, was finished one of the most calamitous wars that England had ever been driven into, through a mistaken view of the relative positions of a mother country and her colonies, and an obstinate reliance upon her power to enforce obedience."¹

¹ Knight, "History of England," vol. vi. p. 459.

It is admonitory to read an opinion expressed by David Hume, October 26, 1775 A.D. : "We hear that some of the ministers have proposed . . . that both the fleet and the army be withdrawn from America, and then the colonies be left entirely to themselves. . . . I should have said that this measure only anticipates the necessary course of events in a few years." The cost of this unnecessary war was £130,000,000 ! Proposals were suggested by Franklin,¹ which, though *at that time* thought to be absurdly extravagant and degrading to the mother country, represent now the opinions perhaps, with some qualification, of a large majority of English people. The proposals were, that England should yield all British North America and the Bahamas to the United States, in consideration of a certain sum of money to be paid by the United States, and that there should be a free trade to all British subjects through the United States and ceded colonies. Where was the disgrace in the mother country ceding to her children and their posterity territories the larger and more important portion of which were already occupied by them, to which the remaining territories must, of necessity, sooner or later be united, either as states of the union, or in strict confederacy with them ? At this time we contemplate with pleasure the period when our large important colonies in America and Australia may be *yet more entirely* self-governed, while remaining in friendly union with the mother country. The permanence of such a union must be founded on mutual respect and mutual courtesies. The colonial agents representing colonial interests are, in fact, the ambassadors of communities second to none in the importance of their political and commercial relations with the government and people of the United Kingdom ; they must occupy, at least, an equal status with the ambassadors of foreign powers. The colonies are not *subject* to Great Britain as territories conquered in war ; they are part and parcel of the territory beyond the four seas, not separated, but united by the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans. In common with their fellow-subjects in Britain, they are the subjects of one common monarchical constitutional government, and desire to continue to live under the same flag, and to maintain loving, brotherly relations with their cousins at home. The lower class of English officials in all the government departments, the Press, and the English people, do not yet fully understand that British colonists occupy no position of inferiority to their brethren in the mother country, but are not, on the whole, an inferior sample

¹ "Works," vol. ii. p. 43.

of the British nation. It is from the more practically educated and enterprising classes of our population that the emigrants are mainly taken, and they naturally expect to occupy a position of perfect equality with their English brethren in all their relations with the home government. At this period the great majority of the British race speaking the English language are found beyond the narrow limits of the United Kingdom. More than fifty millions are in North America, and another nation in *Australasia* is about to begin its federation with a population of three millions, a larger population than that of the thirteen colonies of North America when they separated from the mother country. This *Greater-England* in the Far West, and at the Antipodes, is the glory of Old England yet flourishing in the (we trust) perpetual vitality of a healthy and vigorous old age.

XII.—*The Moral Condition of the Governments of Europe in the Eighteenth Century, the century which ended in the Revolution of France.*

In the seventeenth century the coarse brutality and moral corruption of the leading courts in Europe began to force itself on public attention. *The reigns of Charles II. in England, of Louis XIV. in France*, exhibited an ostentatious display of profligacy and reckless waste which was imitated more or less by the *petty sovereigns of Germany*, all of whom had their courts, court officers, and mistresses, and their palaces, like Versailles, on a smaller scale. The latter years of Louis XIV., after his marriage with Madame de Maintenon, 1685, were decorous. *Under the regency of the Duke of Orleans*, a man of ability, but whose character was marked by the foulest profligacy, the old order of court profligacy was restored. "He organised a system of nightly riot and debauchery, to which, since the days of Commodus, Europe had seen no parallel. Every night he assembled in his apartments in the Louvre a motley band of the most disreputable persons of both sexes whom the capital could furnish,—nobles, gamesters, his old tutor (the Abbé Dubois), his own daughter (the Duchesse de Berri), opera-girls, and other women notorious for the openness and multiplicity of their intrigues. No introduction was requisite but infamy of character, readiness of wit, real or affected frivolity of disposition, and strength of constitution sufficient to stand the ceaseless, measureless excess of the unhallowed orgies. To the men he himself gave the name of *roués*, to signify, as he explained it, that they were all guilty of offences that deserved to be expiated on the wheel. The women he spared any such

distinctive appellation, but the general voice proclaimed them still more vile and abandoned than their male companions; and the worst of all was the duchess, who at times transferred the scene of revelry to her own apartments at the Luxemburg. As soon as the whole company were assembled the doors were closed, that no uninitiated person might interrupt and shame the revellers by his unexpected entrance. . . . For keenness of wit, foulness of ribaldry, and depth of intoxication, none could surpass the regent himself.”¹ Dubois, the infamy of whose past character was notorious, but a man able and of sound political judgment, was appointed Secretary of State. He had himself been ordained as sub-dean, deacon, and priest in one service, and then was made Archbishop of Cambrai (the richest in the French Church), and afterwards by the help of George I., the Pretender, the regent, and by bribes to the cardinal, and to the Pope (Innocent XIII.), most of which (£320,000) was paid out of the French Treasury, received, 1721, a cardinal’s hat, “conferred on him, as he was in the habit of boasting, with the unanimous approbation of all the sovereigns of Christendom.” He died, August 10, 1723, “ridiculing those who besought him to receive the sacraments, and reviling doctors and priests with equal vehemence.”² The regent soon followed him, dying suddenly on December 2, in a fit, with his head on the lap of his mistress (a Duchess), *in his fortieth year!* *Louis XV. for a few years led a decorous life, but in 1733 began a career of profligacy* with the two sisters of Madame de Chateauroux, and then with that lady herself. Madame Pompadour’s disgraceful reign followed, 1745. To keep up her influence over the king, she established the “Parc aux Cerfs,” a school for handsome young girls, to provide mistresses for the king, without injury to her own influence. There was a great financial distress in 1762, and the king was engaged in continual struggles with his various Parliaments in 1766, 1768, 1770, 1771. Madame de Pompadour died 1764, and her place was filled, 1769, by Madame Du Barry, originally a common prostitute. These women mainly governed and plundered France, until the death of Louis XV. on May 10, 1774, a space of forty-one years. Through Du Barry’s influence the Duc de Choiseul was dismissed from the ministry, January, 1771.

The princes of Germany were not less notorious for their bold defiance of the moral law. The private lives of George I. and II. are too well known to need remark. Frederick Augustus, Elector

¹ Yonge, vol. iii. p. 23.

² Ibid., p. 81.

of Saxony and King of Poland, 1697-1733 A.D., surpassed all his compeers in the variety and extent of his debaucheries, and in his contempt of the decencies of society. He had twenty-five illegitimate children; some say three hundred and fifty-two (Mensel). To enter into particulars is impossible. The Margravine of Bayreuth has gone into details in her memoirs. The lavish expenditure of this king and his wars exhausted the people of Saxony yet more, while suffering from a terrible famine. The Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clement, had the shameless impudence to boast that (1702-1713 A.D.), as the ally of Louis XIV., he had so wasted the country, that not a peasant could be seen for twenty miles. The Bishop of Wurtzburg, as well as the Archbishop of Cologne, kept up their luxurious courts in imitation of that of France, and equally immoral. So also the courts of Bavaria and Würtemberg. The mistress of Louis of Würtemberg was married by him in his wife's lifetime; she was a fit representative of evil (as the prelate Osiander remarked to her), remarkable for her love of gambling, avarice, and sensuality. Charles Alexander, the successor of Louis, permitted the Jew, Joseph Sass, to plunder the state and the charitable institutions, the money being spent on singers, buffoons, and entertainments, 1733-1737 A.D. As a proof of the ignorance and superstition yet prevalent in Germany, witches were burned up to 1783 A.D. Frederick IV. of Denmark, 1695-1730 A.D., married the daughter of the Prussian ambassador, while his own wife was living, and then lived publicly with another. Peter the Great of Russia set at naught all the restraints of morality in his private life, as well as in his political actions: the man who could execute hundreds of the rebel strelitzes with his own hands was, after all his love of Western arts, a savage in grain.

These were the men who made the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All of them unjust and heedless, with the one exception of the war of resistance to the aggressions of Louis XIV., 1688-1697 A.D.. The other wars were purely for dynastic interests, in which the resources procured by a heavy taxation from the industrious workmen of the nation were wasted in the destruction of life and property and in the creation of human misery. The rulers of Europe were then, much more than even now, apparently insensible to the guilt of bloodshed. Who could hope for any real benefit from men to each of whom the language of the Hebrew prophet might with propriety have been addressed: "*Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars: thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth,*

*in my sight."*¹ Amid these atrocities of war and the most abominable immorality, the rulers and leaders of the nation lived in riotous living and frivolous amusement, "*for, as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage . . . and knew not till the flood came, and took them all away.*"² That flood was the French Revolution, which was truly like the destruction of Jerusalem, a "*Coming of the Son of Man*" to vindicate the punitive administration of the moral government of God in the infliction of his judgment upon the European monarchs and nobles. The French armies were like those of Attila, "the scourge of God upon the effete rulers and aristocracy of Europe."

XIII.—*The efforts towards improvement in the various countries in Europe during the eighteenth century, before the great Revolution broke out in France.*

In England, whatever might be the private vices of George I. and II., and however lax and disgraceful the morality of their courts, yet as constitutional kings they were blameless. It was well for England that Walpole was for so long a period the virtual ruler of the Government and of the corrupt House of Commons. The open and unblushing bribery of the members, and the overwhelming influence of the great Whig Revolution families, carried the government safe through a very trying period of English history, and the genius and eloquence of the elder Pitt (Lord Chatham) raised the character and power of Britain to a very high point. Under George III., the morals of the court were placed on a rigid scale far beyond the mere maintenance of propriety and decency, and the example of the court had in time some effect upon the higher and middle classes of society. The controversies raised by the eccentricities of Wilkes and the letters of Junius, prepared the way for serious discussions of the condition of the parliamentary representation. Chatham and his son, William Pitt, were anxious to carry large reforms, conservative and liberal, in the modification of the constituencies, by which the members of the House of Commons were chosen, and the feeling of the country had begun to move in this question during the latter stages of the American War, 1779 A.D. The Duke of Richmond and William Pitt brought forward plans in 1782, 1783, and 1785 A.D., which were rejected. The effect of the French Revolution was unfavourable to political reforms. The

¹ 1 Chron. xxii. 8.

² Matt. xxiv. 38, 39.

great majority of the English people, horrified and disgusted by the disorders and bloodshed of the reformers in France, were indisposed to make changes of any kind in the forms of their institutions. Meanwhile the increase of the population, which from 1750-1780 was four hundred thousand annually, and of the agricultural and manufacturing productive power of the country, the improvement of inland communication by roads and canals, 1758-1772 A.D., the new inventions applied to the cotton manufactory especially, and, above all, the application of steam as a power, 1764-1785 A.D., enabled the English people to bear the burden of their past wars, and to meet the still larger outlay of the revolutionary wars. There were also moral influences in the rise of the Methodistical and Evangelical movement, which stimulated the Established Church and the non-conforming bodies; a result of equal importance with the establishment of the Methodist Churches and Societies. Sunday schools accompanied this movement, and their influence, in counteracting the sceptical spirit and the coarse immorality of the day, cannot be over-estimated. Maritime enterprise was not neglected. *Anson*, 1740-1744 A.D., circumnavigated the world on his errand to capture the Spanish galleons; and *James Cooke*, in three voyages round the world, explored the east coast of New Holland and of New Zealand, 1768-1779 A.D.

In Germany, the reforms attempted by the Emperor Joseph II., created great opposition on all sides. With the best intentions, the rulers of the Continental governments generally failed in effecting the most obvious and necessary reforms in their territories. No man was more worthy of confidence than Joseph II., or more able in the management of the internal affairs of the empire. He aimed at the toleration of the Protestants and the Jews, the suppression of six hundred and twenty-four useless monastic institutions, and the lessening the number of the monks by thirty-six thousand, the spread of education, the freedom of the press, the liberation of the serfs, the regulating the privileges of the nobles, and the fair apportionment of taxation; but in all these attempts his motives were misunderstood and his plans resisted. He could not throw himself upon an enlightened public opinion, for none such existed. *Brabant* and *Austrian Flanders* (Belgium) raised the standard of revolt, 1790 A.D. *Hungary* was, by the power of its privileged classes, opposed to the modification of villenage, and the peasantry, especially in *Transylvania*, were moved to a premature action against the nobles, which had to be put down by force; three hundred seats of the nobility desolated and many atrocities

committed. Joseph died February 21, 1790 A.D. "Almost every well-meant reform that this noble prince instituted had for its consequence crafty or violent resistance on the part of the narrow-minded boasters of historical rights, or, on the other hand, a pernicious misunderstanding and excess on the part of the liberated."¹ Joseph II. wished, by means of monarchical power, to effect that which in other states was opposed by the same means; he therefore came in collision with the people and opinions of his time, from a cause entirely different from that which generally operated among the despotic princes of Europe. He wished to effect a complete change in the administration and government, the education, instruction, and state of religion, the legislation and law of his dominions, and these changes were such as cannot possibly be brought about without a revolution, and without consulting the people; and Joseph had no idea of adopting this course. His history is, therefore, an account of the disappointments of a prince, who, inspired with the best intentions, contends against the existing state of things, without finding any assistants or fellow-labourers, or without seeking any . . . he was often, therefore, obliged to act the tyrant against his will, in order to carry into effect those measures which form a subject of rejoicing to all men of understanding in Austria even to this present day."² In the smaller states, as Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and others, there were no practical improvements, and no prospect of any. The people generally were prepared to receive the material benefits of a freer government, although paid for by subjection to France, so that the introduction of the Code Napoleon and the abolition of all feudal burdens threw the west of Germany into the arms of Napoleon in the early part of the next century.

In *Spain*, Charles III. of Spain (Charles IV. of Naples) introduced and carried out large reforms under his ministers Squillaci, Wall, Aranda, Grimaldi, and Florida Banca, which the power of the clergy and the interference of the Pope considerably circumscribed. An attempt was made to re-people the deserted lands in the Sierra Morena by Swiss and German colonists, 1768-1778 A.D. It failed through the superstition of the people and the interference of the priests; but on the death of Charles, 1788 A.D., Spain was comparatively prosperous.

Portugal, in the reign of José, 1755 A.D., suffered from the great earthquake by which Lisbon was laid in ruins. Great assistance

¹ Rotteck, vol. iii. p. 355; Menzel, vol. iii. pp. 87-95.

² Schlosser, vol. v. pp. 319, 320.

was rendered by England. It is quite characteristic of the *then* condition of the people that "they received the relief, but cursed the heretical hands which afforded it." Spain also gave large assistance, and met with the same treatment. There was a conspiracy against the life of the king by the Tavora family, 1758 A.D., which failed. Pombal (Cavalho, Count d'Oeyras) was the great reforming minister of this reign, and carried out his plans under a system of terrorism equal to that of the Robespierres and Dantons of the French Revolution. Such was the state of Portugal that a purely destructive administration was not without its benefits; the clergy, the ministers, the schools, and the administration of law, all by turns were changed. These reforms were, however, not permanent. In 1762 A.D., the Spanish government invaded Portugal. English troops were sent to aid the Portuguese, and the Spanish invasion was a failure. In order to leave the succession to his daughter Maria, he (José) married her to his own brother. Such incestuous and unnatural unions have been the peculiar degradation of the royal family of Portugal.

Italy.—The reforms of Leopold I., of *Tuscany* (afterwards Leopold II. of Germany), were thorough, and carried out with great wisdom. By his *motu proprio*, 1786 A.D., he gave a new criminal code, abolished torture and capital punishments, and established penitentiaries; the Inquisition was abolished, 1782 A.D.; in the Church he placed the monks, &c., under their bishops, reformed the morals of the clergy and monks, and obliged the Pope to concur. But in his attempt to enforce the four rules of the Gallican Council, and to enlighten the priests and people religiously in the Council of Pistoia, 1785 A.D., he failed, for the Council of Florence, in 1787 A.D., annulled the decision of that council. Bishop Ricci, the reformer, was deposed, 1790 A.D. The grand duke was more fortunate in his civil reforms; the communes were placed under self-government, feudal rights repealed, monopolies abolished; he drained the Val di Chiana and part of the Maremme, opened roads and canals, and planted colonies in desert places; he also established schools, and reformed the Universities of Pisa and Sienna. The Duke of *Parma* also reduced the power and the revenues of the clergy, and obliged the Pope to make concessions, 1773 A.D. In *Sicily* and *Naples*, Charles IV. (afterwards Charles III. of Spain), under his ministers Tanucci and Squillaci, taught the clergy that the king, and not the Pope, was the sovereign of Naples and Sicily; he lessened the number of the priests and the powers of the nobility. His successor, Ferdinand, as he grew up, became

"great as a lazaroni, insignificant as a king and a man."¹ The discovery of the ruins of Herculaneum, 1713 A.D., and of Pompeii, 1689-1721 A.D., attracted the attention of travellers to Italy.

The expulsion of the *Jesuits* from France, 1764; Spain, 1767; Portugal, 1759 A.D.; with the abolition of the order by Pope Gan-ganelli, January 23, 1773 A.D. (published August 19, 1773 A.D.), was one of the greatest efforts at reform in the eighteenth century until the French Revolution. It was carried out with unnecessary cruelty upon individuals innocent of the intrigues, and follies, and crimes of their superiors. The Jesuits had been for years past engaged in large trading speculations with the West Indies, in which their agent, De la Valette, became bankrupt in 1760 A.D. This led to inquiry, which had been preceded by the action of Pope Benedict XIV., who had issued a bull against trading, slave-dealing on the part of priests, without naming the Jesuits, February, 1741 A.D., and the bull "*Immensa Pastorina*," in December, in which the Jesuits were censured for their conduct in the missions in Asia, Africa, and in Brazil and Paraguay. Paraguay having been ceded by Spain to Portugal, the Indians, under the orders of the Jesuits, resisted, 1751-1755 A.D., and were with difficulty subdued. This affair of the trading and the bankruptcy, and the discovery of their organisation in Paraguay, helped to insure the abolition of the order.

In *France*.—The prospect of improvement in France, arising out of the character of the young king, were marred by the incompetency of the Count de Maurepas, his prime minister, whose well-meaning "policy" could never rise beyond an ideal despotism exercised by a virtuous king. He knew the faults of the old régime as administered by selfish and tyrannical agents, and his notion of reform was limited by the change of administration, while the necessities of the times required a thorough change in the principles of the administration itself. It was impossible for any statesman to carry out reforms while the *parlements*, courting popularity by opposition to the executive, were altogether opposed to the necessities and claims of the age and the wishes of the people. Had the king's advisers adopted the extreme measure of calling together the States-General at once, and then exhibited their plans of reform, they might possibly have been able to make some progress, and perhaps the unfortunate war with England on behalf of the American colonies, 1778-1783, might have been prevented, to the great benefit of France. Unfortunately, the king and his various ministers were,

¹ Schlosser, vol. iv. p. 266.

from the beginning, engaged in contests with the *Parlement* of Paris, which declined to register the royal edicts. These refusals were followed by a royal lit de justice and the exile of the *parlements*—the aristocratic conservative *parlements* which, with no sympathy for popular rule, appeared, however, to the public in the position of patriotic asserters of liberty. Under Maurepas, who was prime minister from 1768 until his death, November 21, 1781, Turgot and Lamoignon with Malesherbes directed the finances. Turgot, one of the sect of Economistes, praised by his friends as “possessing the head of Bacon with the heart of L'Hôpital,” reduced the expenditure at once 100 millions of francs, abolished restrictions on the sale of corn and wine, removed the provincial custom-houses to the frontier, thus giving freedom to internal trade, abolished the corvée (the forced labour of the peasantry in the war), and the monopoly of the trading guilds in the cities. Other great reforms were contemplated which would have remodified the entire system of government; as, for instance, the abolition of “lettres de cachet,” by which men were, without trial, sent to the Bastille or any other prison, also of the gabelle (salt duty), and the taille (property tax), to be replaced by a tax on all property, including that of the privileged classes. Feudal dues also were by degrees to be removed, and the disabilities of the Protestants were to be set aside. But these plans were opposed not only by the court party and the privileged classes, but by all those whose interests were to any extent affected by them, and so great was the clamour both Malesherbes and Turgot retired. Malesherbes died before he received a formal dismissal, and Turgot left office May, 1776. Maurepas still remained prime minister, and in 1776 prevailed on Necker, a wealthy banker of Geneva, to take charge of the finances. He swept away six hundred sinecure offices, but the war with England increased the public debt by the addition of fifty-six millions sterling. In 1781 Necker published his *compte rendu*, a somewhat sanguine exposition of the financial condition of France, and soon after claimed a seat in the council as necessary to the efficient discharge of the duties of his office. This was refused because of his being a Protestant, and he resigned May 25, 1781. Maurepas himself died, November 21, 1781. After him the Count de Vergennes filled his office. Under him Joly de Fleury, D'Ormesson, and De Calonne administered the finances. Fleury and D'Ormesson, with more than ordinary incapacity, held office a few months only. De Calonne, November 3, 1783, began his administration, which was one of reckless prodigality, borrowing in four years not less than thirty-two millions sterling. He called a council

of notables, consisting of 144 persons of the privileged class, February 2, 1787, and proposed to them the large reforms pointed out by Turgot, &c. These were refused, though the deficit increased five millions sterling. Archbishop Brienne succeeded, April 30, 1787; he was obliged to advise the calling of the States-General to meet, May, 1789, but resigned office, August 25, 1788, and was succeeded by Necker, who had been recalled to office from Geneva. It is remarkable that, amidst all their troubles, the voyager La Pérouse was despatched to make discoveries in the Pacific, 1785. He arrived in Port Jackson a few days after the English colony had taken possession, 1788, and was afterwards shipwrecked and lost.

It will be obvious that the reproach cast upon the eighteenth century as a dead, unprogressive period, unenlivened by any facts or results of importance until towards its close, is undeserved. This has been well stated by one of our rising statesmen: "The time, far from being ordinary, was pregnant with events so momentous that it would be difficult to find words which could describe them or rhetoric which could exaggerate them. Problems had long been ripe for solution which concerned not only the British kingdom but all the civilised, and almost the whole of the inhabited, world. Whether France or England was to rule in India; whether the French manners, language, and institutions, or the English, were to prevail over the immense continent of North America; whether Germany was to have a national existence; whether Spain was to monopolise the commerce of the tropics; who was to command the ocean; who was to be dominant in the islands of the Caribbean Sea; what power has to possess the choice stands for business in the great market of the globe: these were only some among the issues which had to be decided during this period."¹

XIV.—*Local Histories of the several States during this Period.*

Denmark and Norway.—Under Christian V., 1670–1699, there was a war with Sweden, 1674–1679, with the usual disputes respecting the rights of the Danish kings over Schleswig and Holstein (arising out of arrangements made by Christian III., 1533–1559). Frederick IV. was also engaged in war with Sweden for a brief period. He sent a fresh colony to Greenland, 1721, Christian VI.,

¹ "Early History of Charles James Fox," by Geo. Otto Trevelyan, M.P., p. 19, 1881.

1730-1746, established the Danish East India Company, 1740. Frederick V. and his father and predecessor, were excellent and popular rulers. Frederick was succeeded, 1766, by Christian VII., himself a weak and despicable character, while the court intrigues, which resulted in the divorce of his wife (Matilda, sister of George III. of England), and in the execution of the favourites Brandt and Struense, 1772, were disgraceful to Denmark. In 1784 the prince royal was appointed regent.

Sweden.—Charles XI., through the general hatred of the aristocratic power given to the nobles by the constitution, was enabled, in 1693, to assume absolute authority, with the approbation of the people, who preferred one ruler to many. Charles XII. succeeded, 1697-1718. His history has been anticipated in the Northern Alliance (p. 402). His mad valour, and his wars with Denmark, and Russia, and Saxony were ruinous to Sweden. Ulrica Elenora was obliged to restore the old aristocratical government; Baron Görtz, the minister of Charles XII., was executed as a traitor; the queen abdicated in favour of her husband Frederick, Prince of Hesse-Cassel (1720-1751). Two parties—the Hats, under French influence; the Caps, favourable to Russia and to peace—divided the court. There was a war with Russia, which ended 1743, with a cession of part of Finland to Russia. The Swedish East India Company was established 1731. Adolphus Frederick of Holstein began the line of Holstein Gottorp. Party struggles disturbed the peace of the country. Gustavus III., 1771-1792, was enabled to revive the old despotism. The senate of nobles was set aside, 1771, and the king gave a new constitution, on the whole more acceptable to the people, though not to Russia. War with Russia followed, but peace was made in 1790. The wars and jealousies which prevented the cordial union of the Scandinavian nations in self-defence, which would have made them a barrier against the advances of Russia are much to be lamented. In the neglect of Scandinavian interests France, England, and Germany have reason to regret the mistake of their policy in disregarding the value of Scandinavia as an ally and independent power.

Germany.—Austria was hampered in the wars against Louis XIV. by the rebellion of Hungary and Transylvania, supported by the Turks, who, unable to hold Hungary themselves, prevented Austria from enjoying the quiet rule over it. By the Emperor Leopold Hanover was raised to the position of the “ninth electorate,” though with some opposition, 1708. Ragotzki, Prince of Transylvania (after Hungary had been relieved from Turkish dominion by Prince

Eugene, victories at Zenta, 1697, and by the Peace of Carlowitz, 1699), raised a rebellion in 1705, which continued until 1710. An amnesty and religious toleration by the peace of 1711. This toleration was a mere fiction, until Joseph II. made it a reality in 1781. Besides the wars with Louis XIV., the war with the Turks, 1716–1718, the wars of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748, the Seven Years' War, 1756–1762, there was a brief dispute arising out of the attempt of Austria to annex Bavaria on the death of the last male heir of the Wittenbach line, 1777, in which Prussia and Saxony opposed Austria with success, 1778, 1779. The reforms of the Emperor Joseph II. gave great offence to the privileged orders in Hungary and the Netherlands, and were accompanied by revolts in Hungary during the war with Turkey, 1788, 1789, and also in the Netherlands. The smaller states of Germany were Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Mayence, Trèves, Cologne, *Electorate* Hesse-Cassel, Würtemberg, Mecklenburg, Salzburg, the free imperial cities, and others.

Prussia.—Frederick III. succeeded the “Great Elector,” 1688, who left him a full treasury and an army of 28,000 disciplined men. In 1700 he declared himself King of Prussia, and was crowned in Königsberg, 1701, as *Frederick I.*, and acknowledged as such by the emperor (through bribes given to the emperor's confessor), though opposed by Prince Eugene. This act of vanity succeeded as a policy; it liberated the House of Brandenburg from their blind attachment to Austria; Prussia was in a few years the rival of Austria, and sought to aggrandise itself by the seizure of Silesia and other provinces belonging to that empire. This king had peculiarities, which were yet more prominent in his son and successor, Frederick William I., who began to reign, 1713. His grinding economy, hatred of French refinements, and singularities of behaviour bordered on insanity, but were accompanied by so much practical ability and good sense as vindicated his claim to rationality. His son, Frederick II., “the Great Frederick,” became king, 1740. His wars with Austria and his share in the partition of Poland have already been noticed. Frederick William II. succeeded, 1786. He re-established, in connexion with England, the Orange Stadtholder in Holland, 1787, 1788.

Poland.—John Sobieski, the heroic deliverer of Vienna. His valour saved Poland from the Turks, whom he always resisted as the great enemies of European civilisation; and, though friendly with Louis XIV. and averse to Austria, would on no account cease from opposing the Turkish enemies of Austria. Had he been supported by the diet Poland might have remained a bulwark against both

Turkey and Russia. He was the last independent King of Poland, and died, 1696. During the reigns of Frederick Augustus I., Elector of Saxony, 1697-1733, and of Frederick Augustus II., 1733-1763, Poland was the seat of a civil war in which Sweden, Russia, Austria, and France contended for the appointment to the throne. Stanislaus Augustus was elected king through the influence of Catherine II. of Russia, 1761. These wars and the history of the first partition of Poland have already been narrated. A reform in the constitution was proposed in 1773 and carried in the diet, 1788. A second partition took place, 1793, which left Poland a territory of only 4,000 square miles, and an army of 15,000 men; this was followed by the third and final partition of 1798. Much as we may regret the annihilation of this nation of warriors, and much as we may blame the spoilers, it must be confessed that with such a vicious form of society, in which the nobles trampled on the serfs, and refused to obey the king or any ruler, and were always at war with each other, an independent government was impossible.

Switzerland continued to be disturbed by religious jealousies, and by the differences between the aristocratical and democratical parties. In 1712, there was a war between the Catholic cantons and Berne and Zurich respecting the abbot of St. Gall's conduct to the Protestants of Tuggenbourg, which was settled by the abbot's submission in 1718. The Swiss Republican rulers relieved themselves of their discontented subjects by hiring them into foreign service; the higher posts in the army were hereditary in the great families, and were very lucrative; from 1742 to 1775 there were 22,000 serving in France, 22,000 in Holland, 13,600 in Spain, 4,000 in Sardinia, 24,000 in the imperial army, besides several regiments in Naples, and the old Swiss Guard at Rome.¹

Holland, after the long wars in which she was engaged in connexion with the greater powers, gradually receded from political action. By the Barrier Treaty, the allies (1715) secured the possession of the Netherlands to Austria on condition that Austria should maintain 30,000 to 35,000 men as a defence, and that these territories should never be ceded to France nor to any prince except of the House of Austria. The Dutch were also allowed to garrison certain towns, as Namur, Tournay, &c., as a check upon French aggression. After sundry disputes, originating in the jealousy of republicanism, the stadtholdership was made hereditary in the Orange family in the time of William IV., 1747-1751. There was a brief war with

¹ Menzel, "History of Germany," vol. iii. p. 40.

England, 1780–1783, in connexion with the armed neutrality of the northern powers. The Seven States were, in fact, independent republics, each having its estates, with representatives of the nobility of the time. All these states were governed by the assembly of the States-General; there was a council of state, an executive, consisting of deputies from each province; there was a growing jealousy against the nobility and the Orange party, which broke out in the expulsion of the stadtholder (1787) and his restoration by Prussia and England soon after.

Great Britain and Ireland.—England and Scotland were legislatively united as Great Britain, 1707; the accession of the Hanover Dynasty on the death of Anne, 1714, was followed by the Stuart rebellions of 1715 and 1745, which being repressed, the new dynasty reigned in peace. In the wars already narrated, England obtained Canada, and increased her Indian possessions. By the injudicious policy of the ministry of George III.,—a policy which expressed the feelings of the majority of the English people,—the American colonies separated from England, 1773–1776, and their independence acknowledged in 1783. In 1784, the political power of the great aristocratical party in England, the Whig party, fell with the Coalition administration. William Pitt, son of the great Earl Chatham, supported by the king, was the premier; his administration was one of great prosperity. No country increased so much in population, wealth, trade, as England and Scotland, under the parliamentary government of Walpole (under George I. and II.), and subsequently of Chatham and Pitt; the details of this marvellous progress form a pleasant chapter in the history of England.

Spain, under Philip V. and his successors, except as partners in the Wars of the Succession and the disputes growing out of these wars, enjoyed repose. Ferdinand VI., 1746–1756; Charles III., 1756–1788. Under Philip V. and Ferdinand VI. the leading ministers were Alberoni, Ensenada, and Wall; Charles III. promoted an Italian, Squillaci, who was hated by the clergy; this monarch, though one of the wisest of his dynasty, obliged the estates to accept the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and desired to place the Virgin as the tutelary protector of Spain, but was opposed by the monks of St. Iago de Compostella, who successfully maintained the claim of their saint. There were 90,000 ecclesiastics in Spain,—about one-thirtieth of the whole male population. In 1713, Philip V. induced the Cortes to pass a law (Salic) excluding females from the succession, except in default of the male line of Philip, with sundry provisoes and details.

Portugal, having engaged with England in the War of Succession, was a party to the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the boundaries of her possessions in South America were arranged with Spain. The administration of the reformer, Pombal, has already been narrated.

Italy continued to be "a mere geographical expression." *Venice*, engaged in war with the Turks, gained the Morea in 1699 and lost it in 1718; this was her last war. *Genoa* had to endure the rebellion of Corsica, in which Paoli was celebrated, 1754-1758; this war led to the cession of Corsica to France, 1758. *Tuscany*, on the death of the last of the Medici, 1717, became an appanage of the Austrian family in lieu of Lorraine, Francis, the husband of Maria Theresa, being the grand duke. *Milan* belonged to Austria; *Modena* to the D'Este family. *Savoy* received Sardinia in exchange for Sicily, 1720, and the king became King of Sardinia. *Parma* and *Placentia* were given to Don Carlos, of Spain, 1731; but, on his succeeding to the throne of Naples, these duchies fell to the empire, but again in 1748 were given to Don Philip of Spain. *Naples* and *Sicily* became a settled kingdom under Don Carlos as Charles III., 1735; the feudal submission to the Pope was thrown off, 1788. *Rome* and the Papal Territory were under the Pope and his curia.

Russia.—The history of Russia since the death of Peter the Great has not been pleasant to narrate. It is the history of the abuse of a sensual civilisation carried on by a few individuals either for selfish interests or caprice, the general result of which has been the employment of the power of the empire injuriously to the progress of constitutional liberty in Europe, without producing any real improvement in the mass of barbarism of which the empire is composed. The one good thing which commands the regard of the civilised world is the continued barrier which Russia opposes to the power of Turkey. On Europe the influence of Russia has, with this one exception, been evil; Catherine succeeded Peter, 1725; Peter II., 1727; Anne, 1730; Ivan III., 1740; Elizabeth, 1741, possessed no one quality of a ruler, nor any one female virtue; drunken and debauched, her court was one of peasants, soldiers, and grooms, one of whom, her paramour, filled the highest offices, and obtained great wealth. In her wardrobe she left 15,000 dresses, two chests filled with silk stockings, two chests of ribands, and some thousands of pairs of shoes, &c. Peter III. succeeded, 1762, but was deposed by his clever wife, Catherine, a German princess. "Beautiful, sensual, and luxurious, she was mistress of all the splendid qualities of her age and sex. . . . She had long reached that exalted height of genius at which

all social virtues may be boldly despised.”¹ “She was a great woman so far as greatness can exist without morality.”² Crim Tartary was united to Russia, 1783, and in the war against Turkey, in union with Austria, she took and kept Choczim, Okzakov, Bender, and Ismail, 1788.

Turkey rapidly declined, especially after the Peace of Carlowitz, 1699, by which Hungary was abandoned. It remains “the shadow of a name,” existing purely through the jealousy of the great European powers, who cannot decide as to the division of the territory under her nominal rule. The war with Austria in 1716, 1717, and with that of Hungary, 1718; war again with Russia and Austria, 1735–1739. In 1760, Ali Bey, the Mameluke, made himself master of Egypt by the murder of eleven beys, until 1793, when he was defeated and put to death. The Wahaby sect (Mahometan puritans) made themselves powerful in Arabia at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1768, the Turks, jealous of the Russian advance in Poland, declared war. A Russian fleet appeared in the Archipelago, 1770–1773, to the astonishment of the Turkish government, who did not believe in any passage from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and the Greeks were tempted to rise against the Turks; the war ended by the cession of all the country between the Dnieper and the Bog, with Azoph and Taganrog to Russia. The Crimea was placed under the protection of Russia, and the free navigation of the Black Sea and of the Hellespont was conceded to them by the peace of Kutschouk-Kainardji, July 21, 1774, which was the beginning of Turkey’s dependence upon Russia. Another war with Russia, 1787, and with Austria also, ended in 1791 and 1792. The interference of the English government, and of its ally, the King of Prussia, 1790, to arrest the great successes of Austria and Russia, was much opposed by the Whig leaders in England. This policy is founded on the dread of the conquest of Constantinople by the Russians, and the supposed predominance which would then be given to Russia in the East which might possibly affect the British rule in India. However cogent these reasons may be, it must not be forgotten that Russia *must* have access direct to the Mediterranean, and *will* have it sooner or later, for her commercial and warlike marine. It is time that some practical measures were taken by the great powers to meet the natural yearnings of Russia, and thus remove one occasion which might lead to a second war. The pachas of Widin (Oghlu) and Yanina (Ali) were virtually independent at the close of the war.

¹ Schlosser.² Rotteck.

IN PERSIA the Sefi family, after a long period of imbecile government, was superseded, 1736, by Nadir Shah. An Afghan invasion, 1722, first destroyed the prestige of the old dynasty. Nadir Shah, a Turcoman chief, expelled the Afghans, and conquered the North of India, plundering Delhi to the amount of thirty-two millions sterling, 1739. Eight thousand persons were murdered in the riot which followed. He was murdered, 1747. The anarchy which followed was put down by Kurim Khan (Zund), 1759, who reigned till 1779. A renewed anarchy until, in 1789, Luft Ali Khan (Zund) and Aga Mahommed Khan (Kajar). The latter became sole monarch, 1795. The weakness of the Persian rule favoured the rebellion of the AFGHANS of CABUL and CANDAHAR, who from 1708 were equally a trouble to Persia and all their neighbours. The *Durani Dynasty* was founded 1747, and was generally at war with India or Persia.

INDIA.—Aurang Zeeb, the last of the Great Moguls who really ruled, died 1707. "His life would have been a blameless one if he had had no father to depose, no brethren to murder, and no Hindoo subjects to oppress. . . . His Mahometan generals and viceroys, as a rule, served him well during his vigorous life, but at his death they usurped his children's inheritance."¹ The *Seiks* and *Mahrattas* overran India. The viceroys set up separate kingdoms, as the *Dekkan*, *Oude*, and others. The *French* were for a time supreme in India (in the Carnatic), 1745–57. The *BRITISH RULE* dates from the action of CLIVE in South India, 1747, who in 1755 was Governor of Fort David, and in 1757 defeated the Surajah Dowlah at *Plassey*. In *Southern* India, Hyder Ali, who had founded the kingdom of *Mysore*, was the consistent enemy of the English. WARREN HASTINGS, who was Governor-General 1774–1785, *consolidated the Indian Empire of England*. At the close of this period, there was already established in INDIA the predominating power of England. The *Carnatic Kingdom* of Hyder Ali, under his successor, Tippoo Saib; the *Mahrattas*, under *Scindia*; and the *Seiks* were *all-powerful* and important, but the GREAT MOGUL IN DELHI, the successor of Baber and of Aurung Zeeb, was the mere "shadow of a name."

CHINA remained under the Mantchoo dynasty. Kam-hi persecuted the Jesuit missionaries, 1664. In 1692 they were again in favour; but in 1723 the disputes between the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries was the cause of the proscription of Christianity. In 1727 a Russian envoy was resident in Peking. Between 1752–1780

¹ W. W. Hinks, "Indian People."

Thibet became subject to China. Ili and East Turkestan were annexed by Kien-ling, 1780.

JAPAN. The population under the Tyocoons (Shogans) improved in civilisation, while excluding all Europeans, except the Dutch, from even commercial intercourse.

IN AFRICA, EGYPT remained nominally subject to Turkey, so also the Barbary States; MOROCCO, as before, under its own sovereign.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, the Independence of which was acknowledged by England 1783, consolidated their Government under the presidency of GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ECCLESIASTIAL HISTORY.—The popedom skilfully dealt with the opposition of Louis XIV., *supported by the Council and defended by Bossuet*, and expressed in the four articles which asserted the *liberties of the Gallican Church*. Louis compromised the matter by not insisting upon the reception of these four articles by the clergy, but at the same time not permitting any of the clergy to be prevented from acknowledging their validity, 1693. The arbitrary conduct of Louis in maintaining the right of asylum in the embassy at Rome, and in some other points affecting the papal dignity, rendered Innocent XI. favourable to the Augsburg League, and to the attempt of William III. to dethrone James II. of England. Similar attempts to those of the Gallican Church *were made in Tuscany* by the *Grand Duke Leopold*, and *Bishop Ricci* of Pistoia, 1770–1786, but they were suppressed by a council held at Florence, 1787. In all cases affecting mere temporal interests, the secular power—(as in the case of the emperor and the Duke of Savoy)—persisted and accomplished its aims, being thoroughly interested, and was then the more ready to yield in points of the reform of discipline and church usages. *The order of the Jesuits*, which from the first had been embroiled with the Dominican and Franciscan orders, fell into discredit with the Romish powers. They were expelled from Portugal 1759, from France 1764, and from Spain 1767, in some cases under circumstances involving cruel suffering. At length Pope Ganganelli, Clement XIV., abolished the order, 1773. *The Jansenist Controversy in France* was settled by Clement XI., who, in his Bull “Unigenitus,” 1711, forbade the use of Quesnel’s Commentary, and considered as heretical 101 propositions selected from it, many of which were Scriptural or taken from St. Augustine. Cardinal Noailles was firmly opposed to this Bull, with many others. Louis XIV. had already destroyed the monastery of Port Royal, the head-quarters of Jansenism, and the Jansenists had taken refuge in Holland and

the Netherlands, where they had many followers. The moderate Catholics complained that in the Bull "Unigenitus" the points of difference between the Catholic and Protestant Churches were unnecessarily paraded, and that by this means the separation of the Churches would be perpetuated. The disputes between Archbishop Fenelon and Bishop Bossuet respecting the mysticism of *Mad. Guyon*, involving all the leading points in the *Molinist Controversy* respecting grace and free will, for a time disturbed the quiet of the Romish Church, and were an additional proof of the mere *nominal* unity of that Church, 1695-1699. To compensate for these exhibitions of intellectual freedom in the Church of France, the ruling powers carried on *the persecutions of the Protestants*, at this time numbering *two millions* of the population. In 1715, 1717, and in 1724, there was peculiar activity in this direction. In 1715 there were 188 Protestants in the galleys, released by English intercession. In 1717 an assembly of seventy-four Protestants at Audure being surprised, the men were sent to the galleys and the women to prison. In 1724, when the rulers were generally sceptical, a new law was made, punishing with the galleys any private exercise of Protestant worship, and with death every Protestant pastor. One of these was hanged at Montpellier in 1728. In 1745, 1746, in Dauphiny, 277 Protestants were condemned to the galleys. So late as 1762 there were in the galleys thirty-three men, and sixteen women in prison, in Languedoc, many of whom had been in this state more than thirty years. In 1761, 1762 the *affair of the Calas family*, at Toulouse, judicially murdered as Protestants, called forth the *talents of Voltaire*, who roused the public opinion of Europe on the side of justice, and thus compelled the reconsideration of the case, which led to the vindication of the innocence of the victims in 1765. In 1774 the Protestants were restored to civil rights, and in 1787 were placed in full possession of *all* rights, equal with the Catholics. In *Poland* the ruling powers impartially burnt an atheist, 1686 or 1689, at Warsaw, and in 1733 expelled all dissidents (non-Romanists) from the holding of public employments. In 1724, some disturbances having arisen at Thorn, sixty-six Lutheran citizens were tried, of whom twenty-six were at once executed and forty imprisoned, Protestantism being the real fault. This atrocity was disapproved of by the Pope, the emperor, the czar, the King of Prussia, and was reprobated by the public feeling of Europe. In *Hungary* (under the House of Austria) the Protestants were compelled by Charles VI. (the father of Maria Theresa) to swear "by the Virgin Mary and all saints," thus excluding them

from legal defence. The animus of the governing classes may be inferred from the fact that in 1747 a society was formed "for the extermination of the Protestant religion," and that the government forbade the Protestants to restore decayed churches without permission, or to study in foreign lands. Joseph II. gave full toleration in 1781. In *Germany* Catholicism and Protestantism had their several territories, within which the rulers decided the religious profession of the people—a proof of the general indifference to religious convictions. In Catholic governments the Protestants were generally persecuted. At Saltzburg 17,000 Protestants emigrated and took refuge in Prussia, Holland, or in the New English colony of Georgia, 1732–4. In some of the Protestant states Catholics were placed under legal disabilities. There was very little of real religion before and during the great war of thirty years, from 1618 to 1648, and the following wars which were carried on during the eighteenth century were unfavourable to the peace and prosperity of the Churches. To revive the old evangelical truths of the fathers of the Reformation was the object of Spener, Francke, and others; by whom the University of Halle, founded in 1694 by the Duke Frederick, was greatly influenced. They founded there the Orphan Home in 1698, and, with this, societies which were called "Colleges of Piety," and on this account the high orthodox Lutherans gave the new religionists the name of *Pietists*. Attempts were made to unite the Lutheran and Evangelical Churches from 1703 to 1736. Meanwhile the writings of the English Deists produced a school of learned imitators. The German Rationalism, beginning with Edelmann of Weissenfels, 1735–1767, was popularised by the Wolfenbüttel fragments of Reimarus, published by Lessing in 1774. From these originated the Biblical-critical school of Semler, Rosenmüller, Eichhorn, and others. The Church of the *Moravian Brethren*, which may be traced to the Hussites of Bohemia, revived under the patronage of Count Zinzendorff. Their head settlement was at Herrenhut, 1727, from which they sent out their missionaries to various parts of Germany, England, and the West Indies.

THE ENGLISH ESTABLISHED CHURCH was delivered from the fear of popery and oppression by the Revolution of 1688, 1689. The bishops, having suffered from the tyranny of James II., which called forth the sympathies both of Churchmen and Nonconformists, it was hoped that a reunion of all the religious parties might be effected; but *the Bill for Comprehension*, though supported by all the influence of William, failed, 1689, in the Parliament, partly through the opposition of High Churchmen, and partly through the indifference

of the Dissenters. Very likely the treatment suffered by the two hundred Episcopalian clergy in SCOTLAND, who, on the re-establishment of Presbyterianism, were rudely and roughly "raddled," *i.e.*, expelled from their homes by a mob, lessened the desire for a union. The *Toleration Act* received the royal assent May 24, 1689. "By shielding dissent, the law . . . might also be said, in certain sense, to establish it . . . it produced a relative change in the legal position of the Establishment . . . that Church ceased to be national in the sense in which it had been so before. It could no longer claim all Englishmen, as by sovereign right, worshippers within its pale ; it gave legalised scope for difference of religious action."¹ The last ten years of the seventeenth century witnessed the firm establishment and consolidation of the various sections of the nonconforming portion of the community, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independents*, the *Baptists*, and the *Society of Friends* (better known as Quakers). Gradually the Presbyterian congregations either merged into orthodox independent Churches, or by degrees adopted Arian or Socinian views. The common term, that of Congregationalism, began to be used as comprehending all the dissidents except the Friends. At the time of the Revolution there were twenty small academies, chiefly in the hands of the so-called "sectaries" (the popular term of reproach), with about two hundred and seventy-three congregations, and it is calculated that not more than one-twentieth of the population were formally connected with these Churches. Under William the policy of the government in the appointment of bishops was somewhat latitudinarian in the opinion of the more zealous Churchmen, but the parochial clergy appointed by the lay patrons were generally High Church in religious opinion, and in politics disaffected to the Revolution. Under Archbishops Tillotson and Tenison, and such bishops as Burnett, the convocation of the clergy was accompanied by reactionary efforts, and, after its prorogation in 1691, it was not again permitted to meet until 1701. On the accession of QUEEN ANNE in 1702, the High Church party was in the ascendant ; the queen gave up the sum of £17,000, due for the "first-fruits," to the benefit of the working clergy. A plan for the building of fifty additional churches in London was zealously patronised, but, through the usual extravagance of builders and others, only eleven were built. A bill against occasional conformity, after repeated failures in 1702, 1703, 1704, was at last passed by the creation of twelve new peers in 1714. This bill has been described

¹ Dr. Stoughton, vol. v. p. 96.

as "a bold attempt to repeal the Toleration Act, and to bring back the pains and penalties of the times before the Revolution."¹ It imposed severe penalties on all officials who, after receiving the sacrament at church as a qualification for office, should, while in office, be present at any *conventicle* (the contemptuous term for all places of worship belonging to the "*sectaries*"). Sacheverell's preaching, 1709, 1710, had greatly helped to promote the political-religious feeling which made this bill popular. It was followed by the *Schism Act*, the favourite measure of the sceptical Lord Bolingbroke, in aid of the religious purity of the Established Church, by which no one was permitted to keep a public or a private school unless he be a member of the Church of England and licensed by the bishop. This act has been called one of the worst acts that ever defiled the Statute Book. It never took effect, for, the day on which its operation was to commence, the queen died, January, 1714. Besides the Nonconformists, there was a small body of NONJURORS, consisting of certain bishops and clergy and a few laity, who had declined to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, but these by degrees, dying, left few successors, and were gradually absorbed by the Established Church. BISHOP KEN was one of these. On the accession of George I., the act on *Occasional Conformity* and the *Schism Act* were repealed. The Convocations of the Clergy were suspended in 1717 (until 1854), but the fear of the influence of the clergy in the elections prevented the abolition of the *Test Act*, which was deemed a necessary safeguard against popery, though attempts were made from 1730 to 1736 to obtain its repeal. The jealous feeling against Dissenters was shown in the attempt to interfere with the academies for the training of Nonconformist divines; but the decision of the law courts, in 1733, placed them in a secure and legal position. The government was mostly favourable to religious liberty, and the Regium Donum, the personal grant of the king to the Presbyterians, which in 1672 was £600, and under William III. was raised to £1,200, was increased under George I. In 1784 it was £2,000, and in 1792 £5,000. From the complaints and statements of members of the Church of England, it would appear that for many years, during the reigns of the first two Georges, *the higher interests of the Establishment were generally neglected*. There was, for a long period, a series of insignificant archbishops. "Carlyle pertinently asks, 'Who was the primate of England at this time?' and he answers

¹ Perry's "History," vol. iii. p. 145.

with bitter irony, 'No man knoweth.' Nor was this far from the truth. There were contented Erastians, like Wake and Potter, carrying on controversies, now entirely forgotten, as they well deserve to be. There were men full of decencies and proprieties like Secker. But who cares to know what Archbishops Herring, Hutton, or Moore thought, said or did? . . . They never attempted to guide or elevate the religious destinies of the nations over whose Church they carelessly presided, and the same might be said of the great body of the clergy."¹ The bishops are complained of as aristocratic, latitudinarian, and secular. One family of an archbishop held sixteen rectories, and one of his sons-in-law received eight different preferments estimated at £10,000 a year. They are accused of being absent from their dioceses, lax in the discharge of their duties, and indifferent in the exercise of discipline, more especially in the examination of candidates by their chaplains. The parochial clergy appear to have been generally ill provided for in a large number of parishes; the Church services and the churches themselves neglected.² It is useless to refer to the state of the *Universities*, described by the same pen, pp. 470, 471. There were, however, sundry controversies, which imply some interest in religious doctrines. They were carried on by leading clergymen. The *Trinitarian*, 1694-1698, in which Sherlock and South were opponents; the *Arian* controversy, 1712-1719, in which Whiston and Clarke were engaged; the *Bangorian* controversy respecting the limits of political and ecclesiastical authority was conducted with great fierceness, 1717. Hoadly was opposed by Sherlock, and fifty others followed on both sides, so that above seventy pamphlets were published.

There were also, amid the general indifference, many Churchmen deeply interested in the Church and in Christianity. Certain *religious societies*, commenced in 1672 by Horneck and Woodward, were multiplied, especially in London. To these religious societies, independent of all Nonconformity or Methodism, the EVANGELICAL CLERGY may trace their origin. Then an *Association for the Suppression of Vice*, 1691; the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 1698; and the *Society for Propagating the Gospel*, 1701, which sent out many Church missionaries, to the colonies especially. It was the noble carrying out of the project put forth in the time of the

¹ "History of the Church of England," by Rev. W. N. Molesworth, pp. 297, 298.

² "Eighteen Centuries of the Church of England," by Rev. A. H. Hore, 8vo., pp. 542-546, 1881.

Commonwealth. The *Boyle Lecture* in defence of revealed religion against infidelity was instituted in 1691, and produced the able discourses of Bentley in confutation of atheism. Berkeley, to whom Pope ascribed "every virtue under heaven," attempted to establish a missionary college in the Bermudas, 1726-1734, but receiving no adequate support retired to England and became Bishop of Cloyne, 1735. The *Bampton Lecture* was instituted in 1780. Both these lectures called forth sermons, which, however useful at the time, have been superseded by writings suited to the altered position of apologetical controversy. Among the clergy were found many whose views differed greatly from the plain meaning of the formularies of their Church. By these, attempts were made, by application to the Parliament, to set aside the necessity of subscription to the Articles (1771, 1772), but without effect. One great institution, that of Sunday schools, commenced by Richard Raikes, at Gloucester, 1781-1783, had an immediate practical bearing upon the religious training of the rising generation. These schools have been maintained with increasing efficiency by all the churches of the nineteenth century.

The NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES increased after the Revolution had given a practical toleration to dissent, and in 1715 there were one thousand one hundred and fifty congregations in England; in 1776, one thousand five hundred and nine congregations. But with them, as with the Established Church, there was observable a great difference in theological literature and in the pulpit deliverance, in the age of the two first Georges. "We miss Anglican and Puritan sweep of thought, minuteness of detail, intensity of utterance, and show of passion. . . . We meet with regularity, order, smoothness. It is the age of Renaissance in Divinity.¹ Much of the fire and force of a previous age had died out, but a good deal of that *unction* which gave a charm to the best preachers of the Commonwealth continued still." By degrees the character of the pulpit ministrations was changed both in the Church and in the dissenting congregations. A writer in the reign of George I. complains of "the way of preaching in the Church" being such "as ordinary sort of people are not capable of receiving any benefit by," and adds that dissenting preachers "are running into the same strain, and nibbling at rhetoric as well as we."² It cannot be denied that there was a general deadness in all the churches.

¹ Stoughton, vol. v. pp. 249, 443.

² Wadlington's "Congregational History," 1700-1800, pp. 22-24.

Sermons, which are now found to be unreadable, were, no doubt felt to be unbearable. By the growth of religious indifference, a way was prepared for the favourable consideration of the Deistical writings which appeared in England from 1660 to 1780, from Lord Herbert, Hobbes, Blount, Morgan, Tindal, Lord Bolingbroke, and others, and to which suitable replies appeared from Halyburton, Howe, Butler, Bentley, Lardner, Leland, Doddridge, Lyttelton, and others. Lord Chesterfield, though indifferent to religious truth, perceived the weak side of the Deistical views, and exposed them to ridicule in "the Creed of the Freethinkers."¹ Nothing, however, short of a revival of spiritual religion could meet the case, and "the last echoes of the Deistical controversy had not ceased when it was rumoured that Wesley and Whitfield were attracting to the churches crowds of people who professed to realise in themselves the truths of that religion which the Deists are said to have assailed."² The history of this great revival has been given by Mahon (Earl Stanhope), and by Lecky, as well as by Episcopalian and Nonconformist writers. It was an appeal to the consciousness of sin and the need of peace with God which most men feel, and which few choose to admit. It produced directly a great improvement in the spiritual state, chiefly of the poor and of the rising class of the population; it roused the Churches to labour sacrificially and lovingly in the evangelical work, and prepared England to withstand the revolutionary and infidel teachings with which the country was flooded after the establishment of the French Republic, 1789-1793.

In SCOTLAND, the *Presbyterian Church* was established by law, 1689. The leading division in this Church has been the Secession Church in 1743, which in 1747 was split into Burgers and Anti-Burgers. The parochial schools, established by Act of Parliament, 1615, and enjoined 1656, have done much to advance the education and stimulate the exertions of Scottish youths in their pursuits in after-life.

In IRELAND, Protestantism suffered while James II. held possession in 1691. The *Episcopalians*, who from the time of the Scotch colonisation of Ulster, in the reign of James I., had opposed and persecuted their fellow-Protestants, because, as *Presbyterians*, they refused to conform to the Anglican Church, were kept in check by the Toleration enforced by William III. and the Georges. It is

¹ Published in *The World*, 1735, 1736.

² Hunt's "Religious Thought in England," vol. iii. p. 395.

much to be regretted that the *Roman Catholics* were regarded as beyond the pale of the law, and the injustice with which they were treated must be condemned by every candid Protestant.

In RUSSIA, Peter the Great abolished the Patriarchate, and made himself the head of the Greek Church. He appointed, in 1721, "the Holy Legislative Synod." Catherine II. confiscated the landed property of the Church, granting salaries to the clergy, and tolerated the *Separatists* in 1762. These Separatists are remarkable for the ridiculous peculiarities which necessitated their dissent from the Greek Church.

In TURKEY and the East, the Greek and other of the Eastern Churches were tolerated by the Turkish and Persian governments. ABYSSINIA, after enduring no small annoyance from the wars provoked by the missions of the Jesuits, retained its questionable Christianity nominally in connexion with the Coptic Churches of Egypt.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS were continued and enlarged by the *Roman Catholics* under the direction of the Propaganda in Rome, in India, China, and the East, also in the Spanish, and Portuguese, and French colonies in America. XAVIER in India, and RICCI in China, deserve to be remembered for their self-denying labours. The Romish missionaries, in zeal and self-sacrifice, far exceeded the efforts of the Protestant Churches, and the sufferings of the missionaries and the converts in China and Japan were beyond all ever experienced. The DUTCH had missions in Ceylon and Java, in which secular motives were unfortunately largely influential on the minds of the natives. The *American Puritans*, assisted by their friends in Britain, sent the celebrated John Elliot as a missionary to the Indians; he died 1690. After him David Brainherd, who died 1747, followed by many others. The *German Lutherans* sent John Egede to Greenland, 1721, a mission patronised by the kings of Denmark and Sweden. He was followed by the Moravian Brethren, 1732, who also began a mission to the Negroes in the West Indies. The *German Mission* to INDIA, under Ziegenbalg, commenced in 1703, and was assisted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England. Its greatest name is that of Schwartz, who died 1758, after a labour of 40 years. These missions were patronised by the kings of England and of Denmark. The *English Methodists* sent out missionaries to revive the religious feeling of the American colonists in 1769, and to the West Indies. The great *Methodist Episcopal Church of America* originated in these missions to America. There was nothing new in this revival of *missionary* enterprise in England. During the Civil War before the Commonwealth, the

Parliament, 1644, contemplated the establishment of a corporation for promoting the preaching of the Gospel in New England, to be supported by a general collection, and to be empowered to hold land to the value of £2000.

LITERARY HISTORY.—The large and increasing number of eminent gifted writers in every department of literature and science in this transition period between the English and the French revolutions makes it impossible to do more than chronicle a few leading names in each department of knowledge. The so-much decried eighteenth century was a period of progress, quiet and gradual, almost unnoticed in the histories of contemporaries, which were mainly occupied with the narratives of the wars for extension of territory, undertaken to gratify the ambition of the ruling powers, and in which the interests of the people were systematically disregarded. If, in reviewing the history of this period, characterised by bloody and destructive wars, which, with one exception, had no ground of justification, we at the same time form a true estimate of the gross immorality, luxurious self-indulgence, and disregard of all the duties and decencies of morality on the part of the sovereigns and higher classes, more especially from the middle of the seventeenth century; hence we look upon the great catastrophe of the French Revolution as one of those great and dreadful “days of the Lord,” in which He manifests His judgments as the Moral Governor of the world.

1. *England*.—Neither science nor literature was patronised by the revolutionary government of 1688, nor by the Hanoverian Dynasty. The era of Queen Anne has been called the Augustan age of English literature (1701–1715), but few of the ornaments of that period received any encouragement from the government, except in connexion with political partisanship. Some few literary men were noticed by King George III., but for the most part the booksellers were the Mæcenæ of literature. A few writers met with patronage and support from the public, but the majority, even of our ablest authors, found it difficult to live in comfort. In *Mathematical and Astronomical* science, the leading names are Sir Isaac Newton, 1642–1727; J. Harison, the inventor of the chronometer, 1699–1776; Halley, 1673–1742; Flamsteed, 1720; Bradley, 1728; Maclaurin, 1720; Ferguson, 1710–1776; Hutton, 1737–1823; Sir W. Herschell, 1740–1826. In *Chemistry*: J. Black, 1750–1799; Cavendish, 1749–1810; Jos. Priestly, 1733–1804; Sir Joseph Banks, the companion of Cooke in his voyage, cultivated science, and was the President of the Royal Society, 1743–1810. In

Medicine and Anatomy, the name of J. Hunter, 1728-1793, and of W. Hunter, 1718-1783, are noticed. The *great Architects*: Sir J. Vanbrugh, 1666-1726; Gibbs, 1674-1754; Kent (gardening), 1684-1748; Wyatt, 1743-1813; Lord Burlington, the patron of architecture, 1700-1720. The great Musicians were Purcell, 1658-1699; Dr. Burney, 1726-1814. The *Painters* were Hogarth, 1697-1764; Sir G. Kneller, 1672-1726; Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723-1792; Sir J. Thornhill, 1715-1734; R. Wilson, 1749-1781; B. West, 1738-1820; Gainsborough, 1745-1788; Romney, 1756-1802; J. S. Copley, 1775-1815; Barry, 1763-1806; Sir Thomas Laurence, 1769-1830. The *Engravers* were G. Vertue, 1709-1750; Thomas Bewick, 1787-1828; John Bewick, 1760-1795. In *Engineering works*, in canals, and bridges, and roads, we have the Duke of Bridgwater, 1748-1803; Metcalf, 1717-1800; Brindley, 1716-1772; Smeaton, 1724-1792. For *Steam Machinery*: Watt, 1736-1819; Bolton, 1728-1809; Roebuck, 1718-1764; for *after Improvements*: Arkwright, 1732-1792; Strutt, 1760-1771; Compton, 1776; Hargreaves, 1760-1778. The *Great Voyagers* of this period were the circumnavigators, Lord Anson, 1740-1744; Byron, 1740-1764; Wallis, 1766-1768; Carteret, 1766-1769; James Cooke, 1768-1779. The discovery and examination of the east coast of New Holland by Cook led to the settlement at Botany Bay, and to the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand. The travels of James Bruce in Abyssinia, 1730-1794, created a general interest in East Africa. Arthur Young, 1775-1820, travelled in the United Kingdom and in France, examining the state of agriculture, and his writings are our best authorities as to the state of agriculture at that time. *Oriental and Biblical literature* has never been neglected altogether in England: Hody, 1654-1706, re-edited the Septuagint; Kennicott commenced his collection of MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, and laboured diligently, 1748-1782; Sir W. Jones cultivated Sanscrit literature, 1746-1794; the Asiatic Society of Calcutta was founded, 1784; Bishop Lowth, 1710-1787; Mills's new edition of the Greek Testament, 1707; George Campbell on the Gospels, 1728-1759; Dr. Geddes, a Romish priest, published a translation of the Old Testament, 1769-1802. In *Philology and Criticism*: BENTLEY, 1694-1742; Porson, 1759-1808; Hudson, 1684-1729; Barnes, 1678-1710; J. Harris, 1761-1786; J. Horne Tooke, 1736-1812; Thomas and John Wharton, 1749-1800. The *Monthly Review*, established 1749; the *Critical Review*, established 1756; the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by Cave, 1731; the *Daily Evening Register*, 1785, became, in 1788, THE TIMES. *Law*: The *London*

Gazette had been established, 1663; the liberty of the Press followed after the Revolution in 1692; Lord Mansfield, 1730–1793, is one of the great legal authorities; Blackstone, in his *Commentaries*, 1746, was the great expounder of the principles of our English law; the letters of JUNIUS, in 1767–1769, led to the discussion of great constitutional questions; Jeremy Bentham laboured for law reform and codification, 1767–1832. *Political Economy* was cultivated by Sir W. Petty, 1643–1687; R. Wallace, 1753; Sir J. Stewart, 1767; by EDMUND BURKE, 1770–1797; but the great work of ADAM SMITH, 1733–1780, on the *Wealth of Nations*, published 1776, is the leading work even to the present time. The *Historians* may be classified in relation to their several subjects:—(1) Antiquarian: Sir W. Dugdale, 1638–1686; Hearne, 1680–1735; Strutt, 1770–1802; Whitaker, 1773–1775. (2) Collections: The *Ancient and Modern Universal History*, 62 vols., 8vo., 1736–1765; Blair's *Chronology*, 1761–1782; Dodsley's *Annual Register*, commenced 1758, and continued to this day. (3) Greece: Gilles, 1747–1830. (4) Rome: Hooke, 1744–1827; A. Ferguson, 1724–1816; GIBBON, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1717–1794. (5) England: Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1638–1713; Echard, 1671–1712; Carte, 1684–1754; Rapin (English translation), 1728; HUME, 1711–1736; Smollett, 1721–1771; Henry, 1718–1790. (6) Scotland: D. Dalrymple, 1776–1779; J. Dalrymple, 1721–1728; Gilbert Stuart, 1767–1782; ROBERTSON, 1721–1793, wrote *History of Scotland*, Charles V., India, &c. (7) Spain: Watson, 1730–1781. (8) Mythological History: Jacob Bryant, 1740–1804. (9) India: Orme, 1763–1778. (10) Commerce: Anderson, 1764. (11) Ecclesiastical History: Jortin, 1715–1770; Conyers Middleton, 1700–1750, published critical remarks on portions of ecclesiastical history; JOSEPH MILNER, 1744–1797, whose history does justice to real Christianity in the Romish and other Churches, but is too evangelical in its views to be acceptable to extreme Broad or High Churchmen, by whose organs it is zealously traduced; J. Bingham, "*Origines Ecclesiasticæ*," 1710–1722, is invaluable in the study of ecclesiastical history. It is scarcely necessary to remark that HUME and GIBBON have left two works which will last as long as the language. Gibbon has been re-edited and annotated repeatedly. Hume requires the same friendly criticism, for which abundant material exists. The *Theological* writers of this period are numerous. In connexion with the Church of England are Dr. John Scott, 1691 (*Christian Life*); Horneck, 1660–1690; men deeply interested in the revival of religion by the *formation of select societies in London*. The great

doctrinal writers are Waterland, 1704-1740, Bishop Bull, 1678-1756, and Bishop BUTLER, 1718-1752. Soame Jenyns, 1741-1787, Stillingfleet, 1657-1699; Lord Lyttelton, 1730-1773; Leslie, 1680-1720; PALEY, 1733-1806, defended the outworks of Christianity. Whitby, 1660-1726, Samuel Clarke, 1661-1729, Bishop Hoadley, 1676-1761, Bishop Warburton, 1776-1779, and Bishop Horsley, 1733-1806, were mighty in controversy. James Hervey, 1714-1758, John Newton, 1725-1807, HENRY VENN, 1749-1796, belong to the evangelical revival coincident with the rise of Methodism. *In the Church of Scotland*: THOMAS HALYBURTON, 1681-1712; Blair, 1742-1800; the Erskines, 1680-1752, were all of them very different but remarkable men. *Among the Nonconformists* were ISAAC WATTS, 1698-1748; Leland, 1690-1766; Lardner, 1760-1780; DODDRIDGE, 1726-1757. *The two great Wesleyan leaders*, JOHN WESLEY, 1703-1791, and JOHN FLETCHER, 1757-1785, have left writings which to this day remain as specimens of plain, powerful, faithful expositions of the Word of God, opposed equally to Antimonianism and Formalism, and advocating the strictest morality. Those who wish to understand the state of England in the age of the Georges, up to the close of the eighteenth century, should read the *Journals of Wesley*, the lives of the early Methodist preachers, the biographies of the leading members of the Society of *Friends*, and *Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson*,—a very varied literature, but not the less instructive. Our modern historians are beginning to see their value. The autobiography of *John Newton* is connected with the history of the evangelical revival in England, just as the life of that extraordinary man, *Thomas Halyburton*, is with the history of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Compare these with *Walton's* lives of Donne, Hooker, Wotton, Herbert, and Sanderson; *Burnet's* lives of Sir Matthew Hale and Lord Rochester, Orme's lives of Baxter and Owen, and the life of Matthew Henry. In *General Literature and Poetry* the list of approved writers is large. DE FOE, 1685-1731 (*Robinson Crusoe*);¹ ADDISON, 1672-1719 (*The Spectator*); Steele, 1671-1722 (*Tatler*, &c.); Lord BOLINGBROKE, 1678-1751; SWIFT, 1672-1745 (*The Tale of a Tub*, *Gulliver's Travels*, &c.);² Richardson, 1689-1761. (*Novels*): LADY

¹ A political partisan, master of plain idiomatic English; never yet excelled as a political writer; a wonderful master of science and nature. England owes to him thanks for his advocacy of the union with Scotland, and the succession of the Protestant Dynasty to the United Kingdom.

² *Swift* was a born politician, and a strong political partisan, the master of plain, perspicuous, and powerful English.

MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU, 1716-1762 (Letters); Fielding, 1727-1754 (Novels); Smollett, 1721-1771 (Novels); Lord Kaimes, 1696-1782 (Philosophy); Lord Chesterfield, 1726-1773 (Letters); Sterne, 1713-1768 (Sentimental Fiction); Horace Walpole, 1761-1797 (Letters); OLIVER GOLDSMITH, 1728-1774 (Essays and Poetry); Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON, 1709-1784 (Lexicographer, Essayist, &c.); James Boswell, 1740-1795 (Biographer); Melmoth, 1742-1789 (translator); H. Brooke, 1706-1783 (Fiction); H. Mackenzie, 1750-1831 (Fiction); R. B. SHERIDAN, 1751-1816 (Dramatist, Orator, &c.). The *Poets* are numerous; chiefly read now in collections and in specimens. POPE, YOUNG, THOMSON, GOLDSMITH, COWPER, BURNS are yet read with pleasure. The rest are read from duty by those who wish to know English literature. Wesley and Thos. Oliver are used devotionally by many who do not discern the poetical genius of the writers. POPE, 1681-1744 (Homer); Congreve, 1670-1729 (Dramas); Cibber, 1688-1757 (Dramas); McPherson, 1738-1796 (Ossian);¹ Gay, 1680-1732; Armstrong, 1746-1779; Bishop Percy, 1764 (Reliques); Mickle, 1734-1789 (The Lusiads); Mason, 1745-1797; Grainger, 1748 (Tibullus); YOUNG, 1681-1765 (Night Thoughts); J. Thomson, 1700-1748 (The Seasons); COWPER, 1731-1800 (The Task, Homer, &c.); Allan Ramsay, 1686-1758 (Scotch Lyrics); Akenside, 1744-1770; Churchill, 1731-1764; Falconer, 1730-1769; Parnell, 1679-1717; Dyer, 1700-1758; Collins, 1720-1756; Shenstone, 1714-1764; Hoole, 1762-1783 (Tasso, Ariosto); Rowe, 1728 (Lucan); Francis, 1743 (Horace); Fawkes, 1767 (Theocritus, &c.); CHATTERTON, 1752-1770 (Poems of Rowley); Home, 1722-1808; Colman, 1762-1836; BURNS, 1759-1796 (Lyrics in Scotch and English); CHARLES WESLEY, 1708-1788 (Hymns); THOMAS OLIVER, 1780 ("The God of Abraham praise"—one of the finest lyrics in our language); Darwin, 1721-1802 (Botanic Garden); Garthe, 1717 (Ovid); Lewis, 1767 (Statius); Cooke, 1728 (Hesiod). The *two* great actors of this period, David Garrick, 1741-1779, and S. Foote, 1742-1772, were literary men.

Our ENGLISH LITERATURE in this period embraces the age of Anne and the Georges up to the great political convulsions which gave a new character, not only to the politics, but the literature of

¹ The dispute as to the genuineness of *Ossian* is not yet settled. Gray remarks: "I remain still in doubt . . . though inclined rather to believe them genuine in spite of the world; whether they are the inventions of antiquaries, or of a modern Scotchman, either case is to me alike unaccountable."—Gosse, "Life of Gray," p. 150.

Europe. The age of Anne was "the age of taste, of critics, of style as an elaborare art, a thing cultivated for its own sake. . . . Pope brought its poetical utterance to perfection. . . . After him were echoes and repetitions. . . . There was a good deal of philosophy and instruction of various sorts conveyed in the mediums of that melodious verse . . . all enunciated . . . in rhymes as correct as Boileau could have desired. It was not according to the genius of the English language, but it was as excellent a rendering of the rules of classic French into English, with a vigorous admixture of English force and robustness into the foreign medium, as could have been desired. . . . A dreary interregnum followed, in which a few fine voices were heard (by intervals) belonging neither to the age that was past, nor to the new epoch which was still unrevealed: Goldsmith, with a fresh and genial note; Gray, delicate, melodious, and refined; Collins, too classic for the general taste."¹ The awakening of the new epoch in literature which dawned in the end of the eighteenth century was prepared by two poets, whom we may call the precursors of the new age. WILLIAM COWPER became the reformer of literature. He was bold to say what was in him, and to say it in his own way . . . he broke the spell of Pope, and opened the way to Wordsworth . . . the world would have been a different world for them if Cowper had not been. BURNS came, like Homer, from the very fountain-head of life; nobody had taught him a note, he had his music from nature, and he took his theme from nature.²

Several *Encyclopædias* appeared; Chambers's (the first in England), 1729; the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1778, which is now going through the ninth edition, 4to. Rees's *Encyclopædia* was being compiled within this period, but was not published till 1802.

The *Philosophy of Locke*, 1651-1704, began a new era of English mental speculation. It was opposed by Shaftesbury, 1691-1713; by Berkeley the Idealist, 1707-1753; and by Hume, 1711-1776.³ Locke was followed by Hutcheson, 1694-1747; Hartley, 1720-1755; Beattie, 1763-1803; and by Reid, 1726-1796, with some differences.

¹ Abridged from Mrs. Oliphant's "*Library History of England, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*," pp. 9-11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 113.

³ *Shaftesbury's* protest against Locke's rejection of everything minute falls back upon the word "connatural": he supplied the Scotch school with the term "common sense"; which he represented as being the same as "natural knowledge," and "fundamental reason." *Berkeley* taught that mind alone existed, everything else mere phenomena. *Hume* thought that all mental phenomena consisted of impressions, and of ideas produced by them, and that Berkeley's argument against the existence of an external world applied equally against the real existence of mind.

2. *French Literature is connected* with the peculiar state of society existing in Paris in the age of Louis XV.,—a society limited to a small circle of the higher classes and of the most celebrated and fashionable and literary classes, and best described in the following extracts:—The reign of Louis XV. was remarkable for a state of society, among the higher and literary classes especially, which was “one of the most singular social phases which has yet been presented in the history of man. . . . Society, properly so called, the assembling of men and women in drawing-rooms, for the purpose of conversation, was the most serious as well as the most delightful, business of life. Talk and discussion in the senate, the market-place, and the schools are cheap: even barbarians are not wholly without them. But their refinement and concentration in the *salon*,—of which the president is a woman of tact and culture,—this is a phenomenon which never appeared but in Paris in the eighteenth century. . . . One does not wonder that they did not perceive that in those graceful drawing-rooms, filled with stately company of elaborate manners, ideas and sentiments were discussed and evolved which would soon be more euphonious than profound.”¹ “We English have no proper conception of the intellectual French charms of the old *salon* . . . that meaning which the old attach to ‘society,’ namely, as another term for the irrepressible interchange of ideas,—another word for the highest intellectual excitement,—is far from being our national interpretation for company.” . . . Madame de Stael remarks that “conversation is a talent which only exists in France.”²

Literature in the time of Louis XV. had become quite separated from the court; but all that was neglected at Versailles was cultivated at Paris. Some of Louis XV.’s mistresses, as Madame Pompadour, affected to patronise certain writers; but the great impulse to literature was given in the private coteries of certain learned ladies, some of whom had very questionable private characters. Madame de Tencin’s parties were frequented by Cardinal Lambertine (afterwards Pope Benedict XIV.), and she had influence enough to get a cardinal’s hat for her brother. This noble lady had abandoned the conventual life, and had gone back to the great D’Alembert, 1718, her son, whom she had abandoned and disowned. She had been imprisoned in the Bastille on a charge of having assassinated her lover, 1726. On her death, 1749,

¹ J. C. Morison, “Life of Gibbon,” p. 48.

² *Quarterly Review*, No. clii. p. 12.

Madame Geoffrin's house was "the first school of *bon ton* in Europe." She corresponded with Stanislaus, King of Poland, Catherine II. of Russia, Maria Theresa, and the King of Prussia. Though very devout (secretly), she appeared as the patroness of the fashionable scepticism. Madame du Deffant was her contemporary. She was visited by the Emperor Joseph, and corresponded with Walpole and Hume. Mademoiselle L'Espinasse, her friend, began a rival *soirée*; this breach was regarded as a public affair. Madame Poplinère, in the time of De Tencin, also gave parties and held *salons*. The Farmers-General Pelletier, Baron Holbach, with Baron Grimm, were distinguished also by their patronage of literature.¹

The great writers of France, as well by their excellences as by their general moral shortcomings, established the character of their literature, and spread it over Europe. With all its faults, it is a grand literature, only equalled by that of England, and in our day by Germany. The following classification displays its variety:—*Oriental Literature*: Herbelot, 1625–1695, Bibliothèque Orientale; Gaillaud, 1646–1735, translator of the Arabian Nights; Du Halde, 1674–1743, History of China; De Guignes, 1759–1845, the Huns, Moguls, Tartars; Anquetil, 1754–1805, Persia, the Zend-Avesta; Calmet, 1622–1757, Dictionary of the Bible; Astruc, 1751. *History*: Rapin-Thoyras, 1661–1725, History of England; Rollin, 1661–1741, Ancient and Roman History; Velly, 1709–1759; Barthelémy, 1750–1830, Anacharsis, &c.; Raynal, 1713–96, History of European Commerce in the East and West Indies; Maty, 1743–1845; Vertot, 1701–1734; VOLTAIRE, 1694–1778; Boulainvilliers, 1658–1712; Rulhière, 1735–1791; St. Simon, 1678–1755; Rivet, 1683–1749; Moreri, 1600, Historical Dictionary; Bayle, 1647–1706, the Protestant sceptic, and the father of literary scepticism; Church History, Tillemont, 1637–1698; Fleury, 1640–1723, able and learned; Du Pin, 1657–1719, the fairest of all the Catholic ecclesiastical historians. *Natural History*: BUFFON, 1707–1788, who first popularised Natural History. *Science*: Maupertuis, 1698–1759; Bougainville, 1729–1811; La Condamine, 1701–1794. *Law*: MONTESQUIEU, 1689–1755, his works are more praised than read; Burlamqui, 1721–1748; D'Aguesseau, 1618–1757; D'Argenson, 1724–1764. *Literature, Poetry*: Le Sage, 1692–1747, author of Gil Blas; Fontenelle, 1691–1757; De Lille, 1774–1813; Marmontel, 1745–1799; Florian, 1768–1794; Beaumarchais, 1732–1799; Grimm, 1776–1807, the German correspondent of Catherine II., from Paris; St. Pierre, 1737–1814. *Political Economy*: Turgot, 1727–1781; La Mettrie, 1709–1751; Quesnay, 1694–1774; Bonnet,

¹ Schlosser, vol. i. pp. 155, 156.

1720-1793. *Metaphysical Philosophy and Social Life*: Rouman, 1712-1778; D'Alembert, 1717-1783; Diderot, 1711-1784; Holbach, 1723-1789; Condorcet, 1743-1794; Condillac, 1746-1780; Helvetius, 1771,—all of them patrons of the sensualistic philosophy. *Biblical Criticism*: Astruc, 1753. *The Arts*: Roubilliac, 1695-1762. *Periodicals*: Journal des Savans, Gazette de Trevoux, Mercure de France. *Explorers and Navigators*: Bougainville, 1729-1811; La Perouse, 1741-1788.

The sensualistic philosophy, as adopted from a one-sided view of Locke's system, was popularised in France as a powerful weapon against Revelation by Holbach, D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and Helvetius. Much of the literature of France was Atheistic; Voltaire, the best of these literary men, endeavoured to maintain a pure Theistical belief. The famous work, the "Encyclopædia," 28 vols., folio, 1751-1777, was as sceptical as it dared to be. Diderot, and D'Alembert, the chief editor, Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and all the wits of Parisian society, were contributors. This work and the writings of Voltaire have permeated and saturated the mind of France, and their power is felt in the literature of the nineteenth century. Rousseau, almost perfect as to his style, was a sentimental madman, with sane moments; his influence, partly for good but more for evil, is perceptible in the European literature of our day.

3. *Sweden*.—*Botany*: Linnæus, 1707-1778; Hasselquist, 1722-1752. *Chemistry*: Berzelius, 1729-1800.

4. *Denmark*.—Holberg, the dramatist, 1684-1754.

5. *Holland*.—*Poetry*: Bilderdyk, 1756-1833. *Medicine*: Boerhaave, 1668-1735.

6. *Switzerland*.—*Medicine*: Tissot. *National Law*: Vattel, 1744-1767; De Lolme, 1771-1806; Turretine (*Theology*). Gesner, 1730-1787; Lavater, 1741-1801 (*Physiognomy*).

7. *Italy*.—*Natural Science*: Galvani. In *Political Economy*: VICO, 1670-1744;¹ BECCARIA, 1735-1793;² Pagano, 1748-1799; Geno-

¹ "The great truth which he endeavours to establish in his 'Scienza Nuova' is, that, as the idea of the material world existed in the Divine intellect previous to the creation of the world, so there must also have existed in it an eternal idea of the history of mankind; and that this idea is realised and manifested in the actual events of history. It is a philosophy of history which he endeavours to establish, and in which he affirms that a divine providence is discernible throughout the history of mankind."—"Penny Encyclopædia," vol. xxvi. p. 298; Flint's "Vico," Phil. Class., 1884.

² His work of Crimes and Punishments, "Trattato dei Delitti e delle Pene," is the great work on penal law; in which the principles of legal restraints and penalties are fully discussed, with depth and originality as well as with due regard to humanity. It has been widely circulated in all the languages of Europe.

vesi, 1712-1769; Verri, 1725-1797; Filangieri, 1752-1788. In *History*: Muratori, 1672-1750;¹ Tiraboschi, 1731-1794;² Maffei; Giannone, 1676-1748;³ Denina. *Poetry*: Lanzi; Metastasio, 1698-1782; Goldoni (the wittiest and most versatile of all dramatists), 1707-1793; Alfieri, 1749-1803; Gozzi, 1761; Parini, 1729; Pignotti.

8. *German Literature*. — *Gottsched*, next to Opitz, is to be credited with the revival of modern German literature in the vernacular tongue, 1724-1776; though *Christian Thomasius* had preceded him in 1687 to 1710, opposing the false taste of his contemporaries, and advocating the use of the German language in the lectures in the universities. *The leading Poets* of this period are Gleim,⁴ 1719-1803; Ramler, 1725-1798; Gellert, 1715-1769; Gaertner, 1712-1719; Hagedorn, 1708-1754; Haller, 1708-1777; Gessner, 1730-1786 (best known by his *Death of Abel*); Kleist, 1731-1759; Bürger, 1748-1794; Herder, 1744-1803; Schiller (J. F. C. Von), 1759-1808; Klopstock, 1724-1803 (the *Messiah*); Voss, 1751-1823 (the unrivalled translator of Homer, &c.); Wieland, 1731-1803 (is regarded as too much affected by French principles and tastes; *Lessing*, 1729-1781, is the critic and dramatic writer whose influence was at once felt by his contemporaries and successors. There are two comic writers, Hippiel, 1741-1796, and Zacharia, 1726-1737. *The Historians* were the Magdeburg centuriators: Mosheim, 1690-1750 (methodical, but dry); Schröckh, 1733-1808 (both Church History); G. F. Müller; Schiller, the poet, also the historian; Herder; and Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. In *Science*: Fahrenheit, Reaumur, Mesmer, Bernouilli. In *Law*: Puffendorf, 1632-1694. In *General Literature*, the bookseller, C. F. Nicolai, did great service by his "New German Library," 56 volumes, and his "Library of Belles Lettres," 1757-1766; Niebuhr, "Travels in the East," 1731-1805; and Büsching's writings are valuable contributions to *Geographical* science. Winckelmann wrote on *Art*, 1738-1768. *Music*: Handel, Gluck, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. *Philosophy*: the philosophy of J. C. WOLFF, 1679-1754, J. J. Lange, 1670-1744, Rudiger, 1673-1731, Brucker,

¹ Muratori was the editor of the "Italian Writers from A.D. 500 to A.D. 1500," and of a great work on the "Antiquities of the Middle Ages."

² Tiraboschi is the historian of Italian literature.

³ In his "Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli," he exposes the means by which the Romish Church, having invaded every civil jurisdiction, strove to place the empire under the priesthood; the work was condemned by the Inquisition, and Giannone, expelled from Naples, was imprisoned in Turin for twelve years, and died in prison, 1748.

1696-1770, followed that of LEIBNITZ ; but all the preceding systems were set aside by that of IMMANUEL KANT, whose "Critique of Pure Reason" first appeared in 1781, and has left its mark on all philosophical systems, whether in Germany or elsewhere, which have since been promulgated. In *Biblical Literature*, LESSING, by his publication of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, 1774-1778 (written by Reimarus, 1694-1768), may be regarded as the founder of the Rationalistic school of interpretation ; Semler, Michaelis, Ernesti, Spalding, and others who lived at the close of this period, were more or less affected by these writings. BENNELIUS, in his "Commentary," defended with learning and piety the old orthodox creed, 1687-1752. The PHILOSOPHY OF KANT requires some remarks on the character of the man so different from the Sensualistic philosophers. It is a pleasure to refer to a gem of thought from his philosophy, "There are two things which excite my admiration ; the moral law within me, and the starry heavens above me." So far as it is possible for an Englishman to understand a German philosophy, we think that Kant contends, in opposition to the Sensational school, that there is a REASON, or knowledge, independent of experience, and which precedes and goes beyond it ; this consists of certain pure forms of knowledge, the necessary conditions of our experience, which man himself creates independent of all experience. These pure forms are forms of intuition or thought ; the *forms of intuition* are SPACE and TIME, the *forms of thought* are the TWELVE CATEGORIES, or original conceptions of the UNDERSTANDING, on which all the forms of our judgment are conditioned ; these are *unity, plurality, totality, reality, negation, limitation, substantiality, causality, reciprocal action, possibility, existence, necessity*. These *categories* are applicable only to the objects which are in our own consciousness,—the *phenomenal* and the *conditioned*. But REASON strives to attain to the *sphere of the unconditioned* (the noumena), which comprises all supersensible objects that the mind may conceive but which cannot be the object of perception. These ideas are purely speculative, for which no corresponding object can be scientifically shown to exist ; thus, neither the existence of God, nor the freedom of the will, can be demonstrated. But this Reason is a practical faculty, which gives the law of human conduct and action, for these laws present themselves with such absolute necessity that Kant calls them the CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE, and holds that no rational man can refuse obedience to them.¹

¹ See articles "Kant" in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition ; Tenneman ; Lewes ; and in Gostwick and Harrison's "History of German Literature."

9. *Slavonic Literature*.—The old songs of the Slavish nations, the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Bohemians, the Poles, the Croats, the Wends, and the Russians, have been current among these people from the earliest period of their tribal existence. Some notion of them may be formed from the labours of Sir J. Bowring in his “Anthologies.” The Latin writings of learned Bohemians and Poles do not properly belong to the nation, but to a clerical class, the Latin literature of the mediæval period. Russia boasts of its old chronicler NESTOR, 1056–1115, and, in common with the other Slav races, it had a national popular literature, the expression of the minds of the people. All of this literature that can be rescued from the neglect of generations past is now being made known by the researches of the learned. The modern literature is that which interests the general reader, mainly RUSSIAN, Polish, Bohemian, and Servian. RUSSIAN dates from the reign of Peter the Great. Prince Kantemier, 1708–1744; Lomonosoff, 1703–1769; Tatishcheff, 1686–1750 (History of Russia); Kraschennikoff (naturalist), 1713–1755; Soomarokoff (drama), 1718–1777; Kheraskoff (poetry), 1733–1807; Bogdanovich (poetry), 1743–1803; Derjavin (poetry), 1745–1816; Von Viezin (satire); Karamsin, 1766–1826. In POLAND, Naruszewicz (historian), 1733–1796; Krasicki (poetry), 1734–1801; Niemcewicz, 1765–1841. In BOHEMIA, Count Slavate, who died, 1658 (history); Pelzel (history), 1775; Parizek, 1753–1823; Dobrowsky (history), 1753–1827. SERVIA, Obradovich, 1739–1811; George Brankovid, 1645–1711; John Raich (history), 1726–1801. To most of us these are mere names, but they are enough to show that there has been laid the foundation of a Russian, Polish, and Bohemian literature.

State of the World, 1788 A.D.

EUROPE.

SWEDEN (including Finland), with part of Pomerania in Germany, under Gustavus III.

DENMARK and Norway, including Jutland, Schleswick, Holstein, and the Islands, with Iceland and Greenland. Christian VII., an imbecile, the government by a regency.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Under George III. since 1760, Hanover, Bremen, &c., in Germany, to the king as Elector of Hanover.

GERMANY: the CONFEDERATION, AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, SAXONY, HANOVER, BREMEN, HESSE, MECKLENBURG, BAVARIA, WURTEMBERG, BADEN, and a large number of petty principalities and free towns, nominally constituting the empire.

AUSTRIA (empire of), under the reformer Joseph II., Austria, the Tyrol, Carinthia, Salzburg (Germany), Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Croatia; also the NETHERLANDS, formerly belonging to Spain; MILAN, formerly belonging to Spain; Galicia, from POLAND.

PRUSSIA. Brandenburg, Silesia, and sundry principalities scattered in Germany, with part of Poland, WEST PRUSSIA, and Dantzic. The king Frederick William II.

FRANCE. Its boundaries enlarged since 1688 by the acquisition of Lorraine and Alsace with Strasburg; also by a portion of the old Spanish Netherlands bordering on France. CORSICA, also conquered by France, 1769. Louis XVI. king.

SWITZERLAND. A confederation of republics very aristocratical in their constitution.

SPAIN. Under the Bourbon kings after the death of Charles II., 1700.

PORTUGAL. Under the House of Braganza since the revolt from Spain, 1640.

ITALY. SARDINIA, Savoy, Piedmont, Montferrat, Sardinia, Nice, under the King of Sardinia.

NAPLES AND SICILY. Under a king of the Spanish family since 1735, called the Two SICILIES.

MALTA. To the Knights of St. John, by the gift of the Emperor Charles V. in 1530.

THE STATES OF THE CHURCH. Under the Pope.

TUSCANY, PARMA, and PLACENTIA, MODENA, LUCCA (independent duchies nominally, but really under Austria).

MILAN and MANTUA. To the empire—*i.e.*, to Austria.

VENICE (republic of). Italy north of the Po and north-east of the Adde. Dalmatia.

RAGUSA (a petty republic), dependent on Venice.

MONTENEGRO, independent after the fall of Old Servia in 1389.

GENOA (a republic). CORSICA having rebelled under Paoli, 1755, was ceded to France in 1768.

POLAND, deprived of one-third of its territory and one-half its population in 1772 by the first partition. Stanislaus II. (Poniatowski), a mere creature of Russia, was king.

RUSSIA.—RUSSIA in possession of the Crimea bounded on the west by the Pruth and Poland; Courland and LITHUANIA formed part of the Russian empire. Catherine II. was the empress in 1788.

TURKEY, separated from Russia by the *Pruth*, includes Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and all south of the Danube, including Greece, Albania, Bosnia, Servia.

HOLLAND.—The Seven United Provinces under the Stadtholder, who was maintained in office by the power of Prussia.

ASIA.

RUSSIA IN ASIA. *Siberia* pressing southwards and eastwards over the barbarous tribes. Its extreme eastern boundary and separation from America was first discovered by Behring, 1728, whose name is given to the strait which separates the two continents.

TURKEY IN ASIA. Asia Minor, Syria, and all west of the Tigris. Arabia nominally Turkish, disturbed by the Wahabee sect.

PERSIA. East of the Tigris bounded by Afghanistan.

AFGHANS checked by Persia; generally independent. DURANI Dynasty, founded 1747, invaded India and Persia.

INDIA. The Mogul power extinct. The Seiks and Mahrattas are the chief northern powers. The English the predominant power.

CHINA under the Mantchu Dynasty.

JAPAN under the Tycoons.

AFRICA.

EGYPT to the Turks. Ali Bey, the Mameluke, was master of Egypt, 1766–1773.

TRIPOLI nominally Turkish. Since 1683 under Hamet Caramanti and his descendants.

TUNIS nominally Turkish, governed by its own Beys.

ALGIERS nominally Turkish, governed by its own Beys. Repeatedly bombarded by the French and others on account of the piracies. A new form of government by Deys and a Council, 1710.

MOROCCO under its Xeriffs.

ABYSSINIA. SHOA independent of Abyssinia, 1700. Visited by James Bruce, 1769-1771.

AMERICA (NORTH).

CANADA, NOVA SCOTIA, CAPE BRETON, NEWFOUNDLAND. British colonies, with the Bermudas; also *Honduras*.

THE UNITED STATES, thirteen colonies (Georgia the latest, founded by General Oglethorpe, 1732 included).

MEXICO, the FLORIDAS, CALIFORNIA, NEW MEXICO, and LOUISIANA, subject to SPAIN.

AMERICA (SOUTH).

TERRA FIRMA, PERU, CHILI, La Plata, with Buenos Ayres to Spain.

BRAZIL to Portugal.

CAYENNE to England, France, and Holland.

WEST INDIAN ISLANDS.

CUBA and PORTO RICO to Spain.

JAMAICA to England, also the Bahamas.

HAYTI (San Domingo) to France and Spain.

THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS, Barbadoes, to England. *Martinique*, to France. Trinidad, to Spain. St. Eustatius, St. Bartholomew to Holland. St. Thomas, to the Danes. The other islands either to England, France, or Spain, according to the chances of war.

TWELFTH PERIOD.

The Revolution in France, 1788 A.D., to the Peace of Paris, November 28, 1815.

I.—Introductory.

THE causes of the great Revolution in France, and its subsequent history, will be the easier to understand by first acquainting ourselves with the condition of France previous to 1788.

The *Modern French Monarchy*, which commenced with the accession of Hugh Capet, 689, has been formed out of the independent dukedoms, baronies, and counties, which at that time occupied the territory which is now called France. Hugh Capet was the most powerful of these barons, and was ruler over Picardy, the Isle of France and the Orléanais, provinces in the very centre of France. By degrees his successors, by absorbing the other provinces, formed the France of our modern maps. Berry was united to the crown by Philip I., 1100; Touraine, 1203; Normandy, 1205, by Philip II.; Languedoc, 1271, by Philip III.; Champagne, 1285; Lyonnois, 1310, by Philip IV.; Dauphiné, 1349, by Philip VI.; Poitou, Aunis, Saintoigne, 1372, by Charles V.; Guienne, 1353, by Charles VIII.; Burgundy, 1477; Anjou, Maine, Provence, 1481, by Louis XI.; Bretagne, 1515; Bourbonnais, Marche, 1528, by Francis I.; Limousin, 1589; Béarn, Foix, 1589, by Henry IV.; Auvergne, 1615; Rousillon, 1642, by Louis XIII.; Alsace, 1628; Flanders, Artois, 1659; Nivernais, 1659; Franche-Comté, 1674, by Louis XIV.; Lorraine, 1738; Corsica, 1769, by Louis XV.

The *Pays-d'état* were Flanders, Provence, Béarn, Lower Navarre, Bigorre, Foix, Soule, Armagna, Nebouran, and Marsau. These

states voted their own taxation and managed, to a great extent, their own local affairs.

The *Parliaments* (parlements) were those of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, Pau, Metz, Besançon, Douay, and Nancy; thirteen in all. These were originally courts or councils, consisting of the great vassals and prelates, to decide on questions affecting those holding lands from the Crown. Philip the Fair established them as courts of justice and finance. By the law called *the paulette*, the judges were enabled to make their offices hereditary by a payment annually of a sixtieth part of the value of their offices. The Parliament of Paris was the most remarkable, and, from the fact of its being accustomed to register the royal edicts, began to assert the right of refusal, which brought it in collision with the kings, and led to the holding of the *lits de justice*, in which the kings on their own authority compelled the necessary enregistrement; these parliaments had no sympathy with popular rights, and never contemplated popular representation.

The condition of France, economical and financial, has been thoroughly investigated by Taine:—(1) *Population*, about twenty-six or twenty-seven millions in 1788. The privileged classes consisted of about one hundred and forty thousand *nobles*, forming some twenty-five to thirty thousand families, and one hundred and thirty thousand *clericals*, *i.e.*, twenty-three thousand monks in two thousand five hundred monasteries; thirty-seven thousand nuns in one thousand five hundred convents; sixty thousand curés and vicars in charge of as many churches and chapels; thus, in each square league in all France and to every thousand of the population, there was one noble family with its mansion, in each village a curé and church, and in every six or seven leagues a conventual body. At present there are in France, or were under Louis Napoleon, fifty-one thousand secular clergy, eighteen thousand five hundred monks, and eighty-six thousand three hundred nuns, in a population of thirty-eight millions. (2) *The Land*: Various statements as to the distribution of the land are given; one is that one-fifth of the soil belonged to the Crown and the commoners; one-fifth to the third estate; one-fifth to the rural population; one-fifth to the clergy; one-fifth to the nobles; so that, deducting the public lands, the privileged classes owned one-half of the kingdom. It is calculated that *one-third* of the land consisted of small proprietors, who in Alsace, Flanders, Bearn, and the north of Bretagne were in comfortable circumstances, but in Lorraine and Champagne there was great poverty through the extreme subdivision of the land; the re-

maining two-thirds to the higher classes. At present one-third of the land (eighteen millions of hectares), is divided among one hundred and eighty-three thousand great landholders; fourteen millions of hectares among seven hundred thousand middle-class holdings, and fourteen millions among about four millions of peasant farmers. Some other holdings are very small, owing to the division of land on the death of the head of the family; thus there has been no change in the number of the peasant proprietors; the change is seen in the seven hundred thousand middle-class proprietors, the result of the Revolution of 1788. The holdings in 1788: nine millions of small cultivators to twenty-seven millions of hectares. In 1870, twenty-three millions of hectares held by small proprietors and *métayers*, of which eight millions were rented; nine and a half millions by wealthy landholders; four and a half millions in *petite culture*, and four and a half barren. (3) *The productive power of the land*: in 1788, forty million hectolitres of wheat, equal to one hundred and sixty-seven litres per head of the population; cattle, thirty-three millions. At the present time, 1876, there are raised seventy million hectolitres of wheat, equal to two hundred and eight litres per head of the population, and forty millions of cattle in 1840. The vegetable productions in 1738 were valued at two thousand millions of francs, they are now six thousand millions! (4) *Imports and Exports*: in 1788, the imports were five hundred and seventy-six millions; the exports, five hundred and forty millions. At present, imports, one thousand eight hundred millions, and the exports one thousand eight hundred millions. (5) *Finance*: in 1785, the receipts from the taxes five hundred and fifty-eight millions of livres, with forty-one millions for local expenditure, about six hundred millions; the Church raised one hundred and thirty-three millions, and other taxes made up about eight hundred and eighty millions, equal to two thousand four hundred millions of the present French money.¹

II.—*The Causes of the Revolution.*

1. *The French Revolution* was not caused merely by the financial difficulties which had compelled the king to convoke the States-General. A government out of funds was no novelty in France, and was not of itself likely to occasion any serious alarm. Louis XIV. left a debt of about one hundred and twenty millions sterling, with which the Regent D'Orléans dealt very economically and reduced considerably. Louis XV. left to his successor a debt of one hundred and eighty-three millions sterling, of which the interest

¹ The statistics are from Taine.

was £9,400,000. In fact, from the year 1739 there had been a regular deficiency of income, varying from one and one-third of a million to five millions annually up to 1788. These figures, however, are mere approximations to the reality, judging from the references to finance which are met with in the histories; for instance, Terrai, in 1774, at the close of the reign of Louis XV., to which we have referred, acknowledged a debt of four thousand seven hundred millions of francs, equal to one hundred and eighty-eight millions sterling, as already stated, while Calonne, in 1787, stated the debt to be not more than one thousand six hundred million francs, with six hundred and fifty millions of arrears, making it in all eighty-eight millions sterling, with a yearly deficiency of one hundred and forty-four millions, nearly five millions sterling. The *compte rendu* of Necker, in 1788, was imperfect, and concealed more than it revealed as to the state of the finances. He supposed that the actual deficiency of revenue was not more than two millions one hundred thousand sterling annually. Crowe¹ throws some light on these otherwise unaccountable discrepancies. "The mode of drawing up French financial accounts was then what it is still, one that baffles rather than facilitates comprehension. The ordinary revenue was represented to consist merely of what reached the treasury, the part abstracted from it by mortgages, anticipations, or guarantees, being left out. The interest of the greater part of the debt being paid in this way was also left out of the account of expenses. By this means it was easy to present a decorous statement of ordinary revenue and expenditure, whilst the extraordinary requirements and outlay, although equal in amount to the ordinary, was altogether omitted." But, supposing the deficiency to have been five millions sterling, this, though a large sum, was not a burden so heavy as to be unbearable by a nation of twenty-five millions, in which the noble and wealthy classes had hitherto paid the smallest contributions to the revenue.

2. These *financial* difficulties, *now* pressing and making themselves felt, were the result of the war with England on behalf of the United States, in addition to the wasteful prodigality of the recent expenditure. To meet them required the application of a wise and rigid economy, and the removal at once of the grand evil and curse of the entire system of the national taxation—that is to say, its unjust and unequal pressure upon the class least able to bear it. Very small, indeed, was the burden imposed upon the privileged classes, the nobles, the clergy, and the officials. The *noblesse* and

¹ Vol. iv. p. 361.

clergy were, with their families, in number about 270,000; their estates were free from taxation. So also large numbers, not noble, the possessors of posts (purchased) which conveyed the privilege of exemption. Practically, the whole burden of the support of the government fell upon the middle and rural classes, the citizens and the peasantry. Many of the cities and the towns were exempt in virtue of ancient charters, or by other special rights enjoyed from time immemorial, and, even if subject to taxes, had means of making bargains favourable to themselves. The rural cultivators were specially oppressed by this incidence of taxation. It was calculated and verified by sad experience that the various payments to the tax-collector, the feudal and other dues, left a mere pittance, say one-fourth of the net produce of the land, to be divided between the landlord and tenant even in good years. In ordinary and bad seasons the cultivators had to incur debts at usurious interest. Industry was paralysed, the spirit of the peasantry was broken, food of the lowest description, and too little of it, ruined the physique of the population, and left them without the requisite strength to labour. There was no hope of favourable change. "Why should I labour? it would be but to earn more for the collector," said the peasant. Artificers had no work, the merchants and small dealers no trade. The Customs' regulations made each province a foreign country to its neighbours, and barred the internal trade of the kingdom with imposts which rendered exchange impossible. *The corvée* (civil and military) was laid upon the peasantry; the maintenance and making of roads, and the conveyance of the baggage and of provisions for the troops, was especially oppressive; add to these the claims of the seigneurs upon the rural population for labour and for sundry duties, the relics of the feudal system, which (although no longer a bond of union and mutual protection) claimed its dues. These oppressions, in the shape of an undue burden of taxation and the feudal claims, were the source of the financial distress of France. A rearrangement of taxation such as had been recently proposed, first by Turgot, then by Calonne, which included the abolition of the *corvée*, the diminution of the *gabelle* (salt duty), would have been as the beginning of a new era to the peasantry, and would have laid the foundations of a sound fiscal policy. The selfish obstinacy of the privileged classes was opposed to this measure; they gave way in due time, but it was too late!

3. Up to this period *there had been no thorough amalgamation of the various classes of society*, so as to realise the idea and the benefit of a united nationality. The Romanised Kelt of the fifth century,

though subdued by the Frankish tribes which had adopted his language, remained a separate and distinct class, a *bourgeoisie* or peasantry. The nobles and *noblesse*, proud of their Frank ancestry, occupied the position of feudal seigneurs, lived apart in the châteaux, and intermarried in their own circle. The citizens in their towns were equally separated from each other by guilds and local privileges, and looked down upon the peasantry as an inferior class and caste. Rarely, indeed, were there intermarriages between the inhabitants of the towns and the cultivators of the land. From this social isolation the various classes were led to regard each other as aliens and foreigners, and in their riots and *émeutes* were apt to act towards each other cruelly and vengefully. On this account some have thought that Frenchmen were unfitted, by their eager partisanship and by their love to contend to *the bitter end*, to work free institutions, in which the minority yields to the majority, and government is carried on by a series of compromises. The political changes in 1830, in 1848, and in 1870 have shown the contrary. With the exception of the Communist mobs of Paris, the dregs of a corrupt civilisation and the extreme politicians of the Press and of the Assembly, the French people seem generally anxious to secure a wise administration of their own affairs, and to live as a nation in peace with their neighbours.

4. From 1672, *the condition of the rural and labouring class* in the cities and villages had gradually deteriorated, though with occasional periods of reaction and tolerable comfort. At their best estate the French peasantry and labourers are content with a degree of comfort which among the English would be deemed far from satisfactory. In bad times, deficient harvests, stagnation periods so often occurring, these classes were reduced to actual starvation, and driven to beggary and brigandage. The ten years previous to 1788 had been years of drought and scarcity, and a few months before the States-General had assembled a hailstorm of unprecedented fury had destroyed the vines, the fruit, and the crops of nearly one-half of France. In the south, the olives were destroyed by the frost. The additional distress arising from these calamities, added to the average chronic amount of misery and starvation, made the most sanguine despondent. So much misery and privation on the part of a large portion of the population painfully contrasted with the luxury and prodigality of the nobles and other privileged classes. At this time, too, by the working of the provincial assemblies, instituted by Necker in 1779, and increased in number by Loménie de Brienne, every parish was called upon to take its

part in the assessment and levying of the taxes. For the first time the peasant and the seigneur met face to face in consultation together ; for the first time the peasant became fully aware of the enormous excess of burdens laid upon him ; his eyes were opened to the monstrous fact that the poor, who in his day "had eaten grass like sheep and had died like flies," had been compelled for more than a century to pay eighteen-twentieths of their hard earnings, in order to exempt the count, marquis, or seigneur from paying anything at all. At the same time these discoveries were made, a summons from the king was received, requiring each parish to make known its grievances. The long pent-up forces of misery were set free. The ignorant peasantry no sooner heard of redress than they wanted it at once, and proceeded to snatch it by violence. Hence the painful catalogue of châteaux burnt, pillaged, or despoiled, and the attacks upon life, producing the widespread desolation of the provinces, of which Taine gives in detail the full particulars. To these privileges of the higher classes, so ruinous to the lives and enjoyments of other classes, and so unjust as to admit of no excuse, we may trace the hatred for the nobility and *noblesse*, and that passion for *equality* (rather than for constitutional liberty) which is so peculiarly manifest in France. Among the many and crying evils, social and political, in France, the two most hateful of all the burdens under which France groaned were the injustice of the incidence of taxation, and the insolent assumption of the privileged classes as if by nature ordained to rule over the whole of the other population of France. Liberty and fraternity were mere phrases to round off the sentence in which *equality* was the *real* thing, the one most desired above all others. In the Revolution they obtained equality of taxation, equality legal and social. Whether all this might not have been obtained at a less cost of human misery and blood is another question. It is some consolation to know that the substantial benefits of the Revolution survive and remain to this day.

5. *The weak goodness of the king, the incapacity of the noble classes*, who for generations had been estranged from all official and administrative life, the rashness of the king's advisers, who seemed to act without plan or foresight, threw the entire working of the government into the hands of the National Assembly. "No cause is seen so universally and persistently in action, from the first outburst of the Revolution, as the want of those larger and sounder principles of action which are specially needed in the higher classes of a great country. There was no political knowledge, no power of organisa-

tion, no habit of administration, except as regards the last, in a mechanical routine, which, in the time of danger, only increased the evil."¹ The National Assembly, by its position in Paris, became dependent upon the municipality, the only party which had at its command an armed force upon which it could rely. The Jacobin Club, by its energetic action, ruled both the Commune and the Assembly, and ruled public opinion over all the provinces. The Girondists, men of speculation, were dethroned and executed by the men of action, the Jacobins. One clique of Jacobins sent the Hebertists and Danton to the scaffold, leaving the rule in the hands of another clique of which Robespierre was the head. All political life seemed to consist of one party denouncing and executing the other (its rivals), and in due time being denounced and executed in its turn. Robespierre fell by the action and management of men even worse than himself, and so on until France, weary of mob government and of bloodshed, submitted gladly, first, to a Directory, then to a Consul, and finally to an Emperor.

6. *All this might have been prevented.* "The career of the Revolution could have been often and easily arrested by the commonest exertion of manly judgment and co-operation."² The evils, and the means of remedying the evils which had brought the state to the brink of ruin, were patent to all practical statesmen.³ The difficulty was that the whole system of the constitution and of the administration of justice was so intimately connected together, that everything must be left as it was or everything entirely changed; and that, meanwhile, the government had no money and no power to repress the disorders in Paris and in the provinces. But a loan to meet present exigencies was possible, and the compulsion exercised, as it might have been constitutionally by the *Tiers État* and the king upon the nobles and clergy, would have enabled the executive to carry out the financial and other reforms which experience had proved to be necessary. There is no mysterious fatalism in human affairs either to the individual or to the nation. Men and political associations reap as they have sown. The king, the nobles, the clergy, and the population of France may be described in the words of the prophet: "The whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it."⁴ As there was no timely reform, there was a revo-

¹ *Quarterly Review*, 1882, p. 134.

² *Ibid.*

³ Schlosser, vol. v. p. 399.

⁴ Isaiah i. 5, 6.

lution—a revolution of blood and misery unknown in the past history of mankind; such as, we trust, may never occur again. France, after nearly ninety years of revolution, having tried the extremes of democracy and autocracy, is now trying a sort of conservative republicanism, which is wasting its strength upon the effort to destroy the moral and educational influence of the clergy, while it is neglecting to check the spirit of communism which bids fair to attempt a new revolution.

7. *Some indirect influence of the sceptical and atheistical philosophy of the popular teachers*, whose Bible was the *Encyclopédie*, supplemented by a corrupt literature “sensual and devilish,” from which even the leading *littérateurs* of the day (Voltaire especially) recoiled, was undoubtedly felt in the Revolution, as well as before it began and after it had exhausted itself. The practically godless contempt of morality manifested, especially by the higher classes, soon spread deeper and wider among the very lowest of the town population. Theoretical atheism took away the feeling of the sacredness of human life as well as the feeling of responsibility to God. Hence the callous indifference to the shedding of blood. If man is but an animal, his life, like that of any other animal, may be taken away when deemed convenient by the ruling power. In this way we may suppose the political leaders to have reasoned, when one party after another sent its predecessors by batches to the guillotine. The only security for right government and political freedom is the cultivation of the moral sense, which sympathises with the image of God in man and realises to the full its responsibility to God.

8. *The injury to the cause of progressive reform* in Germany, Spain, Italy, and England, by the excesses of the revolutionary leaders in France, was a serious evil. There had been for more than a generation past a steady progress of change for the better in the financial and educational administration of most of the European nations. Old things and old thoughts were being quickly modified, although the old forms were retained. But the reckless, unreasonable haste, and the impatient zeal of the men of the new era alarmed the rulers, and roused a powerful conservative opposition among the populations as well as on the part of the rulers of the European nations.

9. *In judging the conduct of the National Assembly*—and, in fact, of all the prominent facts of the Revolution—we must remember the lamentable condition of France during the preceding generation and the long-continued chronic misery of the population. This

actual, felt *misery* of the millions explains everything. For two generations past the decay in the productive power of the country, and consequently in the means for the employment of labour, was followed by a large increase in the number of the unemployed, driven by necessity to vagabondage and crime. This evil was intensified by ten years of deficient harvests and by the calamities of the year 1788. In spite of the efforts of the government and of the richer classes, the famine was a reality over the whole of France; bread made with rye and barley was black, and sour, and uneatable, and even this could only be procured by hours of waiting before the bakery. The government was obliged to direct the cutting of 250,000 bushels of rye (before quite ripe) to provide food for the soldiery. The numbers reported of the unemployed almost defy belief. In Normandy 24,000. In many of the provinces one-fourth of the population.

Vagabondage, accompanied by brigandage on a large scale, had gradually grown up into an institution, which within the last thirty years had made itself felt, and, though repressed at times, had never been extinguished. The game laws were openly defied; the collection of the gabelle (salt tax) and other taxes had been opposed by bands [of 50 to 200 men under popular leaders, in 1754, 1764, 1777, 1782; farmers terrified and controlled by armed bands of fifty to sixty claiming free quarters; forests cut down and the timber carried away; the avenues of the manorial halls in some places maliciously cut down. These bandits at different times numbered from 10,000 to 50,000, roaming over the country, destroyed all security of property and life to the land proprietors, and all officials of the government. These evils appeared to have increased early in 1789; there had been three hundred outbreaks in the rural districts. It is easy to account for this. Hope had been raised; the people had learned the unfairness of the taxation; they had heard and had gladly received the doctrine of the natural equality of man; they were eager to seize and enjoy their *rights*; hunger is the excuse of their impatience, and their ignorance is some excuse for *their* atrocities! But who can excuse the court, the nobility, the clergy, and the educated classes for the neglect of generations past? These unnatural leaders of the people are the responsible parties: power and property have their rights, but these rights will only be respected when viewed in connexion with the duties incumbent upon them. In France, power and property had forgotten their duties for generations with impunity; but there is a Nemesis in human affairs, to use the language of the heathen

moralist ; there is a God who governs the world, and of whose retributive justice we may say,—

“ The mills of the gods grind slowly,
But they grind exceeding small.”

10. In January, 1789, a pamphlet by the Abbé Sièyes clearly pointed to the desirable and probable results of the coming revolution, the full establishment of an irresistible popular power. It was entitled, “What is the third estate? Everything. What hitherto has it been in the state? Nothing.” The whole tenor of the pamphlet was to prove that the people were everything ; the privileged classes a mere excrescence and hindrance to progress, and that without them the people would be a free and flourishing nation.

III.—*The leading events of the Revolution up to 1795, the beginning of the Directory.*

The narrative must necessarily be brief. No compendium can give any correct impression of the events from the year 1789 to 1795. To the English reader the voluminous work of *Alison* is as fair an account as could be expected from a Tory gentleman, whose reverence for historical accuracy was a continual check upon his political prejudices. *Von Sybel's* history is from the German standpoint, and has from this its main value. *Thiers's* history is written to glorify the Revolution and conceal, as far as possible, its excesses ; he writes as an apologist. *Taine's* recent works furnish the most ample materials for forming a correct judgment as to the causes and consequences of the Revolution and the character of its actors. In the *Edinburgh, Quarterly*, and other reviews, as the *Westminster, British Quarterly*, and *London Quarterly*, there is scarcely a single fact in the history and legislation of the French Revolutionists which has not been fully discussed from both the Liberal and Conservative school of English politics. The history by *McFarlane* (“Pictorial History of England”) by the continuator of *Russell's* “Modern History of Europe, 1852,” and by *Dyer* in his “History of Europe,” the history by *Chambers*, and the volume, in the “Epochs of Modern History” on the French Revolution, by a lady, *B. M. Gardiner*, are all of them respectable compilations. *Carlyle's* “French Revolution” is *sui generis*, and should be read in connexion with histories which condescend to state the facts in the ordinary style. The work of Carlyle may be used as a condiment or a stimulant

to aid in the mental digestion of the history and its striking lessons.

The States-General assembled May 4, 1789. No arrangement had been made by the government beyond the directions issued regulating the number of the respective orders. The *tiers état* were to be equal in number to the representatives of the nobles and clergy, *i.e.*, nobles, 300; clergy, 300; the *tiers état*, 600. This scale of representation would have given the predominance to the popular party if the three orders assembled and voted in one chamber. The court, with the privileged classes, had expected that the mode of procedure followed in the last meeting of the States-General would be the precedent for 1789. This was the first contest, and the point in dispute was settled by the express orders of the king in favour of one chamber, June 27. *The spirit of the Assembly* may be gathered from the assumption, on June 17, by the *tiers état* of the title of the National Assembly, a name happily suggested by the advocate *Legrand*,¹ and from an incident in connexion with the *séance royale*, held June 23, in which the king read a decree of thirty-five articles, all of them concessions embodying "the whole elements of national freedom." *Mirabeau*, when asked, "What was wanting?" replied, "Nothing—but, that *we* should have taken—not *he* have given them." Carlyle remarks, "Folly is that wisdom which is wise only behindhand. Few months ago these thirty-five concessions had filled France with rejoicing . . . now it is unavailing; the very mention of it is slighted." *The assembling in one hall as one Assembly being settled*, there appeared a prospect of honest legislation, as the majority desired practical reforms and the maintenance of order. There were *two* great obstacles from the very beginning to the end of the Revolution: the ill-feeling of the court, by which the well-meaning good sense of the king was controlled; and the evil influence exercised by the mob of spectators admitted into the gallery of the Assembly, by which the members were intimidated. Of this Arthur Young was a witness. "There is a gallery at each end of the saloon, which is open to all the world . . . the audience in these galleries are very noisy; they clap when anything pleases them, they have been known to hiss—an indecorum which is utterly destructive of freedom of debate." The evil increased, and the action in the galleries became more and more demonstrative and threatening, and was in fact a *power*, recognised by such men as Robespierre,

¹ Schlosser, vol. i. p. 36.

who admitted that the "six thousand spectators at Versailles had contributed not a little to the courage and energy required for the success of the Revolution."¹ Carlyle's account of the members of the Assembly is not far wrong, though requiring some modification: "So many heterogeneities cast together into the fermenting vat . . . probably the strangest body of men . . . that ever met together in our planet on such an errand. So thousand-fold complex a society, ready to burst up from its infinite depths; and these men, its rulers and leaders, without life, rule for themselves . . . other life rule than a gospel according to Jean Jacques! To the wisest of them, what we must call the wisest, man is properly an accident under the sky. Man is without duty round him, except it be 'to make a constitution.' He is without heaven above him or hell beneath him; he has no God in the world." The Assembly had also to contend with *the outside* mob, which was permitted to insult unpopular legislators within; *the press* from 1790 to 1793 was controlled by the violent party; with the *Clubs*, especially that of the Jacobins, in which the acts of the Assembly were often prepared and always controlled; and with the *Municipality of Paris*, which by its organisation had a complete control of the city and the command of the civic guard. It had already raised the tricolor as the Republican ensign on July 13. *The army* was estranged from the executive through the monopoly of all honorable positions by the noble class; by the mulcting of the payments due to the soldiers by the paymaster, &c., through the carelessness of their commanders, and by the general neglect of all provision for their comfort. But the obstacle of all others was the *Municipality*, an *imperium in imperio*. Originally Paris was divided into twenty-one quarters. In April, 1789, it was divided into sixty sections to arrange for the selection of deputies to the States-General. These one hundred and twenty members were increased to one hundred and eighty, then in July to three hundred. It had a civic guard (National Guard) of forty-eight thousand men at its command. In September, 1790, it was reorganised—divided into forty-three sections, each of which had its primary Assembly and a permanent executive council. There was a general council for the Municipality of ninety-six and a permanent committee of forty-four. The Municipality was not legally confined to municipal duties, but was authorised to interfere in matters belonging to the general administration of the nation (May 21, 1790). With an armed force and with subsidies from the

¹ Speech, Oct. 31, 1791.

state, this central power, entirely in the hands of the extreme *Jacobins*, in due time ruled the Assembly and the subsequent assemblies. *From the very beginning of the sittings of the National Assembly to the end of the Republic, this Municipality was the tyrant and the curse of France.*

2. *The reactionary spirit of the court led to the dismissal of Necker, July 11.* This was followed by the riot in the Palais Royal, raised by Camille Desmoulins, and a trifling conflict between the guards and a German regiment; then on the 14th by a regular and systematic attack of the mob (aided by arms and cannon which the Municipality permitted them to take) on the Bastille. This prison and fort had at that time no political character, and was as unimportant in that respect as the Tower of London. It was taken and its defenders were brutally murdered. In this there was no triumph over tyranny. *It was simply the daring manifesto of certain parties to teach the National Assembly the strength of the new power, which, itself a mere fraction of the dregs of the populace, called itself the people; a power which in due time reconciled France to a dictatorship, beginning with Robespierre and so on to the great hero and conqueror of the Revolution, NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.* The news arrived at Versailles early in the morning of July 15. The king remarked, "This is a revolt." "Sire," replied the informant, "it is a Revolution." Necker was recalled July 16, and reached Versailles July 28. The disorders in the rural districts increased, and the Seigneurs, alarmed by news from all quarters of the plundering and burning of their châteaux, and the general repudiation of rents, feudal dues, and government taxes by the peasants, permitted the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Duc d'Aiguillon, on August 4, to propose the abolition of all feudal rights and of all exclusive privileges, as well as of tithes. "A sort of intoxication possessed the Assembly, which broke up at two A.M. (August 5), after having caused a Revolution, much more efficacious than that of the taking of the Bastille." In one night the whole fabric of feudal power had fallen, the result of mutual fears, vanity, and revenge, each class forcing sacrifices on one another. These measures could not be modified afterwards, though regarded by many in the Assembly as "the St. Bartholomew of property," while by others, far in advance of the rest, it seemed as if not enough had been done. Dumont regards the party of the nobles as "ready to lose their heads for their cause, but not able or willing to use them rationally." Thiers remarks that, "a nation never knows how to resume with moderation the exercise of its rights." The proposal

to redeem the tithes (valued at six millions sterling), though opposed in the Assembly, was supported by Sièyes and Morellet, who, though sceptics of a very advanced sort, had an interest in Church property. For this they were violently censured, and even hooted in the Assembly. Mirabeau gave them little comfort in his remarks, in reply to their complaints:—"You have let loose the bull, and you are annoyed at his giving you a touch of his horns." The Assembly was occupied, from August 18 to 27, with "*the Declaration of the Rights of Man*." This was a formal manifesto of national rights which probably was needed to enlighten the masses. Thiers blames it as too long. Bentham thinks that, "while the chiefs in the Assembly gloried in the thought that they were pulling down the aristocracy, they never saw that their doctrine tended to promote an evil, a hundred times more formidable, Anarchy." Carlyle remarks, "Rights, yes; duties, where are they?" forgetting that, though to Englishmen the declaration appeared to be a string of mere common-places, it was otherwise in France. The residence of the king at Versailles and the locating the National Assembly there, though of some advantage, was not pleasing to the leaders of the popular party, and on October 5 and 6 the mob of Paris, followed by the National Guard, as a check nominally, marched to Versailles and brought the king and his family to Paris. The Assembly naturally followed. Mirabeau, highly disapproved of this unauthorised act, thinking it injurious to the freedom of the legislature. This triumph over the monarchy and the legislature was followed by a decree confiscating Church property valued at from eighty to one hundred millions sterling (November 2), a measure which, if wisely arranged and carried out, with due regard to vested interests, might have been a blessing both to Church and state; but it was so rashly and wastefully mismanaged, that the state is said to have incurred an annual loss of two millions, and a final loss of seven millions in the transaction. If true, the peculation must have been beyond all calculation.

3. The Assembly, carrying out the principle of uniformity and of the sovereignty of the people, and opposed to all centralisation, and perhaps desirous of cutting all the links with the past, set aside the old divisions of the land into provinces, each of which was a landmark in the history of progress in past ages, in which, by the union of what had been independent and discordant elements, France had become a nation. The new division into eighty-three departments was convenient: each department was divided into districts, of which there were in all 374; each district into cantons, in all 4,730;

the cantons into communes, of which there were in all 44,000. The districts and cantons were for elective purposes. The electors were men twenty-five years old, paying taxes to the amount of two shillings to three shillings, supposed to be equal to three days' labour. This gave in all 4,300,000 electors. These electors were to choose deputies in the cantons to nominate the members of the National Assembly. Eventually there was established, for judicial purposes, tribunals in each department, a civil court in each district, and a court of reference in each canton, all elected. Torture was abolished, and the penalty of death much restricted. Necker, already unpopular, and threatened by Marat and Danton, wisely resigned, and left France, September 4. His real abilities as a financier have been thrown into the shade by the preposterous but pardonable eulogies of his gifted daughter, Madame de Staël. By such men as Mirabeau and Napoleon he was not understood, and has been unjustly depreciated. Soon after this, in October, Edmund Burke published his remarkable "Reflections on the French Revolution." Of this work Fyffe remarks: "In his survey of the political forces, which he saw in action around him, the great Whig writer, who in times past had so passionately defended the liberties of America, and the constitutional tradition of the English Parliament against the aggression of George III., attacked the revolution as a system of violence and caprice, more formidable to freedom than the tyranny of any crown. . . . Above all, he laid bare that agency of riot and destructiveness which, even within the first few months of the Revolution, filled him with presentiments of the calamities about to fall upon France."¹

The National Assembly, unfortunately, came into unnecessary collision with the clergy on a point on which the clergy had the sympathy of a large majority of the French people, especially in the provinces (November 27). The civil courts required of the clergy an oath which implied their acknowledgment of the lawfulness of the civil constitution of the Church, an oath which they were expressly forbidden to take by the Pope. Had the government been content with passive submission, the clergy would quietly have submitted. It was a wanton act of aggression, and uncalled for. One hundred and thirty-four bishops and two-thirds of the clergy refused to take the oath. Talleyrand (the ex-Bishop of Autun) offered to administer the oath and to ordain priests with the help of two coadjutors, thus willing, at the early age of thirty-five, to take the

¹ Vol. i. pp. 63 and 64.

position of patriarch of the new reformed Church. The Assembly thus put itself in collision with conscience, a power which politicians are not willing to recognise until compelled. Already it was evident that the Revolution would be marred by the passions of political parties, the all but universal distrust of the court, and the increasing hate of the noblesse. There was not so much any aversion for the throne as for the nobles. The majority of the population were not carried away by strong feeling, and might, by the exercise of their voting power, have checked the madness of party. But the great defect of universal suffrage was in its creating an indifference to its frequent exercise. As a power to draw out the real views of the majority, it was in France a failure, not only in Paris, but in the 44,000 municipalities. At Paris, in the election of deputies, (August, 1790), out of 81,000 electors 14,000 voted; three months later only 10,000; in 1791 only 7,000 voted. So also in the provinces. At Chartres, 104 out of 1,551 voted; at Besançon (January, 1790), out of 32,000 only 1,060, and the next year only 300; at Grenoble only one-fifth voted; at Troyes and Strasburg, with 8,000 electors, only 400 to 500 voted. Hence the results of a legal universal suffrage were curiously at variance with the real sentiments of the population, and gave a false impression of the state of public opinion. For instance, in all Brittany, though intensely Catholic, only anti-Catholic representatives were sent. Nine regicides represented La Lozère and La Vendée, which were ready to rise *en masse* in the name of the king. Thus the exercise of the sovereignty of the people had already become a burden too troublesome for the proper discharge of its duties. A citizen had to give up two days in the week to his political labours; an election of some kind had to be held every four months, so that there was an eternal round of voting and electing, the burden of which fell on the busiest and the poorest. A large number of the voters in the provinces could neither read nor write; the majority were intent on their own affairs, and satisfied with the freedom which appeared to be insured by the constitution of 1790; partly, too, the fear of the violent factions in Paris and in every locality in all France who were able to injure those whose votes were opposed to them had full influence. *The control of the Revolution was thus in the hands of a minority*, which Taine thinks did not exceed 300,000 persons, of whom 10,000 were in Paris, a mere tenth of the population, and, deducting the Girondist party, not one-twentieth. A compact, active minority, in most cases, exercised the same power as the whole population, just as a well-disciplined army over an unarmed population.

The minority thus united and disciplined was able to gather in its support all the ragged rascality of the locality, as in Paris, to overawe the National Assembly or any other lawful authority.

4. The Clubs were the centres of the new authority, and furnished the means of paying the hire of those forces, by their command of the votes of the Assembly, by which subsidies were granted to the municipalities. In justice, however, to the hireling mobs, we may plead the scarcity of bread, amounting to a famine; the genuine fear also of supposed conspiracies of the aristocrats and the court to restore the old régime, kept up by the press and by hired agitators. The Paris of 1790-1793 was as an inflamed brain in the midst of a nervous system artificially stimulated into delirium.¹ Meanwhile, the military power of Paris and of the provinces was in the hands of the municipalities, and all of these were under the control of the Jacobin Club. These Clubs became, each of them, "an instrument to forge an artificial and violent state of opinion, to give that opinion the colour of the spontaneous will of the nation, to transfer to a noisy minority the rights of a mute majority, and to exercise an irresistible pressure on the government, and on the National Assembly itself."² "In the subsequent contests of the political parties in Paris, the violent party continually prevailed over the less violent . . . because the majority still clung to the forms of law."³ And so in regard to the provinces, in which every one had its August 10 and September 2, and was subject to pillage and burnings through the affiliated Jacobin Clubs. All previous historians before Taine have confined themselves to what took place in Paris, hence we have had no proper conception of the awful condition of the rural districts and of the demoralisation of the population. In Thiers we find no traces of these enormities; Morley, in his life of Burke, writes as if all the uprisings and atrocities were prompted by the rage excited by the insensate manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792. Every page of Taine, taken from undeniable authorities, prove that what Lafayette called the "sacred duty of insurrection" was actually carried out in all France in the years 1790, 1791, and afterwards, as well as in preceding years. The death of Mirabeau (April 2) quashed a series of secret negotiations, in which he endeavoured to reconcile the king to a constitutional régime and to a hearty co-operation with the constitutional party in the Assembly; but he was equally distrusted

¹ *Quarterly Review*, January, 1882, p. 178.

² Taine.

³ *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1882.

by the court and by the extreme members of the Assembly. His life had been one of rebellion against not only the moral laws acknowledged by society, but also the social proprieties; he had deserted his own wife and had taken the wife of another; his career had been one of extraordinary extravagance, especially offensive to his noble family and connexions; imprisonment in fortresses by the authority of lettres-de-cachet had not tamed him; but, amidst all the madness of his career, he had been a diligent student and a profound thinker; he knew the times in which he lived, and perceived that the French people desired equality by the abolition of all class distinctions, and that the King of France, by working in accordance with the evident feeling of his age, might re-establish the monarchy on a sure foundation. Conscious of his own powers, he saw in the opening of the States-General his own opportunity. "At last," he said, "we shall have men judged by the value of their brains." He violated no principle, and was no traitor to liberty when he entered into relations with the king. On his deathbed he predicted the end of the monarchy and of all constitutional government. His death was a serious loss; it left the way open for men less able and more violent. There was no influential leader of the people competent to mediate between the constitutional party and the court, and, if there had been, the unfortunate attempt and failure of the king to escape, June 21-25, destroyed all confidence in his apparent acquiescence in his position as a constitutional sovereign (he was arrested at Varennes). Though the moderation of the Assembly, in condoning the attempt, was creditable to them, yet it would have been, on the whole, better for both France and the king had the king been then compelled to abdicate; his son, a child, under suitable guardianship, might have been trained to occupy gracefully a constitutional throne. The new constitution was completed between September 3 and 13. The Assembly was to consist of 745 representatives, to be chosen for three years; the power of the king was limited, and the veto could not be exercised beyond two consequent legislatures. It was accepted by the king on September 16: he had no choice. In the calm judgment of nearly a century, this constitution, even under the most favourable circumstances, would have been unworkable. "The great danger of the Revolution was its simplicity (as in this new constitution). . . . There should be no checks or counterpoises; all should be consecutive, logical. The ambitions, vices, prejudices of men were regarded as nothing. The nation, not even educated as yet, was thought fit to be trusted with absolute power. It is indicative of

the ferment and the ignorance even of Paris, that the very name of veto aroused vehement disturbances. The royal veto was in their eyes the old régime restored.”¹ On September 30 the Assembly was dissolved. During its sittings 3,753 persons were killed, and 107 châteaux were plundered and burned by the mob; 2,500 laws were enacted, of which not fifty remained in force after twenty-five years. France owes to it liberty of worship, the abolition of torture and cruel punishments, the sale of national and Church property, trial by jury, the abolition of lettres-de-cachet, of titles, of the law of primogeniture, of all privileges and exemptions from taxation, and legal equality. Much of the framework of the present organisation of France was then prepared, and the principles of its internal administration were definitely laid down. Burke (in his remarks on the French Revolution) sarcastically observes: “In destroying everything, the National Assembly could not fail to destroy many abuses; and, in making everything new, they would of necessity make many useful and necessary regulations.” A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*² thinks that “the reputation of the National Assembly, far from diminishing, has rather increased with the progress of time.” The greatest of all its mistakes, fraught with all the evils which ruined the Revolution, was the self-denying ordinance by which it decreed that no members of its body should be eligible for the new Assembly, nor should accept any office under the crown. Thus, all the men who had gained experience, and who might have been able to work the new constitution, or wisely serve as ministers of the crown, were excluded from the Assembly and from official life. The sarcasm of Burke, reflecting on the sweeping reforms of the Assembly, has been met by a remark of no small weight. Speaking of these precipitous changes made by the Assembly, Schlosser observes: “Every one, however, who considers the direction which the public mind in Europe, and especially in France, appears to take, will see that nothing but the senseless precipitancy of August 4, and the shameful and inhuman murders and robberies of the times of Terror, could have rendered the restoration of all the mischiefs of the eighteenth century impossible, which otherwise would have certainly taken place, or would still be effected. In the same manner as the furniture and taste of the times of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. are now and everywhere to be seen, so monks and petty tribunals would have been, or would be, everywhere restored, such

¹ Kitchin, “England,” *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition, vol. ix. p. 600.

² Vol. xciv. p. 433.

as they are at this moment to be met with in several parts of Germany and Switzerland.”¹ There is here a lesson for our own times, unless history be nothing but an old almanack, from which nothing is to be learned but the dates and sequence of events. The great hindrance to the renovation and to the intellectual advancement of English and European society, lies in the misdirection of the influence of the middle classes, which is most palpably visible in England. The silly aping of the fashions, the habits of life, the vain show and extravagance of the less respectable portion of the aristocratic families, destroys their personal respectability, and consequently lessens their practical influence in society and in political life. The merchants, the manufacturers, and the equally useful retail middle dealers, should stand upon the dignity and utility of their class. *Their claim to a high position in society* is, that by their manufactures, by their mechanical and scientific discoveries, and by their commerce they enabled England to stand and survive the exhaustion of the revolutionary wars, and to carry out all peaceable and necessary revolutions at home—in fact, to make England what it is. The true dignity of this middle class is expressed by the Shunammite, “I dwell among mine own people.”²

5. *The National Legislative Assembly* opened October 1, 1791. Thiers gives a favourable account of the members, especially of some who were constitutional partisans of the first Revolution. There were others, distinguished men, whose heads were heated and whose expectations had been exaggerated by the Revolution, and who were of opinion that enough had not been done. Among these were the deputies from *La Gironde*. This party was opposed to the centralising of all power in Paris, and would have preferred a smaller town as the seat of the legislature (as in the United States); they were fervent democrats, Voltairians in religion, hating Catholicism, and in their hearts averse to monarchy. Their leaders were Vergniaud, Guadet, Brissot, Gensonné, &c. The balance of opinion in our day is, that the Legislative Assembly had all the passions and shortcomings of the National Assembly, without the experience it had gained. Taine crowds his pages with instances of the incompetency of the members, most of whom had been elected under the influence of the Jacobin Clubs; four hundred of them were lawyers. “Nineteen-twentieths of them had no equipages, but an umbrella and a pair of galoshes,” was the characteristic expression of the contempt of the aristocratical party. They were certainly

¹ Vol. i. p. 73, 1845.

² 2 Kings iv. 13.

poor, as the whole Assembly did not own a revenue of 300,000 francs annually from real estate. Such a separation of the property of the state from its legislature is to be regarded as a misfortune, and will not ordinarily take place, unless property, having neglected its duties, had thus deservedly lost its natural influence. There was another evil in this general poverty of the members, not fifty of whom had a revenue of £100 a year—that to them the salary of 24 francs daily, soon raised to 36 francs, was a prize to be coveted; *their position became their trade*, their only means of living. The influence of the leaders of the Clubs, and of the many members of the late Assembly who sat in the galleries as spectators, was direct and immediate. The feeling of all classes was intensified by the reports of the anarchy of the provinces, and the general disregard of all law and order. The Assembly was opened by the king in person, in which he promised to give foreign powers such notions of the Revolution as would tend to maintain a good understanding with them. Yet, at this very time, he and the queen had just written to the Emperor Leopold that, “if this Revolution were not checked, not only they themselves, but all the crowned heads of Europe, would be undone.” The speech of the king was false and intended to deceive. We may pity the king, but cannot palliate, much less justify, his falsity. Both he and our Charles I. (with many noble qualities) had been trained to regard truth and faith in politics as secondary to what *they* called policy, and both paid for their error with their lives. Schlosser thinks the moral code may be set aside in war and politics, and on this ground defends the action of the king as being then at war with the Assembly. If so, the Assembly need no justification for treating him as the worst of their enemies. It is impossible to deny that there had been, and that there continued to be, a regular application of the public money by the court, in rewarding the various agents, literary and others, who opposed the Revolution, to the amount of 200,000 livres a month. About 100,000 livres per month were spent as douceurs to the three or four hundred soldiers composing the Constitutional Guard. Bernard de Moleville admits that, in the space of three months, the king spent 2,500,000 livres in bribing public speakers. With all our pity for the poor king, it is but just to remember that many in the Assembly and out of it *knew* of these underhand proceedings, and that the multitude outside had some foundation for their suspicions and their enmity to royalty. Meanwhile, the infatuated prejudice of the queen against Lafayette led her to use all the influence of the court party against his candidature for the office of Mayor of

Paris in favour of Pétion: for Lafayette meant well, "though he never attained to clear ideas or decided action."¹ Pétion, on the contrary, was the decided enemy of the court. The position of mayor at the head of the only available military force, with the control of all the civic authorities of Paris, was at that time the most important in France. Lafayette might not have been the wisest of mayors, but he would not have used his position against constitutional government and social order. Pétion was elected, November 17; thus the interests of monarchical and orderly government were sacrificed by the folly of the queen. With equal folly the Girondist party, which had begun to see that, despite their republican theories, the monarchy might be regarded as necessary to the establishment of order and constitutional government, was alienated, and their influence thrown into the extreme republican scale. Between March 8 and 23, 1792, there were changes in the cabinet, and the Girondists were permitted by the necessity of the case to form a ministry (the king only desiring to keep all quiet for the few months intervening before the expected deliverance of the court by the Germans). Of this ministry, Roland was the head; Dumouriez had the charge of foreign affairs. The court well named this ministry *Le ministère sans culottes*. The pedantic narrowness of the coterie of Madame Roland, whose knowledge of the real world was based on Plutarch's "Lives," was equally ridiculous and injurious. When Roland presented himself at court in a round hat and with shoes tied by strings, the master of the ceremonies complained to Dumouriez, "Ah! sir, no buckles in his shoes;" to which the ironical reply was, "No buckles in his shoes! then all is lost!" On April 20, the king proposed a declaration of war against the empire, though Mallet-du-Pan had been sent on a secret mission "to implore help against those who ruled the king with a rod of iron." Thus war was begun by the Girondists to do away with the constitution of 1789, 1790, and with Louis XVI.; their beau-idéal of a monarchy being "a monarchical constitution from which the monarch might, at pleasure, be omitted." This sarcasm of Von Sybel² is practically carried out in all constitutional monarchies in which the will and wishes of the king are from time to time overruled. Dumouriez, whom Crowe calls "the last rational and able politician who had at heart the maintenance of the king and of the kingdom," quarrelled with his colleagues about the supplies for the army, and induced the king, on July 13, to dismiss the Girondist

¹ Von Sybel.² Ibid., vol. i. p. 459.

ministry. The new ministry was chosen from the Feuillants (Moderates), but Dumouriez resigned his position on the 17th, finding the king resolute in his determination not to agree to the extreme measures proposed by the Assembly in reference to the nonjuring priests. A new ministry was formed from Lafayette's friends. Lafayette writing from the army to the Assembly a letter complaining of the mobs and of the clubs, his letter was read on June 18, and produced a great commotion, Robespierre venturing to call him a traitor. This letter hastened the preparations which had been making for a public display of opinion by the Girondists and Jacobins, now united, owing to the folly of the court, the object being to alarm the court and the moderate party in the Assembly. By the connivance of Pétion (the mayor), the mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine was roused, the Assembly was intimidated, and under Santerre, the brewer and influential leader of the violent party, the mobs forced their way into the palace, insulted the king and family, compelling him to put on the cap of liberty. Buonaparte, then a young officer, was present at this. To him the remedy was "the cutting down the first five hundred with grape shot," and thus ending the outrages. After nine P.M., Pétion arrived, and persuaded the mob to retire. This day has been called "the Doomsday of the Monarchy." At first the violence and indecency of this specimen of mob rule produced a great reaction in public feeling. Twenty thousand Parisians addressed the king, and the Girondists endeavoured to conciliate him, but all efforts were unavailing. The king had fallen into a state of depression, and the queen and court were looking forward to relief by foreign armies. Soon after, the insolent proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick from Coblenz, dated July 25, was published in Paris, July 28. This alienated every true Frenchman, even those most attached to the royal cause. Insurrectional committees, which had been formed soon after June 20, were now stimulated to greater activity, the object being to overawe the Assembly and dethrone the king. On August 3, Pétion presented a petition from the sections for the deposition of the king. This was followed by action on August 8 (after midnight). Certain commissioners from twenty-eight sections met at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and forced the General Council to call Maudet, the Captain of the Civic Guard, before it. On his arrival he was arrested and murdered. Then the commissioners set aside the lawful council, and usurped its place. Pétion was absent, and on his return was placed under guard by the new commune (some think willingly). During August 9, Danton and Robespierre arranged for the insurrections,

and on the 10th the mob and the forces of the Municipality forced the Tuileries. Then followed a great fight, murder, and pillage. All this had been prepared by the Girondists, though they took no personal part in the attack. The king and family took refuge in the Legislative Assembly (284 out of 749 were alone present); royalty was suspended. The king and family remained in the rooms of the Assembly until August 13, when they were removed to the Temple. The Assembly wished to place them in the Palace of the Luxembourg, but the Municipality objected. After August 12, all aristocratic journals were put down; their printing-offices and presses transferred to the liberal party. All who were supposed to have assisted in the defence of the Tuileries on August 10 were prosecuted as murderers. From this time all power resided in the new municipality, the Commune of Paris, which was really the tool of the Jacobin leaders. There was great resistance to this in the Assembly, but in vain; the Jacobin members terrified the others. Robespierre and his party desired to retain the Assembly to give the appearance of legality to their measures, and through its decrees to raise the requisite funds. In the middle of August 14-17, the Assembly was compelled to legalise the appointment of a *Committee of Surveillance*, the precursor of the Revolutionary Tribunals, to consist of two chambers, four judges in each, with a public accuser and jury, all chosen by the forty-eight sections of Paris. The annihilation of all opponents by a brief trial and summary execution was henceforth the principle, not openly avowed by all, but always acted upon. On August 30 and 31, the Assembly attempted to reform the Municipality, but failed. There was no resisting a power which, from the Hôtel-de-Ville, could send forth forty-eight battalions, 100,000 armed men. Taking advantage of the alarm excited by the advance of the Prussians, August 26-29, Danton formed the resolution of murdering all the prisoners in Paris as conspirators in league with the Prussians; his cry was, "Nothing but terror for us." With him, Robespierre, Marat, Manuel, and Tallien must share the guilt of the massacres which followed. All the barriers were closed. The Assembly, in terror, unable to act, Danton said, "The country is about to save itself. The bells that ring are no signal of alarm, they sound the charge upon our country's enemies. To conquer them we need audacity and again audacity, and France is saved." From September 2 to 7, the massacres were perpetrated by bands of assassins, three hundred in all, hired at six francs a day by the Commune, under the special direction of a committee of municipal officers and others, as Marat. The Jacobins held their sittings in the Club in permanence. The Girondists

clearly saw that the massacres endangered their party, which, since August 10, had formed the nominal ministry, with Roland at its head, and the *bourgeoisie* were indignant. Above two thousand persons, including women and children, were thus murdered. While blood was flowing, it is said that Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, and their wives, as if unconscious of what was going on, sat down to a splendid banquet with Robespierre. It is probable that one object of these murders was to influence the elections for the coming National Convention. Twenty-four members were then chosen for Paris, some of whom belonged to the murdering party, and all of them approvers. This massacre was not alluded to in the public press until after two days. Circulars were sent by the Paris Municipality to the other municipalities, but happily with only a very partial response.

Some reaction of feeling followed again. The Girondists, imagining the elections to the Convention favourable, began to organise an armed force to cope with that of the Municipality; and the Legislative Assembly itself, in its last sittings becoming conservative, decreed the restoration of order and the raising of an armed force. The sittings closed on September 20, after eleven months, in which eight thousand three hundred persons had perished by violent deaths. Lafayette had fled from his army, September 21. The guillotine began to be in daily use for public executions; a proof that the new tribunal had not been inactive.

The National Convention opened September 21, 1792: it consisted of 749 members, of whom 186 had been in the Legislative, and 77 in the first, the National Assembly. There were 486 new members, all of whom were republicans. Notwithstanding the efforts which had been made to fill the seats with Jacobins, not above fifty or sixty were declared supporters of that party and the Commune. This party, called the Mountain, sat as before on the highest benches on the left. These were Danton, Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, and the Duc d'Orléans (now calling himself Philip Egalité). Though a mere minority, of not more than sixty or seventy at the utmost, they managed, by their union and energy and by the support of the Clubs of the Municipality, to rule the Assembly. The Girondists (the Plain) occupied the right, about 180 in number, and, fancying themselves secure of the support of at least 500 votes, Vergniaud, Brissot, Gensonné, and Guadet, the former leaders, were now reinforced by the addition of Pétion, Buzot, Louvet, Barbaroux, and others. All this party had studied more the ancient republics, in

the one-sided histories then so popular, than the habits and character of the French people. Their policy from the beginning had been to employ the violent partisans of anarchy to destroy the monarchy. They regarded the insurrections of June 20 and August 10, as steps towards clearing the way for the establishment of a republic, though as a party they had no share in these insurrections as direct actors. It is not so easy to say that indirectly they were not concerned in them. In this Assembly, of which Pétion was the first president, the abolition of monarchy was at once decreed, September 23, and the following day was to be reckoned as the first of the French Republic. Then, with equal readiness, they decreed the renewal of the whole administration and judicial service. Taine states that 1,300,000 officers, including all the local councils, the staff of the National Guards, and all the employés of the government, down to the keepers and sweepers of the chambers, were thus changed. So also the contractors and tradesmen, whose bills averaged 200,000,000 francs per month. New places (it is said) were created and sold by the deputies of the Mountain. Four hundred places were given away by Pache, the same by Chaumette. In those statements there is no doubt some truth, and much exaggeration. The Municipality drew 850,000 francs monthly for its military police. Full pay was drawn for skeleton regiments. Madame Roland states that the money, for the expenditure of which no account was given, amounted to 130,000,000 francs, which is not improbable.

The deposition of the King was absolutely necessary. No one could doubt the impossibility of working a constitutional government with a weak though well-meaning man like Louis XVI., controlled as he was by a woman perfectly ignorant of every branch of useful knowledge, trained up in the belief of the divine right of kings, and always actively engaged in counteracting every scheme of constitutional reform. But the abolition of *the office* of king was a mistake; the young Dauphin, placed on the throne, under the guardianship of a constitutional regency, would have saved France from many of the struggles which followed, and which have left it, after nearly a century of conflict, with an unstable government, and with three pretenders, who by their respective followers are regarded as the rightful claimants of the throne. It is the tempting weakness of patriot politicians in revolutions, to set aside the old forms and to uproot the old foundations, instead of using them as the firm support of the new institutions. *From this time to November 7, the mortal struggle between the Girondists and the Mountain began, the*

Girondists evidently losing influence. The constitution, modified by universal suffrage, the attempt to curb the Municipality, at first apparently successful, and then rejected, the adoption of the title citizen and citizenne, and the abolition of the order of St. Louis were indications of the public feeling, at least in the class which then ruled Paris. The Girondists fought a hard battle on the question of the trial of the king—not for the king's sake, but for their own. They had been from the first playing a false game. In spite of their talents and real patriotism, it is impossible to condone the inherent wickedness of their party strategy of non-opposition to measures and actions evil in themselves, but which tended to further the ultimate objects they had in view, as in the uprisings of June 20 and August 9, 1792. On November 5, it was decided to impeach the king; his trial followed December 11 and 26; his condemnation January 17, and his execution January 21, 1793. The Girondists, after opposing his trial and death, were compelled to acquiesce in both. This act, a mere parody of the English Act of 1649, minus the order and dignity maintained by the English regicides, was as foolish as it was unjust. It excited a sympathy for the sufferer and a hatred of the ruling factions in which generations to come will participate. The subsequent history of the Republic is from this time a struggle of parties for personal power. Liberals may set aside kings, but they cannot destroy kingship, which appears under other names, as Dictator, President, Consul, &c., for every government, especially of an important state, must have an executive head with kingly power. In England the chief seat is filled by an hereditary monarch, and is beyond the reach of political partisans, while the executive ministry win and lose their office by parliamentary majorities. But a struggle for the supreme power in France then meant a mortal struggle, in which the beaten party were sent in batches to the guillotine. Yet, strange to say, both parties, Girondists and Jacobins, with their eyes open to the possible and probable consequences to themselves, agreed to the institution of the *Revolutionary Tribunal* on March 10 and 11; and also to other *two Committees of General Defence and Public Safety* on March 25, besides sundry local Committees of Surveillance in Paris and elsewhere, authorised to make domiciliary visits and to seek out offenders suspected of political disaffection. "These execrable engines" of lawless oppression and cruelty that ever disgraced a nation were passed by men who knew that the enemies of the Republic, against whom these laws were directed, were the leaders of parties opposed to the dominant faction for the time being. Both parties had

willingly accepted the consequences ; they had gaged their heads and were ready to pay the forfeits. The Jacobins (the Mountain) were thoroughly in earnest, and full of activity. "Eighty of the most energetic of the Mountain spread themselves over France in parties of two and three, with the title of Commissioners of the Convention, and with powers over-riding those of all the local authorities their will was absolute, their authority supreme they censured and dismissed the generals ; one of them even directed the movements of a fleet at sea. . . . But no individual energy could have sustained these dictatorships without the support of a popular organisation. All over France a system of revolutionary government sprang up, which superseded all existing local powers. The local revolutionary administrators consisted of a Committee, a Club, and a Tribunal. In each of the 40,000 communes of France, a Committee of Twelve was elected by the people, and intrusted by the Convention, as the terror gained ground, with boundless power of arrest and imprisonment. Popular excitement was sustained by Clubs. . . . A tribunal with swift procedure and power of life and death sat in each of the largest towns, and judged the prisoners who were sent to it by the communes of the neighbouring district. Such was the government of 1793 ; an executive of uncontrolled power, drawn from the members of a single assembly, and itself brought into immediate contact with the power of the people in their assemblies and clubs."¹ The contest between Robespierre and the Mountain on the one side, supported by the Jacobin Club and the Municipality and the Girondists on the other, was decided by an armed multitude of 80,000 men, who, on May 31 and June 2, compelled the Convention to decree the arrest of thirty-two Girondist members. Nine of them, who were present, were seized, but not tried and executed until after the execution of the queen, October 16. On that day, Barère regaled Robespierre, St. Just, and others, in a tavern, and in reply to Robespierre, who condemned the unnecessary blood-shedding, remarked, "The vessel of the Revolution cannot be wafted into port, but on waves of blood." The nine Girondists, including Vergniaud, Gensonné, and Brissot, were with others, in all twenty-one, executed on October 31. The glowing accounts of their festival and speeches in the prison the preceding night, as given by Thiers and Lamartine, are pure inventions. The other executions of the year comprehended thirty-three farmers-general (of the revenue),

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. pp. 71-74.

twenty-one women and girls for welcoming the Austrians and Prussians at Verdun, Custine, the unfortunate General, Gorsas (the first deputy executed), the Duke of Orleans, Madame Roland, Bailly, the former Mayor of Paris, and Madame Du Barry, the former mistress of Louis XV. In Paris there were 8,000 in prison, in all France 45,000. The members of the Revolutionary Committee in all France were paid three francs daily, which was equal to an outlay of 24,000,000 sterling annually. The Hébertists, who divided with Robespierre the rule of the Commune, were opposed to religion in every shape; they practically abolished Christianity, November 7, forbade public worship on the 10th, and closed the churches on the 23rd. "The Goddess of Reason," a well-known courtesan, was enthroned in the Church of Notre Dame. To all these measures Robespierre was opposed, but he permitted the Hébertists to ruin their cause and themselves by their extravagance. On the whole, the people of France regarded Robespierre and his domination with approval in 1793 and in 1794, until his downfall.

In due time Robespierre was able to begin the destruction of the anarchy of small men by the denouncing of the Hébertists, Cloots, and the Goddess of Reason, who were executed March 24, 1794. Within a week after, to the surprise of all France, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Chabot were denounced, and on April 2 executed with La Croix, Herault de Sechelles, fifteen in all. Soon after Gobel, Chaumette, Madame Desmoulins, and Madame Hébert, Malesherbes and family, D'Esprémenil, Lavoisier, Madame Elizabeth and Madame Montomarin, between April 10 and May 16. It is not difficult to understand why Hébert and his party were thus disposed of. They were felt to be a disgrace to the Republic; and it is easy to see why Danton, apparently the friend of Robespierre, was set aside as a formidable rival and as removing all obstacles to the dictatorship of ROBESPIERRE. This singular man seems to have contemplated the renovation of society by a baptism of blood; himself incorruptible and wholly devoted to this one purpose. He desired to restore the belief in and the worship of God. In his Fête of the Supreme Being on June 8, he seems to have taken "the step which separates the sublime from the ridiculous." It was evidently a failure. Soon after this, on June 10, the astringent law of the 22nd Prairial was passed. "This law consisted of eighteen articles. . . . It extended the jurisdiction over all the enemies of the people, and gave such detailed definitions of what was an enemy of the people, that there was no word nor action of any man's life by which he might not be brought within its cate-

gories. It established for all offences one sole punishment, *death*. The proofs on which the tribunal might proceed were to be any kind of evidence, material or moral, that might 'satisfy the jury, whose conscience is to be their only rule and their only object, the triumph of the Republic and the ruin of its enemies.' If the juries could acquire a *moral* conviction without evidence, none need be produced. As to official defenders (counsel), the law abolished the practice. Calumniated patriots will find a counsel in the juries; the law refuses any to conspirators."¹ After this law had been passed the Dictator abstained from attending the Convention for forty days (from June 15 to July 24), a proceeding inscrutable. Possibly he anticipated a combination of parties against each other, and was waiting to ascertain which party he might use for the destruction of the others. Compacts implying the mutual sacrifice of friends, such as took place in the Roman triumvirates, were not unknown to Robespierre, if it be true that the destruction of Danton was rendered possible through an agreement made with Collot d'Herbois, Billard Varennes, and Barère, who readily abandoned the Hébertists to Robespierre, on condition that he should make no opposition to the destruction of Danton and his party. The guillotine was meanwhile at work under the new law, so that between June 10 and July 27 1,400 persons were executed. The leading members of the Convention and the various committees began to doubt their individual safety, the consideration of which was forced upon their notice by these executions; the judges and juries might unexpectedly find themselves the victims of the guillotine. Conspiracies were formed and all confidences shaken except such as were founded on a communion of personal interests. Henriot and his party were preparing a Jacobin revolt to support Robespierre, while Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, Carnot, Robert Lindet, and others were concerting how to resist him; they were joined by Tallien (incited by a lady in prison whom he afterwards married), also by Lecontre, Bourdon, Thuriot, Barras, Freron, Fouché, and others. In the three days, the 8th, 9th, and 10th Thermidor, corresponding to our July 26, 27, and 28, the battle in the Assembly and out of it was fought and won, though occasionally the success of the opponents of Robespierre seemed doubtful. The Dictator, suddenly denounced and helpless in the hands of his enemies on the 26th and 27th, was executed on the 28th with twenty of his supporters. It is impossible to sketch

¹ *Quarterly Review*," vol. lxxiii. p. 416.

the history of those three days. It must be studied in the detail which is given in the popular histories. The men who headed this revolution and destroyed Robespierre are called "the Thermidorians." They were for the most part one set of assassins triumphing over another. In some respects they were worse than Robespierre and St. Just, who, though men of blood and fanatics, were incorruptible. These men, the victors, hoped to carry on the system of promoting unity by the destruction of opponents. To their great surprise they found that the majority of their party looked for a change in the system. Within a few days eighty-one of the members of the Municipality were executed, but 10,000 suspected persons were released. Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, and twenty-three of the jurors were sent to prison. The payment to the members of the Revolutionary Tribunals was stopped, and the law of 22 Prairial abrogated. Attempts were made with some success to purify the local tribunals. These reforms, displacing many violent men, caused from time to time riots and resistance. To support the new government, a party call the "Jeune Dorée" was formed, composed chiefly of young men of the citizen class. The seventy-three deputies expelled with the Girondists were restored to their seats, and the Jacobin Clubs and seventy-three others were closed, November 9. Carrier, infamous for his atrocities at Nantes, after a trial of 40 days, was executed with two others, December 16. The Revolutionary Tribunal was abolished December 28, and then the year 1794 ended with hopeful prospects. The executions up to the death of Robespierre were 2,375 persons. It is calculated, however, that from the expulsion of the Girondists to July, 1794, 16,000 persons had perished in France though the Revolutionary Courts.¹

Accusations were presented against Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, and Vadier, for their conduct as Terrorists, a proof of the great reaction against the murderous system hitherto pursued by the dominant parties. There was an insurrection in their favour on April 1, 1795, and one more formidable on May 20 and 21, happily defeated, and severely punished by the execution of nearly a hundred. Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, was executed, with fifteen of the judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, on May 7. The Parisian gendarmes and the cannoneers were dissolved, the National Guard reorganised, and a camp of artillery established in the gardens of the Tuileries; troops of the line were cantoned in and out of Paris, and the galleries of the Convention closed to the mob, and

¹ B. M. Gardiner, p. 221.

on May 30 Catholic worship was allowed. The Convention was thus at liberty to form a new constitution, which was promulgated August 22, and accepted by the Departments, September 6 (20 Fructidor), and proclaimed on the 22nd. It was "the Constitution of the year III.," the third since 1789. In Paris it was unpopular. An insurrection broke out on October 3rd to the 5th, which was quelled by Napoleon Buonaparte, a young officer appointed to command the troops of the Convention, on October 5 (13 Vendémiaire). On the 26th the Convention broke up; it had passed 8,370 decrees.

This NEW CONSTITUTION, elaborated by a Committee of Eleven, established a Council of Five Hundred, and a Council of Ancients (two hundred and fifty). At the head, a Directory of five members selected by the Ancients out of a list drawn up by the five hundred. Great changes were made in the internal administration of the country. The Municipality of Paris was divided among twelve distinct municipalities. The new government was simply a change of name. "The five Directors, the six Ministers, and the two Councils, stood in the place of the Committee of Public Safety and the Convention, but the change was one of name and form, not of system."¹

The FIVE DIRECTORS were La Reveillière Lepaux, Rewbell, Latourneau, Barras, and Carnot, all of them men who had voted for the death of the king. They set themselves to allay the commercial and general misery of the country by absorbing a large portion of the assignats, and then by replacing them with "territorial mandates," which represented a fixed amount of the public lands. A considerable amount of coin came again into circulation, and credit seemed to revive.

In the preceding sketch no reference has been made to the massacre of Avignon, October, 1791; or the insurrection of La Vendée, March, 1793, to February, 1795; or to the disturbances in the south of France, remarkable for the cruelties of the reactionary party, as well as those of the republicans, of which Bordeaux, Lyons, and Toulouse were the principal seats; nor of the cruelties at Lyons by Fouché and Collot d'Herbois, 1793; or those at Nantes by Carrier, 1794; nor the failure of the expedition of the emigrants at Quiberon, July, 1795. All these were local in their influences.

¹ B. M. Gardiner, p. 251.

IV.—*The Wars of the Revolution up to the Consulate of Buonaparte, 1792–1799.*

The wars arising out of the French Revolution differ, not only in their character and objects, from the preceding European wars, but also in the development of military tactics and of generalship of the highest character. The English reader has had to rely mainly upon *Alison*, the voluminous historian of England, and upon *Thiers*, the republican historian of France, and upon *Von Sybel*, the German historian. Recently a work has appeared, by *C. A. Fyffe*, entitled, "The Modern History of Europe," the first volume of which is devoted to the history of the revolutionary wars, up to 1815. For the first time the leading facts of this eventful period have been fully, yet succinctly, detailed; the facts narrated are the more significant, and are exhibited in their natural connexion. The completion of this work will furnish our literature with a standard history of our own and of the preceding generation.

The declaration of war, made by Louis XVI. in the National Legislative Assembly on April 20, 1792, began the struggle between republican freedom and licence on the one hand and the old-established feudality of Europe on the other. France had been provoked by a series of insults specially calculated to offend the pride of the French people. So early as July 6, 1791, the Emperor Leopold II. had proposed a league to preserve the royal family of France, and two weeks after this the emperor and Frederick William II. of Prussia met at Pilnitz, and on August 26 had agreed to retake all the provinces which Louis XIV. had taken from the Austrian Netherlands, thus making beforehand a treaty of partition. This was withdrawn when Louis XVI. had accepted the constitution, September 14, 1791. On the death of Leopold, March 1, 1792, his successor, Francis II., demanded "the re-establishment of the French monarchy on the basis of the royal sitting of June 23, 1789, the restoration of the property of the clergy, of the lands of Alsace with all their rights to the German princes, and of Avignon, to the Pope." Such demands implied and necessitated war. Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Spain were the aggressors. On the side of France the war was one of self-defence. Two Austrian armies and one Prussian army entered France from the Netherlands and from Coblenz, July, 1792, from which place the Duke of Brunswick, as generalissimo, issued his insensate proclamation. Longwy and

Verdun were taken, but the duke was checked at Valmy, September 20, by Kellermann, and obliged to retreat. Custine, the French general, entered Germany, and captured Spire, Worms, and Mainz, October 20, while Dumouriez gained the battle of Jemappes, November 6, and conquered at once the Netherlands. These successes emboldened the National Convention to publish, in all the languages of Europe, a decree offering the alliance of France to all the peoples who wished to recover their freedom, November 19. A month later, Savoy and Nice were annexed, and on December 16 the Convention declared that "in every country that shall be occupied by the armies of the Republic the generals shall announce the abolition of all existing authorities, of nobility, of serfage, of every feudal right, and of every monopoly; they shall proclaim the sovereignty of the people, and convoke the inhabitants in assemblies to form a provisional government, for which no officer of a former government, no noble, nor any of the members of the former privileged corporations, shall be eligible."¹ By the conquest of the Netherlands, the French were able to open the navigation of the river Scheldt, which had been closed by absurd treaties, in order to force the commerce of the North Sea into Dutch ports. This act, in itself just and right, set aside treaties to which France was then a party, and helped to force the English ministry, under Pitt, most unwillingly into the war which soon followed after the execution of Louis XVI. The declaration was first made by France, February 3, 1793. For this war, Burke's "Reflections," published 1790, and the declaration of the Convention, had prepared the public mind in England. By statesmen in general the language used by France could only be understood as the avowal of indiscriminate aggression. The Republican armies met with reverses, but the allied powers, jealous of each other, and more intent upon appropriating territory than in pursuing the great object of their alliance, made no real progress. Carnot, the War Minister of France, reorganised the army, sent unsuccessful generals to the scaffold, gave commands to competent soldiers from the ranks, and permitted the new battalions to choose their own officers. By these men, and by the admixture of the old soldiers of the monarchy, France was cleared from invasion. In 1794, the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria were more interested in Polish affairs, and thus carried on the war with France only so far as was necessary to obtain from the English government the payment of subsidies. Holland was willingly conquered

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. pp. 54, 55.

by Pichegru in December, 1794, and early in 1795; Prussia concluded a peace at Basle (April 5), and Spain (July 22); while Austria and England continued the war. Austria was stimulated by a Russian offer of a large share in the territory of Poland and by the promise of English subsidies. The French were driven from the right bank of the Rhine, and defeated at Mainz with heavy loss (October) by General Clairfait, who first began to revive the spirit of Germany.

The campaigns of 1796 and 1797 were carried on by the French in Germany under Moreau and Jourdan, and in Italy by General Buonaparte (whose ready tactics had saved the Directory on the 13 Vendémiaire). In Germany, the Archduke Charles successfully resisted the French armies, but in Italy the battle of Monte-Notte enabled Buonaparte to establish the Cispadane—*i.e.*, Cisalpine—Republic, and to take possession of Venice and the Ionian Islands. Venice, the most recent conquest, was, however, given to Austria in exchange for the Netherlands, by the Treaty of Campo Formio, October 17, 1797. Peace had been made with the Pope previously at Tolentino, February 19. Austria gave up Lombardy to the new Italian Republic, and, on the whole, was a gainer by the war. The price which Austria paid was the betrayal of Germany. Buonaparte ridiculed the notion of founding freer political systems in Europe on the ruins of the power of Austria. In a letter to Talleyrand he writes: "I have not drawn my support in Italy from the love of the people for liberty and equality . . . the real support of the army of Italy has been its own discipline . . . above all, our promptitude in repressing malcontents and punishing those who declared against us. This is history, what I say in my proclamations and speeches is a romance."¹ The French Directory had hoped that the Spanish and the Dutch navies would be a real check upon the naval power of England; but the Spanish fleet was beaten and destroyed by Jarvis off St. Vincent, February 14, 1797, and the Dutch fleet at Camperdown by Duncan, October 6. A congress was held at Rastadt to arrange formally that which Prussia and Austria had already settled with France, and also to furnish the means of compensating the lay princes of the empire by the confiscation of the territories of the ecclesiastical princes. Meanwhile, a dispute with Switzerland ended in the establishment of the Helvetian Republic, April 12, 1798, as a quarrel with the Pope had issued in the creation of the Roman Republic, February 15, 1798. In these campaigns nothing could equal the rapacity and exactions of the French generals. The seventh volume

of Schlosser gives full particulars.¹ The disgraceful conduct of the German states, from the smallest to the greatest, as well as that of the Italian states, are honestly depicted by one who was no friend to the Revolution. This year was remarkable for the departure of Buonaparte for Egypt from Toulon, May 9, with a formidable armament, an expedition originated by himself. His plausible and ostensible object was to strike a blow which might annihilate the British rule in India. On his way he took and occupied Malta, and in due time landed in Egypt, defeated the Mamelukes, and occupied Cairo. Nelson with the English squadron followed, and on August 1 destroyed thirteen out of the seventeen ships composing the French navy. No destruction was ever so complete. Of 11,000 officers and men, 9,000 were prisoners or perished. Meanwhile, a new coalition, on the part of England, Russia, Austria, Turkey, and Naples, was formed against France. The Neapolitans began the war prematurely by the invasion of the Roman territory, November 23, but were defeated, and Naples abandoned, the king flying to Sicily, December 20. Early in 1799 Naples was changed into the Parthenopean Republic, January 23; but by the arrival of the Russians under Suvaroff, and the forces of the Austrians, both Italy and Switzerland were re-conquered, and the French driven out. The King of Naples retained his capital long enough to punish cruelly the liberals who had joined the French. To all appearances the French Republic was in danger, but was saved by the Austrian sinister selfishness which had shipwrecked the coalition of 1793. Austria had renewed the war for the purpose of extending its own dominions in Italy. The Emperor of Russia, with the Pope, the King of Naples, and Sardinia, were all alike disgusted with the indifference of the Austrians to the great end of the coalition; the Russian army was withdrawn. An expedition from England to invade Holland, August to October, failed, partly through the inefficiency of the Duke of York, its commander, and on October 9 Buonaparte, escaping from Syria, landed at Frejus in Provence, and was soon in Paris.

To understand the state of France when Buonaparte so suddenly appeared we must go back to the appointment of the Directory on October 26, 1795. La Reveillière Lepaux was placed in charge of education; he was a fanatical deist, and endeavoured to establish what he called "theophilanthropy," to which he assigned temples, chants, and a liturgy to be used every tenth day instead of Sunday;

¹ Pp. 56-102.

Rewbell, a lawyer, took charge of justice, finance, and foreign affairs; La Tourneau the marine and the colonies; Barras, of noble birth, arranged all matters of ceremonial, and was suspected of being largely implicated in stock-jobbing; Carnot was Minister of War. The Directors took up their residence in the palace of the Luxembourg, and lived in great pomp and luxury, inventing for themselves splendid dresses, and imposing the same upon all officers of state—a step towards the revival of the luxury and varied orders of rank under the old monarchy. They found the whole administration in a state of disorder, no money in the treasury, so that the government couriers were often detained from the want of the means of paying their expenses. One-half of the soil of France had been sold, and the produce consumed in the cost of the government and of the army, and in feeding the population of Paris mainly, but also of other large cities which had been diverted from industrious pursuits to politics. In January, 1796, the amount of assignats in circulation was forty-five milliards of francs, about two thousand millions sterling, the value so far deteriorated that a twenty-franc piece in gold would purchase two hundred francs in the government paper; the army was without proper supplies of food or clothing; the police all but dissolved; and the whole country infested with robbers. The Directory had to put down the conspiracy of Babœuf, August 29, 1796, the object of which was to restore the constitution of 1793, and also to guard against a Royalist reaction which displayed itself in the return of two hundred Royalists (some of them nobles) in the elections for one-third of the legislature (March, 1797), and in the choice of General Pichegru as President of the Council of Ancients (this general was suspected of being engaged in Royalist intrigues with Austria). Buonaparte, then with the army in Italy, sent Lavalette to concert with Barras to put down the royalist party. On May 20, 1797, La Tourneau retired from the Directory (according to lot), and was succeeded by Barthélemy. There were great differences of opinion among the Directors. Barras, though opposed by Carnot, called Talleyrand to the ministry of foreign affairs July 15, 1797. Carnot hated Barras, Rewbell, and La Reveillère Lepaux, and “that little Corsican Buonaparte,” who was sending money from Italy to the Directory, and who, alarmed at the influence and conspiracies of the Royalists, sent Augereau to command the troops of the Directory, September 3, 1797. The generals looked upon the treasury as merely paymaster to meet their wants, and disposed of the funds which came into their hands as they deemed necessary. The legislature called out the National Guard

in their defence, but on September 4 Augereau arrested Pichegru and many of the members. The remnant assembled at the Luxembourg and appointed a committee of public safety, which condemned Carnot and Barthélemy (two of the Directors), Pichegru, Barbe-Marbois, and fifty others of the legislators, with the editors of forty-two journals. Carnot made his escape to Geneva, Pichegru and several hundred priests were transported, and the elections of forty-eight departments disallowed. This is called the Revolution of the 17th and 18th *Fructidor*. The Directory then consisted of Barras, La Reveillière Lepaux, Rewbell, Merlin, and François. Two-thirds of the national debt was struck off, to the great relief of the finance department.

In the month of May (11-22, 1798), some other changes took place in the Directorate. This is called the 22nd *Floréal*. On May 19 Buonaparte was permitted to sail on the Egyptian expedition, the nominal object being to alarm the English in India, but in reality to get out of the way a man to whom a subordinate position was impossible, and for whom the highest position was not yet open. The dissensions in the Directory continued. In June, 1799, Sièyes succeeded Rewbell, and some other changes took place, by which the executive government was in the hands of Barras and Sièyes. Fouché was appointed minister of police, and on August 10 expelled the Jacobins from the hall. This is called the 30th *Prairial*. It was well that a master-mind was at hand to arrest the beginnings of new contests for power by persons incapable of either obeying or commanding. General Buonaparte landed at Frejus October 9. He was three days in Paris before the Directory were aware of his presence. Augereau and Talleyrand were friendly to his design to establish a new government, Sièyes hoped to set aside Barras, and to become the head by the help of Buonaparte. The losses of the French armies in the campaigns of 1798, 1799, had rendered the Directory unpopular. All eyes were turned to the young general, whose higher qualities were well understood, but whose great faults were at that time undeveloped.* It was clear to any impartial observer that constitutional government, in the right sense of the term, was impossible under the Directory, as the Revolution of the 17th Fructidor (September 3, 1797) had suppressed all opposition, and was but the last step to the despotism of the chief of the army. "From the moment that Buonaparte landed at Frejus he was master of France."¹ Cautiously the agents of Sièyes worked towards a revolution which had nothing to fear except from

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. p. 201.

a rising of the demoralised populace of Paris. On October 23, Lucien Buonaparte was elected president of the Five Hundred, and the sittings of the councils removed to St. Cloud by a decree of the Council of Ancients, which also conferred the command of the troops of Paris upon Buonaparte on November 9. On the 10th there was no opposition on the part of the Ancients, but the Five Hundred were in direct opposition to the new Dictator, who entered the chamber escorted by grenadiers, and the last *so-called* free representatives of France were expelled. Writers, whose constitutional sympathies are very properly with all that savours of "representation," are apt to forget that these Five Hundred were simply the representatives of a party, which, on the 17th Fructidor, had destroyed the very existence of free election and free government in France. Constitutional government in the then divided state of public feeling, through the animosity of the Royalist and Republican parties being impossible, the only practical remedy was the rule of a popular general, capable of enforcing authority through his hold on the army, and of insuring obedience, and also likely, from his known talents, to secure the prosperity of France; and Buonaparte was the man. This was the result of the Revolution of the 18th and 19th Brumaire. From that time France was a military monarchy. Sièyes had framed a very complex constitution, logically perfect if men had been mere machines, but which to the strong sense of Buonaparte appeared impracticable. The frame of executive government which the country received in 1799 was that which Buonaparte deduced from the conception of an absolute central power. Three consuls, one the chief, the others merely consultative; a senate or council of state for life, with high salaries; a legislative body of three hundred, one-third to be renewed annually, with no power of debate, simply to accept or reject measures; a tribunate of one hundred members, one-fifth to be renewed yearly, who debated but did not vote. The consuls chose the senate, the senate chose, out of the list of candidates presented by the electoral colleges for the legislative body, the tribunate. Buonaparte wished to retain Sièyes as one of the consuls, but he wisely preferred a pension and an estate. The other two consuls were Cambacères and Le Brun. Ducos was placed in the senate. The new constitution was accepted by three millions of votes, a proof *then*, as on similar occasions afterwards, that the population cared little for the form of government so long as they could secure order and peace. The release of nine thousand prisoners was a hopeful beginning for the new régime (December 15-24, 1799).

"A system of centralisation came into force with which France under her kings had nothing to compare. All that had once served as a check upon monarchical power, the legal parliaments, the provincial estates of Brittany and Languedoc, the rights of lay and ecclesiastical corporations, had vanished away. In the place of the motley of privileges that had tempered the Bourbon monarchy, in the place of the popular assemblies of the Revolution, there sprang up a series of magistracies as regular and as absolute as the orders of military rank. Where, under the court of 1791, a body of local representatives had met to conduct the business of the Department, there was now a préfet appointed by the First Consul, absolute like the First Consul himself, and assisted only by the advice of a nominated council, which met for one fortnight in the year. In subordination to the préfet, an officer and similar council transacted the local business of the arrondissement. Even the 40,000 maires and municipal councils were all appointed directly or indirectly by the chief of the state. . . . Nor was the power of the First Consul limited to the administrative. With the exception of the lowest and the highest members of the judicature he nominated all judges, and transferred them at his pleasure to inferior or superior posts. Such was the system which, based to a great degree upon the preferences of the French people, fixed even more deeply in the national character the willingness to depend upon omnipresent, all-directing power. Its rational order, its regularity, its command of the highest science and experience, could not fail to confer great and rapid benefits upon the country. . . . In comparison with the species of self-government which then and long afterwards existed in England, the centralisation of France had all the superiority of progress and intelligence over torpor and self-contradictions. Yet a heavy, an incalculable price is paid by every nation which, for the sake of administrative efficiency, abandons its local liberties and all that is bound up with their enjoyment."¹ Yet it is singular that the majority of civilised people are deeply conscious of the need of some powerful central check upon the ignorance, and selfishness, and injustice of all mere local and parochial governments; they are willing to submit to the loss of some of their local liberties as the price paid to receive a rational control of local prejudices and partisanships. May not local government as well as centralisation be carried too far?

The position of the new government has never been so fully and

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. pp. 207-209.

airly stated as by Fyffe, a writer most of whose opinions have been confirmed by the experience of the present century at least: "What the French had, in the first epoch of their Revolution, endeavoured to impart to Europe—the spirit of liberty and self-government—they had now renounced themselves. . . . Yet the statesmanship of Buonaparte, if it repelled the liberal and disinterested sentiments of 1789, was no mere cunning of a Corsican soldier, or exploit of mediæval genius born outside its age. Subject to the fullest gratification of his own most despotic or most malignant impulses, Buonaparte carried into his creations the ideas upon which the greatest European innovators before the French Revolution had based their work. What Frederick and Joseph had accomplished, or failed to accomplish, was realised in western Germany, when its sovereigns became the clients of the First Consul. Buonaparte was no child of the French Revolution. He was the last and the greatest of the autocratic legislators who worked in an unfree age. Under his rule France lost what had seemed to be most its own; it most powerfully advanced the forms of progress common to itself and the rest of Europe. Buonaparte raised no population to liberty; in extinguishing privilege, and abolishing the legal distinctions of birth, in levelling all personal and corporate authority beneath the single rule of the state, he prepared the way for a rational freedom, when, at a later day, the government of the state should itself become the representatives of the people's will."¹

V.—*The Wars of the Consulate and the Empire, 1800–1815.*

The wars of Napoleon as consul and emperor, from 1800–1815, must be briefly noticed. They are studies for the strategist as well as lessons for statesmen, connected as they are with revelations of the indifference of the nations of Europe towards their rulers, until driven by the tyranny of French armies and administrators to that determined resistance against France which enabled the sovereigns of Europe at last to put down the French Empire. In the year 1800 Moreau headed the French armies in Germany from April to December, and gained the battle of Hohenlinden, December 3, 1800. His success weakened the efforts of the Austrians in Italy, in which Buonaparte, having in May crossed the Alps by the Great St. Bernard, cut off the Austrians from Lombardy, and gained the battle of Marengo (June 11, 1800), followed by the Peace of Luné-

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. pp. 213, 214.

ville, February 6, 1801, by which Austria ceded to France Germany west of the Rhine. Naples was permitted to make peace through the influence of the Czar of Russia, who was now at the head of the Northern Maritime League, formed to defend the rights of neutrals at sea against the claims of search by England (December 16, 1800). This league was dissolved by the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English fleet, April 2, 1801, and by the murder of the Czar Paul on March 23. An English army obliged the French in Egypt to capitulate, and a peace between France and England, provisionally agreed to, October 1, 1801, was formally signed at Amiens, March 27, 1802. Of all the colonies conquered by England, Ceylon and Trinidad alone were retained. Malta was to be restored to the Knights of Malta, as their treaty was a mere truce. Buonaparte improved the leisure, such as it was, by annexing, practically though not formally, the Batavian Republic (September, 1801), the Italian Republic (January, 1802), of both of which he was President. Piedmont was made a French province (September, 1802), and Tuscany was governed by French agents; he was the ruler of Switzerland as mediator of the Helvetic League (October 4, 1802). The influence of France in Germany rested upon the antagonism of Prussia and Austria, and was further increased by a treaty between France and Russia for joint action in Germany (October 11, 1801). Russia had no proper interest in Germany beyond the conserving of the absurd pretensions of the petty states of Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg, to increase of territory and higher rank. The Diet of Ratisbon acted subordinately to the secret agreement between France and Russia made June 3, 1802, by which all the ecclesiastical estates and forty-five free cities were extinguished. There was at the time no national spirit in Germany, nor had there been for two hundred years past. The people cared as little for Germany as their sovereign did. This arrangement, settled March, 1803, was, on the whole, an advantage to Germany. The priest-ruled states were remarkable for their ignorance and beggary; the free cities had become oligarchies; the end of their political existence was a clear gain to good government; all the land held by religious corporations was confiscated, by which the number of landed proprietors was increased. The government of Germany gained in power, and the people profited—at least, in West Germany—by the throwing open of appointments, trades, and professions to all classes. The peasantry also were partially relieved from feudal burdens. Between 1801 and 1804 the codification of law in France produced the *Code Napoléon*, passed March 21, 1803.

The credit due to him is that of having "vigorously pursued the work of consolidating and popularising law by the help of all the skilled and scientific minds whose resources were at his command." Also the Concordat with the Pope, by which the Catholic Church was re-established in France (April, 1802). The episcopacy consisted of ten archbishops at £600 a year, fifty bishops at £400 a year, with a number of curés at from £48 to £60. This measure naturally threw the clergy into the Ultramontane views of the papacy, as also similar changes in Germany; so that there are in Europe now "an emancipated France, a free Italy, a secular state-disciplined Germany, and the Church in conspiracy against them all."¹ This is a strong expression by Fyffe, but demonstrated to be practically true by succeeding governments in France, Germany, and Italy.

War with England broke out, May, 1803, ostensibly on account of the retention of Malta by England, who declined to give up an important position, *nominally* to the so-called Knights of Malta, into the hands of France. Hanover was seized, and the Elbe closed to English shipping. The plot attributed to Cadoudal and Pichegru against Napoleon failed. It was followed by the seizure in Baden of the Duke d'Enghien (son of the Prince of Condé), who was most unjustly suspected of being concerned in this plot, March 15, 1804. He was taken to Vincennes and shot, March 20. This, as has been cynically expressed, "was more than a crime, it was a mistake." Within a week all France, we are told, "desired the security of an hereditary throne," and Napoleon accepted the empire, May 18, 1804, and was crowned by Pius VII., the Pope, at Paris, December 2. "Then closed the best part of Napoleon's public life." Unfortunately he was convinced that "military glory was necessary to the consolidation of the empire, surrounded as France was with open enemies and resentful victims." . . . "It must become the first of all states or it will fall."² The Emperor of Germany, on July 4, took the title of Emperor of Austria.

The year 1805 was distinguished by the coalition of Russia, England, and Austria against France. The incapacity (or worse) of the Austrian general, Mack, who surrendered Ulm and 25,000 men without a blow, and the rapid movements of Napoleon (after several battles fought near Vienna) upon the Russians and Austrians, by which he won the Battle of Austerlitz, December 2, led to the Peace of Presburg, December 26. Austria had to cede

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. pp. 265.

² Introduction to "History of the Peace," by Miss Martineau, vol. i. p. 118.

Venice to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, and the Tyrol to Bavaria; other accessions of territory were given to Baden and Würtemberg, and the Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg were raised to the kingly dignity. The Bourbons of Naples were deposed and fled to Sicily, and Joseph Buonaparte reigned in Naples early in 1806. One great disaster was the drawback to these successes, the destruction of the combined fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar by Nelson, October 21. "Nelson fell in the moment of his triumph. . . . He had made an end of the power of France upon the sea. Trafalgar was not only the greatest naval victory; it was the greatest and most momentous victory won either by land or by sea during the whole of the revolutionary war. No victory, and no series of victories of Napoleon's produced the same effect upon Europe. . . . Napoleon henceforth set his hopes on exhausting England's resources by compelling every state on the Continent to exclude her commerce. . . . So long as France possessed a navy, Nelson sustained the spirit of England by his victories. His last triumph left England in such a position that no means remained to injure her but those which must result in the ultimate deliverance of the Continent."¹

A new and politic measure carried into effect the aspiration of France for that predominance in Germany which had been sought by French kings during the reign of Henry III. The Confederation of the Rhine, an organisation of Western Germany under its native princes, under its protector Napoleon, was formed, July 12, 1806. It comprised the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Electors of Baden, and thirteen minor princes, representing a population of 8,000,000. The Emperor of Austria wisely resigned the title of Emperor of Germany, August 6. In the opinion of Fyffe, the Emperor Napoleon had "now reached, but did not overpass, the limits within which the sovereignty of France might probably have been long maintained."² Perhaps so, while France was ruled by a Napoleon, but how otherwise? The opinion that "the true turning-point in Napoleon's career was the moment when he passed beyond the policy which had planned the Federation of the Rhine, and roused by his oppression the one state which was still capable of giving a national life to Germany,"³ no one can dispute. The arbitrary and most unjust execution of the bookseller Palm at Nuremburg, August 26, was no recommendation of French rule. He was an "innocent and unoffending man, innocent even

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. p. 291.² Ibid., p. 307.³ Ibid., p. 308.

of the honourable crime of attempting to save his country.”¹ Prussia, which had most dishonourably played false both to England and Napoleon, when at last roused to resistance, began its resistance too late, at a crisis when Austria was unable to help. The Prussian army had been resting on the character of the armies of the great Frederick, and had lost the discipline and the capacity for warlike operations by long disuse, and by “an ignorant conceit of their own superiority.” The battle of Jena, October 14, placed all Prussia under the power of Napoleon. On November 21, 1806, Napoleon issued his Berlin Decree, placing the British islands in a state of blockade, confiscating all English goods and English property. To carry out this decree was impracticable. Buonaparte himself had to obtain broadcloth for his army by granting licences for this purpose. The English Government retaliated by the Orders in Council, January to November, 1807. The Russian Czar continued the war, but the battle of Eylau was a drawn battle, February 8, 1807. The two emperors met on a raft at Tilsit, June 24, when the interests of his ally, the King of Prussia, were altogether ignored by the Czar, who showed himself to be “a Greek of the Lower Empire.” Prussia had to resign its territory west of the Elbe, and its Polish territory, out of which (1) the kingdom of Westphalia was erected for Jerome Napoleon, and (2) a Grand Duchy of Warsaw for Napoleon’s ally, the King of Saxony. There were also secret articles, in which Napoleon offered to Alexander the spoils of Sweden and the Ottoman Empire. There was no “vestige” of political honour surviving in the Emperor Alexander. When action was really of decisive importance, in his mediation between France and Prussia, he threw himself without scruple on to the side of oppression. It lay within his power to gain terms of peace for Prussia as lenient as those which Austria had gained at Campo Formio, and at Luneville. He sacrificed Prussia, as he allied himself against the last upholders of national independence in Europe, in order that he himself might receive Finland and the Danubian Provinces. The English Government, having received information that the Danish Government had agreed to give up their fleet to France, sent a fleet, and compelled the Danes at Copenhagen, by a severe bombardment, to surrender their fleet to England, September 2. This act could only be justified by the character of the information upon which the British Government acted, which at the time it was not able to produce without endangering the lives of its

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. p. 311.

informants. Soon after, Napoleon, by a secret treaty with Spain, October 27, arranged that Portugal should be divided between France and Spain, and Junot was sent to take possession of Lisbon. The royal family, however, embarked in the English fleet for Brazil on November 29. A quarrel between Charles IV. of Spain and his son Ferdinand led to the more intimate interference of Napoleon with the affairs of Spain. He sent an army in December into Spain, under Dupont, to protect Ferdinand, as was supposed, but really to prepare for the conquest of the country; and on February 20, 1808, Murat was sent to take the chief command. Charles IV. abdicated on March 17, and Ferdinand succeeded. He was persuaded to meet Buonaparte at Bayonne, and there was compelled to resign the crown of Spain, his parents, Charles IV. and his queen, being parties to the act. A more treacherous, unprincipled, and unfortunate proceeding, of which the results were so unfavourable to the actors, history has never recorded. Napoleon had utterly misunderstood the character of the Spanish people and the tenacity of their resistance. The country itself presented difficulties in the provisioning of a large army, and a small army would simply hold the ground it occupied. Joseph Buonaparte was made king, and under other circumstances would have been a blessing to Spain; but all Spain was soon in a state of insurrection, which the French troops suppressed from time to time in the several localities, but which broke out again as soon as suppressed. The troops were harassed by irregular guerilla bands of the peasants. The French were beaten by the Spaniards at Baylen July 19. Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal August 1, 1808, and fought the battle of Vimiera, August 21. By Sir Henry Burrard (the senior officer) the Convention of Cintra was agreed to, by which Junot and his troops were conveyed to France, August 30. Napoleon, after an interview with Alexander at Erfurt, October 7, in the midst of a "crowned and titled rabble," by which he imagined that Germany would be preserved from resistance, visited Spain in November, and entered Madrid, December 4. The English army at Lisbon, under Sir John Moore, had been directed to move towards the north, and had to retreat before the superior armies of France under Soult and Napoleon. Moore was able to check his pursuers near Corunna, January 16, 1809, but was killed in the battle, after which the troops were safely embarked. Soon after, the resistance of Saragossa, after it had been stormed, January 29 until February 20, gave the French a specimen of the savage energy of the Spaniards when fully roused. The departure of Napoleon from Spain had

been hastened by the expectation of a rupture with Austria. This war tested the skill of Napoleon and the prowess of his arms, even after he had occupied Vienna, May 13. In the battle of Asperna the village itself was five times lost and won. "The belief in Napoleon's invincibility was destroyed;" he had suffered a defeat in person at the head of his finest troops, from an enemy little superior in strength to himself."¹ The battle of Wagram, July 5, 6, was an indecisive one; there was then a truce. Austria might have continued the war, for she had brave soldiers, but no generals; so peace was made at Vienna, October 14, 1809. Austria lost Salzburg, and part of Upper Austria, to Bavaria; Western Galicia to the Grand Duke of Warsaw; part of Carinthia, with the whole of the country between the Adriatic and the Save, was annexed to the French Empire under the name of the Illyrian Provinces." "Austria itself, though overpowered, had inflicted a deadly injury upon Napoleon by withdrawing him from Spain at the moment when he might have completed his conquest, and by enabling Wellesley to gain a footing in the Peninsula. . . . Russia was alienated by the annexation of West Galicia to the Polish Grand Duchy of Warsaw. . . . The estrangement of Russia, the growth of national spirit in Germany and in Spain involved a danger to Napoleon's power which far outweighed the visible results of his victory."² In Germany Buonaparte "provoked all the states and individuals whom he drew within his circle, by acting sometimes in a liberal and sometimes in a despotic manner, never treating them as citizens or provinces united to a kingdom, but always in a French and revolutionary sense. This drove the German people into the hands of a reactionary party, which became the national one by Napoleon's endeavour to extirpate every vestige of nationality . . . this was the origin of the Tugenbund (League of Virtue) whose real object was concealed under the attractive names of patriotism and zeal for the restoration of the virtuous usages of past times."³ Similar secret associations of Carbonari, &c., were formed in Italy.

The marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis of Austria, March 11, 1810, was followed by the annexation of Holland, July 10, and by that of the republic of the Valais and the north German coast: these were the last annexations. As a result, by the destruction of entails, feudal burdens, as well as the monopolies of the guilds, were removed; but, on the other hand, must be placed the conscription and all the annoyances of Buonaparte's

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. p. 422.² Ibid., pp. 431, 432.³ Schlosser, vol. vii. p. 601.

continental system, which were very great. The war in Portugal and Spain required 300,000 men to oppose Wellington, who had a secure position in the lines of Torres Vedras, 1809, 1810. Massena was checked at Fuentes d'Onoro, and Soult at Albuera, May 16, 1811. At the close of that year, Wellington moved towards Ciudad Rodrigo, and took it, January 19, 1812, and Badajos on April 6. The battle of Salamanca, July 22, obliged the French to fall back on Burgos, after which Wellington fell back on Portugal. A constitutional movement was created in Spain in 1809, 1810, and a constitution framed by the Cortes in 1812, which was offensive to the clergy and not specially agreeable to the population. But greater events were about to interest all Europe. The friendship of the Czar with the Emperor of the French had turned to hate. Russia felt the continental system to be intolerable, and the pride of the Czar had been annoyed by the recent changes of territory in Germany and Poland. Napoleon left Paris, May 9, held a *levée* of sovereigns at Dresden, and crossed the Russian frontier, June 23. Alexander had an ally in Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, partly induced by the promise of adding Norway to the kingdom of Sweden. The Russians wisely retreated before the French, whose means of transport were unequal to the duties required. The loss of men, before any engagement took place, was said to be 100,000. There was a battle in Smolensko, August 18, and at Borodino, September 7. Moscow was entered, September 14. It was evacuated by the population, and in a few days burnt. Napoleon, on the approach of winter, abandoned Moscow, October 19, in hopes of finding suitable winter quarters, his armies harassed by the Russians. The French suffered severely at Krasnoi, November 17, and again at Beresina, November 28, so that, when they reached the frontier on the Beresina, December 13, they numbered in all little more than 20,000 men. In all, 390,000 soldiers had entered Russia; 170,000 were prisoners. Not a twentieth part of the 390,000 reached the Prussian frontier. On December 3, Napoleon quitted the army and returned to Paris, to prepare for the campaign of the following year. Already General Yorck, at Riga, had committed the Prussian contingent on the side of Russia, December 30. Stein, the great statesman of Prussia, was with the Emperor Alexander, who, with a portion of his army, entered Prussian territory in January, 1813. A treaty was made with Prussia on February 27; on March 4 the last French soldier quitted Berlin, and on March 17 the King of Prussia declared war against France. "Seven years of suffering and humiliation had done their work. . . . A movement as penetrating and

as universal as that which France had experienced in 1792 swept through the Prussian state.”¹ Napoleon was still stronger than his enemies in spite of the losses in Russia. Italy and the German confederates remained faithful, and Austria had not yet declared against him. He defeated the allies at Lützen, May 2, and at Bautzen on May 21. Then followed an armistice of seven weeks, in which Austria endeavoured to mediate. On August 10, Austria joined the allies. Napoleon won the battle of Dresden, August 26 and 27, “one of the last and greatest victories of France. Several other conflicts took place, in all of which it is evident that the superiority had passed from the French to their foes. The battle of Leipzig, known as the “Battle of the Nations,” the greatest battle in all authentic history, in which 300,000 men fought on the side of the allies and 170,000 on that of Napoleon, was fought October 16–19. The French had to retreat, Leipzig was stormed, and Napoleon lost 40,000 killed and wounded, 30,000 prisoners, and 260 guns; while the allies lost 54,000. On the last day of the year the Prussians crossed the Rhine near Coblenz, and the invasion of France commenced. In Spain the French were equally unsuccessful. Wellington defeated King Joseph at Vittoria, June 21, and gained the battle of the Pyrenees, July 27–31. San Sebastian was taken by storm on August 31. Pampeluna was taken by the Spaniards, October 31. Wellington entered France, and was master of the district up to Bayonne.

On January 18, 1814, the Austrian army entered France by Belfort, and marched towards the plain of Langres. Napoleon placed himself at Chalons on the Marne. After some indecisive skirmishes, a congress was held at Chatillon, and offers made to France of peace and the frontier of 1791. These terms were refused, again negotiations were renewed. At last the allies pressed forward and took possession of Paris, March 31. On April 2 the senate pronounced the dethronement of Napoleon; on April 6 it proclaimed a constitution, and recalled the House of Bourbon. Unfortunately, before this news could reach the south of France, Wellington had fought the battle of Toulouse, April 10, by which Soult was driven from that city. This was the last battle of the war. The Count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI., was thus, by the influence of Alexander and the management of Talleyrand, restored to the throne of France. He granted a charter which framed a system of government similar to that of England, a chamber of peers to be nominated

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. p. 487.

by the king, one of deputies to be chosen for five years by electors paying £12 a year in taxes, the judges irremovable except for proved misconduct. The king, a prudent and sensible man, had learnt something in twenty years of exile. Not so his brother, nor the nobles, nor the clergy, who aimed at the restoration of their old privileges. "But no reaction, however severe, ever brings things back to the point from which they had drifted. France could never again be what she had been under Louis XIV."¹ There was an active body of Napoleonists in Paris fanning the discontent of the Liberal party, and urging the return of their chief from Elba, where the generous fatuity of the allies had placed him. With four small vessels and 900 men he landed near Cannes, on the coast of Provence, March 1, 1815. His progress was accompanied by the enthusiasm of the people, and without a battle he entered Paris on March 20, less than twenty-four hours after Louis XVIII. had left it. The allied sovereigns, assembled in congress at Vienna, and on the point of quarrelling about the division of the spoils of the French empire, were at once reconciled, and issued a declaration of war. The Liberals in Paris were not pleased with Napoleon's determination to govern in his old fashion, and there were evident signs of alienation. The decisive battle of Waterloo, June 18, gained by Wellington, in command of the English and Prussians, over Napoleon, was followed by the abdication of the emperor, and his subsequent exile in St. Helena, where he died, 1821. Louis XVIII. returned to Paris on July 8, after an absence of one hundred days. Of Napoleon we may admit as fair, perhaps as sternly fair, the character given by Kitchin:² "He had genius and no breeding . . . nor had he that high sense of honour, truthfulness, and gentleness which go with true nobility of soul. . . . His quick intelligence was altogether scientific in the colder and harder aspects of scientific knowledge. He took no interest in moral sciences, or in history, or in the lighter works of imagination. Throughout we discern in him the precision, the despot on exact principles. . . . No one was ever naturally so untrue as he; he never hesitated to lie and to deceive. . . . There was in him a swiftness of intelligence, which answered to his hot and passionate nature; the true and solid balance was wanting. He could not rest, and knew not when he had achieved success. And this was immediately connected with another Oriental quality, his vast and unmeasured ambition, and the schemes and dreams of a visionary, which led him to the greatest errors of his life—his

¹ Kitchin, "Encyc. Brit.," vol. ix. p. 617.² Ibid., p. 618.

expedition to Egypt, and his hopes of an Eastern empire, and his terrible attack on Russia. The same largeness of vision showed itself in his endeavours to reconstruct the map of Europe, and to organise anew the whole of society in France. . . . He was, in fact, the successor and representative of the 'eighteenth century despots,' the military follower of the Pombals, the Arandas, the Struenzas of the past. He had their unbalanced energies, their fierce resistance to feudalism and the older world, their ready use of benevolent and enlightened phraseology, their willingness to wade through blood and ruin to their goal, their undying ambition, their restlessness and revolutionary eagerness to revolutionise society. Like them, with well-sounding professions, he succeeded in alienating the people of Europe, in whose behalf he pretended to be acting. . . . When the popular feeling was thoroughly aroused against him in Spain, in Germany, in England, his wonderful career was at last brought to an end."

VI.—*The Local Histories from 1788–1815.*

The local histories of the nations, thrown into the shade by the revolutionary wars, are now to be noticed.

ENGLAND (Scotland and Ireland).—The revolutions in France found PITT the Younger, at the head of the English administration since 1784, the most able of peace ministers, but by no means the best director of warlike operations. He and most Englishmen hailed the beginning of the Revolution as the harbinger of peaceful, economical changes. Burke's treatise on the French Revolution raised the first note of doubt and alarm, in spite of the able replies of Sir J. Mackintosh and others, 1790. The conservative temper of the middle and upper classes of society was displayed in the Birmingham Riots of 1791, in which the mob but expressed the feeling of the classes above them in social position. Among a large class engaged in manufactures there were some demonstrations of a contrary character in the shape of revolutionary societies, such as the Friends of the People and the London Corresponding Society. After the execution of the king, war was declared by France, February 8, 1793,¹ and as the fanaticism of the revolutionary leaders in France became more evident the general reaction commenced, and gradually increased during Napoleon's ambitious career. Two parties, the

¹ "It was France, and not England, who at last wrested from Pitt's grasp the peace to which he clung so desperately."--GREEN.

Whig (Liberal) and the Tory (Conservative), which must exist in every free government, had full development in English politics, and disturbed even the harmony of private society. The threat of invasion from France united for a time all parties in England. Never was there a more critical situation. The sailors at Spithead and the Nore had mutinied, 1797; the call upon England for subsidies on the Continent in specie, and for the purchase of food through the failure of the harvests had drained the country of the circulating medium. It was just in the position of a wealthy man, rich in property but without a supply of specie for the payment for daily wants, and therefore obliged to pay by notes of hand, which would be received according to the belief of his ability to pay. Cash payments beyond twenty shillings were stopped at the Bank, February 21. This measure was in force twenty-two years, and during the whole of that time the depreciation of the paper currency was comparatively slight. The internal trade had to be carried on with a paper currency guaranteed by government, because the specie was needed for payments abroad where paper money was useless. The strength of England was then, as now, in the patriotism of the people, in its enormous material resources, and in its fleet. In 1798 there was an outbreak in Ireland from May 23 to June 21, which was finished by the defeat of the rebels at Vinegar Hill. This was followed by the Legislative Union in 1800, which added 100 members to the English Parliament to the great deterioration of its character. The question of Catholic Emancipation broke up the Cabinet, and Pitt retired, making way for Addington, who *then*, as *now*, was generally regarded as the smallest and most unfit of all prime ministers. The Peace of Amiens between England and France was concluded in 1802:¹ it was a mere truce. War was declared May 18, 1803. An Irish rebellion under Emmett broke out July 23, and was speedily suppressed. All parties in England were united in this war with France. The character of Napoleon already developed, and as developed afterwards in the following years, had produced a firm conviction in England of his grasping ambition and faithlessness, and of his enmity to all constitutional liberty, though there were then, and may be even now, a few eccentric individuals who believe in him and his system. PITT was minister again in 1804, but died in 1806, and Fox only survived a few months, after securing the abolition of the slave trade, March 25,

¹ "It was a peace which anybody was glad of and nobody is proud of."—GREEN.

1807. Portland and Perceval, with Castlereagh and Canning, formed a ministry in 1807. The active interference of the English army in Spain, though at first not accompanied by any definite success in 1808, and the overwhelming forces opposed to Sir J. Moore in January, 1809, was in the end the means of driving out the French armies, first from Portugal and then from Spain, and was yet more important as developing and making known the great strategic abilities of Wellington. During the whole of that war this great man was inefficiently supplied from home, and mercilessly censured by the opposition press. The Whigs generally regarded the resistance in Spain as hopeless. Perceval was prime minister 1809-1812, when he was assassinated by a madman. The king's infirmity of mind placed the Prince of Wales as regent after 1811. In 1812 a respectable ministry under Lord Liverpool was formed. Soon after a dispute with the United States of America issued in war, for which both nations were to blame. It was a war without great events. The conquest of Canada, which was the temptation held out to the American people, failed; at sea, in single encounters, the English gained no laurels; and the attacks upon Washington and upon New Orleans were not creditable to the English commanders, or rather the ministry under which they acted. Peace was made, December 24, 1814. The Peace of 1814, 1815 was welcomed by all classes. During the long war the agriculturists and landholders had profited by the monopoly of the supply of the English market, but the population generally had suffered under the enhanced price of food and the increasing depression of trade and commerce. The manufacturing districts especially had to endure periods in which there was no employment for the workers, because no market for the goods manufactured. The peace for a time seemed, however, to produce no favourable change.

SPAIN was never so low as in the reign of Charles IV. One Godoy, the favourite of the king and queen, had the full direction of affairs. From the peace made with France he was called "the Prince of Peace," 1794. In 1796 he bound Spain to France by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, August 19, again renewed in 1803 by a convention on October 19. In 1804 the English Government intercepted the treasure from Mexico, October 5, and obtained about four and a half millions of dollars. This high act may be defensible politically, but it is painful to record. On October 19, 1805, the fleets of France and Spain were destroyed at Trafalgar, where Nelson lost his life. In 1807 Buonaparte began his designs upon Spain by a treaty for the conquest and partition of Portugal. Junot was sent

with troops through Spain to accomplish this purpose, and followed by others, the real object being the supplanting of the Bourbon Dynasty by a Napoleonist prince. The quarrel between Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand ended in the abdication of Charles IV. in favour of his son. Both parties were induced to meet Napoleon at Bayonne, and there resigned in favour of Napoleon, as already recorded, May 6, by whom Joseph, his brother, was appointed King of Spain. The insurrections which followed, and the military operations of the Spanish leaders and of Wellington issued in the expulsion of the French from Spain by the end of 1813, and Ferdinand VII. was restored in 1814 (May 14). During the war the *Cortes* had framed a constitution in 1812, thoroughly democratic and impracticable. This was immediately set aside, and the *Cortes* dismissed, but no rational scheme of government was substituted in its place.

PORTUGAL.—Saved from French conquest by the interposition of England, 1808, the royal family being safe in Brazil, from which Portugal was governed by a regency after the settlement of 1814, 1815.

ITALY.—Sardinia, the popedom, the smaller duchies, with Venice and Naples, had no history disconnected with the occupation of the French until 1814. In Sicily, Ferdinand IV. of Naples (III. of Sicily) took refuge under English protection in 1806. Lord W. Bentinck, the English ambassador, in 1812 obtained a new constitution for Sicily, which, though opposed by the court, continued until the arrangements of 1815 enabled the king to return to Naples, when he abolished the constitution. He then reigned as Ferdinand I. of the Two Sicilies.

SWITZERLAND, with AUSTRIA, have no history, apart from their connexion with France from 1788 to 1814.

PRUSSIA has a history disgraceful in its partnership in the division of Poland, in the pursuit of which it neglected the more important matter of resistance to France in 1792, 1793. The humiliation of Prussia by France was followed by the patriotic efforts of STEIN, a "leader unrivalled in patriotic zeal, in boldness, and in purity of character." The abolition of serfage and of all legal distinction of caste freed the land from the restrictions which impeded its sale, 1807. In 1811 HARDENBERG placed the peasantry in full proprietorship of two-thirds of their tenancy. In connexion with Scharnhorst, STEIN cautiously trained an active army of 40,000 men, and established a large municipal reform. By his plans he drew upon himself the suspicions of Napoleon, by whom he was expelled from

Prussia, December, 1808. The patriot people of Prussia helped not a little towards the overthrow of the French Empire.

HOLLAND, under Louis Bonaparte, who was appointed king by Napoleon, 1806, enjoyed as much freedom and prosperity as the king could secure for it, but the tyranny of Napoleon made him resign in 1810. Joyfully the French were expelled in 1813, and the Prince of Orange restored to the Stadtholdership, with the title of king.

SWEDEN.—Gustavus III. was assassinated, 1792. Gustavus IV., his son, steadily opposed the French Republic and Empire. On March 12, 1809, he was arrested, compelled to abdicate, and his family cut off from succession to the throne, May 10, the result of a conspiracy, provoked by his own inconsistencies. Charles XIII., Duke of Sudermania (his uncle), succeeded. A constitution was established June 6, 1809. Being permitted by law, he chose BERNADOTTE, one of Napoleon's generals, as his successor, August, 1810. Bernadotte became the real ruler of the kingdom, resisted the demands of Napoleon in 1811, and made a treaty with Alexander of Russia. He was rewarded by the permission to occupy Norway, the loss of which was the penalty inflicted on Denmark for its fidelity to Napoleon, November, 1814.

DENMARK.—Charles VII. died 1808. Frederick VI. (his son) succeeded. He had to give up Norway to Sweden, to the great grief of the Norse people.

RUSSIA.—Catherine II. died 1796. Paul, her son, succeeded—at first a great admirer of the French, and then their enemy—sent Suwarrow to co-operate with the Austrians in 1799. He then opposed England in the Northern League, 1800, but was assassinated, March 24, 1801. ALEXANDER, his son, as versatile as his father, was alternately the enemy and the friend of Napoleon, sacrificing his allies without compunction, but driven to take a leading part in the coalition by which Napoleon was deposed. He greatly extended the Russian territory in Europe by the acquisition of Finland from the Swedes, and of the larger portion of the kingdom of Poland. In CENTRAL ASIA Russia is necessitated to extend her territory over the uncivilised people on her frontier.

TURKEY, Selim III., one of the most cultivated of the sultans, had to encounter a war with Russia and England, 1806, 1807. The Wahabee, a puritan sect in Arabia, took and plundered Mecca and Medina, 1802. Bosnia and Servia were in a state of insurrection. Ali Pacha, of Yanina, established a virtual independence over Epirus and Western Greece from 1787 to 1822. MAHOMET ALI,

the Pacha of Egypt, destroyed the Mamelukes by treachery 1811, and established a power all but nominally independent. Selim was deposed by the Janissaries 1807, who placed Mustapha IV. on the throne; this was opposed by Bairactar, the Grand Vizier, who dethroned Mustapha IV. and placed MAHOMET II. as Sultan, 1808; who was obliged to yield Bessarabia and the Kilia mouth of the Danube to Russia, 1817.

PERSIA.—The Kadjar Dynasty, 1795, obliged to cede the Caspian provinces to Russia, 1813.

The *Barbary States* were nominally under Turkish rule; but *Morocco* maintained its isolated independence.

INDIA.—In the rule of Warren Hastings the British possessions in India were confined to Bengal and Behar, the northern Circars, Madras, and a few trifling stations on the Coromandel coast, with Bombay on the west coast. Circumstances compelled the English leaders to extend their authority by degrees over the whole of India. Lord Cornwallis was obliged to make war on Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, 1788, who submitted in 1792 and ceded part of his territory to the Nizam and the British. Sir John Shore was obliged to curb the ambition of Nizam Ali, who had to cede half his territory, 1795. Under the act of Lord Mornington (Wellesley) the British dominions were extended up the Ganges, and also in the Carnatic by the conqueror of Tippoo, 1799. In 1807 Lord Minto succeeded, and in 1813 was followed by Lord Moira (Hastings), who was involved in a war with Nepaul, which was settled by the Treaty of Segowlie, 1816. The native powers in India were the RAJPOOTS, the MAHRATTAS (Scindia), the NIZAM, and OUDE; the MOGUL was a name and nothing more.

CHINA.—Keinlung contrived to extend the empire over Nepaul, approaching within sixty miles of the British frontier. He resigned 1795 and died 1798. His successor, Kea-King, was a capricious, self-indulgent ruler. He was the emperor to whom Lord Macartney was sent in 1792, and Lord Amherst in 1816. Both embassies were failures as to any profitable results. The trade with Europe was confined to Macao.

JAPAN remained closed to European commerce.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, having secured their independence by the Treaty of 1783, next proceeded to form a constitution; a Senate to consist of two from each state, irrespective of its size and population; a House of Representatives, to be elected by the people in proportion to the population; a President to be elected every four years. At the close of 1788 all the States had adopted

the constitution except Rhode Island and North Carolina, which, however, conformed May 20, 1790. GEORGE WASHINGTON was the first president and John Adams vice-president, and the first congress was opened April 30. Washington served two terms of office until 1797. Two political parties were prominent from the first, the FEDERALISTS and the DEMOCRATS. Under the government of President Madison a war broke out with England, for which both countries were to blame. Peace was concluded 1811-1814.

The *British Colonies in North America*.—Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, gradually increased in population. So also *Jamaica* and the smaller Islands, Demerara, &c., commonly called the *West Indies*. *South Africa*, conquered from the Dutch, increased under British rule. The colony established in 1788 *Port Jackson, New South Wales* (now New Holland) had the equivocal benefit of convict labour, and gradually enlarged its territory and population. *Tasmania* was soon after occupied. These were the beginnings of the rich and populous colonies of *Australia*.

Ecclesiastical History from 1788 to 1815.

ENGLAND.—The bishops and higher clergy, in accordance with the views of the lower clergy, had steadily refused to agree to the abolition of the Corporation and Test Acts, originally passed to exclude the Roman Catholics from certain offices, but necessarily applicable legally, though not energetically enforced upon Protestant Dissenters. Ministry after ministry were desirous of freeing Protestant Nonconformists from this implied badge of inferiority, but were deterred by the clerical power in and outside the House of Commons. In 1787 Lord North was not ashamed to use the language of the clerical zealots, and to declare that these acts were "the corner-stone of the constitution of the Church and the State." The feeling against any concession to dissent was, no doubt, hastened by the excesses of the French Revolution, and by the injudicious display of sympathy with the National Assembly of France by a small but active body of "advanced" Dissenters, of which Dr. Price was the representative. Burke's eloquent *Reflections* deepened and extended the clerical alarm, in which a large body of the laity were equally concerned. One good influence of the infidel rule of the Terrorists in France was an increased regard to religious duties and observances, especially among the higher classes in England, to which the example of the court also contributed. A work by a

distinguished layman, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, a member of Parliament, and an associate of the literary and higher classes of society, and a friend of Pitt and other politicians, was widely circulated with very beneficial effects. Its title was "A practical view of prevailing religious systems, 1797." It is as necessary for the higher classes *now* as it was *then*, and may be read by all classes with advantage. The *Low Church* (*Evangelical*) were especially diligent in counter-acting sceptical writings by the issue of cheap antidotes, among which *Mrs. Hannah More's* repository tracts were deserving of praise for their homely common sense, and for the rare quality of interesting the reader. The *Religious Tract Society*, founded by Burder (Independent), 1799, was supported by many of the clergy and laity of the Church of England. The *Bible Society*, 1802, was zealously patronised by bishops and dignified clergy, as well as by Nonconformists. The *Church of England Missionary Society* (for Africa and the East) was established in 1804, to enable the Evangelicals to send missionaries whose views were more in accordance with theirs than those of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, avoiding, however, in the beginning the localities occupied by the old society. In 1812, the *Prayer Book and Homily Society* was formed by some zealous Churchmen. Generally the *High Church* party patronised in missions the Society for Propagating the Gospel, while the *Evangelicals* were more attached to the *Church Missionary Society*, and, as in the time of Charles I., funds were raised and appropriated by zealous Evangelicals, for the purchase of the right of presentation to Church livings; of this fund Simeon of Cambridge was a liberal patron. The *High Church* patronised the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Prayer Book and Homily Society, while the *Evangelicals* generally preferred the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society. This friendly rivalry helped to improve the character of the versions of the Scriptures and of the theological and other works circulated by these societies, all of which remain to this day in active operation, to the great advantage of the public and of the Christian Churches. The influence of such consistent laymen as WILBERFORCE and JOHN THORNTON, and of clergy like RICHARD CECIL, Joseph Milner, Thomas Scott, Edward Stillingfleet, Venn, Simeon, and others, was a great power for good at this trying period. The bishops HORSLEY, Porteus, and Watson, by their literary labours, contributed to check the injurious effects of the sceptical writings of the day by Thomas Paine. To the Evangelical party, supported by eminent members of Parliament, is mainly owing the opposition to

the slave trade, which commenced in 1787, and which succeeded in effecting its object by England, 1807, by the United States in 1808, and by France under Napoleon, 1815.

The interests of EDUCATION were not neglected either by Churchmen or Dissenters. The *National Society*, 1812-1817, supported by Churchmen, mainly adopted Bell's system. The *British and Foreign School Society* (on Lancaster's plan) was established by liberal Churchmen and Dissenters about the same time.

The INDEPENDENTS (Congregationalists) largely increased their congregations and ministers, especially in the manufacturing towns, connecting generally with their wealthier churches evangelical labours in the neglected country districts. The *London Missionary Society*, instituted in 1795, in which Churchmen also co-operated, became mainly an independent society, though strictly avoiding any sectarian test as to Church government. The *Evangelical Magazine*, established at this time, remains to this day a valuable record of denominational history. Great attention was paid to the training of the ministry. Among the names which were well known in this period may be mentioned Lavington, Bogue, Waugh, and the Claytons.

The BAPTIST churches also increased. They were foremost in the foreign missionary work, having established their Missionary Society in 1792, through the indomitable zeal and faith of Dr. Carey. Howard, the philanthropist, was connected with them; his labours, 1773-1790, are well known. *Robert Robinson*, of Cambridge, from 1761-1790, was a distinguished minister; so also *Andrew Fuller*, at Kettering, 1782-1815.

The WESLEYAN METHODISTS lost their founder, *John Wesley*, in 1791, aged eighty-eight. *Dr. Thomas Coke* took charge of the colonial missionary work in America and the West Indies. The *Missionary Society* was reorganised in 1817. Differences of opinion on Church government led to the secession of the *New Connexion* societies, 1797, and of the *Primitive Methodists* (called Ranters) in 1810. Paley, in his "Feather Tavern Petitions," in favour of relaxing the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, states that "the only persons at the time who believed in the Thirty-nine Articles were the Methodists, who were refused ordination by the bishops,"¹ a testimony to their orthodoxy. The Magazine (*Arminian Wesleyan Magazine*), established in the year 1778, remains among the most valuable of this class of literature.

The *Calvinistic Methodists*, chiefly followers of Whitfield, had

¹ Hore, p. 509.

been organised by Howel Harris in Wales, 1737, and supported by Selina (Countess of Huntingdon), 1770. They are most numerous in Wales.

The *French Refugees* who settled in England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, had, in 1700, thirty churches; in 1737 only twenty, in 1780 only eleven; gradually amalgamating with the other churches.

The QUAKERS (Friends) were identified with the charities and social improvements of the age. Other small congregations, called by various names, enjoyed the toleration of the English constitution.

The PRESBYTERIAN Churches in SCOTLAND and the North of IRELAND flourished. They were divided into the old Cameronians of 1743, the secession headed by Ebenezer Erskine in 1745, and the Burgers and Anti-Burgers of 1743; also the Sandemanians from about 1760. *The old Presbyterian congregations* in England had mostly become Congregationalists. In Glasgow there was a Presbyterian Tract Society and a Missionary Society, 1793-1796.

The ROMAN CATHOLICS enjoyed full religious liberty, though generally regarded with suspicion by the population. They and their friends suffered from the London riots of 1780, occasioned by the folly of Lord George Gordon. In *Ireland* they constituted the large majority of the population, and had already begun the struggle for "Catholic emancipation."

One of the most important means employed by the churches of all denominations was the institution of SUNDAY SCHOOLS, which, originating in the labours of Robert Raikes, 1781, were established all over the kingdom.

The *Continental Churches* were generally disturbed by the wars; but in *France* the Roman Catholic Church was utterly destroyed by the Revolution, 1793, but restored by Napoleon.

LITERARY HISTORY FROM 1788-1815.—This period being merely a connecting link between a past state of things, and the new arrangements which followed the close of the revolutionary war (a space of about a quarter of a century), the literary men are necessarily connected with the past history, or with that of the following period. Many of the writers who lived before the Revolution survived to live in the new world which succeeded the battle of Waterloo. There are already two separate nationalities which are the homes of English literature—England and the United States.

LITERATURE IN ENGLAND.—*Scientific*: W. H. Wollaston, 1766-1828, and Thomas Young, 1773-1829 (natural philosophy); H.

CAVENDISH, 1731-1830; Sir H. DAVY, 1770-1829; John Black, 1728-1799; J. Priestley, 1773-1804 (chemistry); Sir Joseph Banks, 1743-1820; Kirby and Spence, 1769-1819 (natural history); Arthur Young, 1741-1820 (agriculture); John BELL, 1763-1820 (anatomy); Sir J. Playfair, 1748-1819 (geometry); Sir William HERSCHEL, 1738-1822 (astronomy); William Smith, 1769-1839 (geology). *Oriental Literature*: Sir W. JONES, 1746-1794; H. T. Colebrooke, 1765-1837; William Carey, 1762-1834; Thomas Maurice, 1755-1824. *Classical Literature*: Dr. Samuel Parr, 1747-1825; R. PORSON, 1759-1808; Elmsley (Classics). *Political Economy*: Jeremy BENTHAM, 1749-1832 (Defence of Usury); MALTHUS, 1766-1834 (Theory of Population); Ricardo, 1744-1823 (Theory of Rent); Mrs. Marcett, 1769-1853 (a contributor to the Penny Encyclopædia). *Mental Philosophy*: Dugald STEWART, 1753-1828; Thomas Browne, 1778-1820; Abercrombie, 1781-1844. *Historians*: John Gillies, 1747-1836 (Greece); SHARON TURNER, 1768-1847 (England); George Chalmers, 1742-1825; A. Chalmers, 1753-1834 (Biographical Dictionary); Charles J. Fox, 1749-1806 (History of James II.); Sir J. MACKINTOSH, 1765-1832 (History of England); Malcolm Laing, 1762-1818; John Pinkerton, 1758-1826 (Geography); W. Roscoe, 1753-1831 (Italian Biography); John Nichols, 1745-1826 (Literary History); Andrew Kippis, 1725-1795 (Editor of Biographica Britannica); John Whitaker, 1735-1808; William Godwin, 1756-1836. *Travellers*: Lord Macartney, 1792 (China); J. BRUCE, 1768, 1769 (Abyssinia); MUNGO PARK, 1795-1799 (West Africa); Sir J. Barrow, 1803 (South Africa); Lichtenstein, 1805 (South Africa). *Theology*: Bishop Watson, 1737-1816 (Apology for Christianity); William Wilberforce, 1787 (Practical View of Religious Systems); Richard CECIL, 1748-1810 (Remains); Archbishop MAGEE, 1765-1831 (Unitarian Controversy); Bishop HORSLEY, 1733-1806 (Sermons); Bishop Coplestone, 1776-1849 (Necessity and Predestination). Among the Nonconformists, J. Pye SMITH, 1797-1851; E. Williams, 1770-1820; C. Winter and E. Bogue, 1752-1825 (Independents); Andrew FULLER, 1754-1815 (Baptist); Joseph BENSON, Edward HARE (Wesleyan Methodists). *Poetry*: John Wolcott, 1738-1819 (Peter Pindar); Anne L. Barbauld, 1743-1825; Mary Tighe, 1773-1810 (Psyche); Robert Bloomfield, 1766-1823 (Rural Poems); Henry K. White, 1785-1806; James Grahame, 1765-1811 (the Sabbath); George Crabbe, 1754-1832 (the poet of real life); Samuel Rogers, 1765-1855 (Italy); W. L. Bowles, 1762-1850; Thomas CAMPBELL, 1777-1844 (the Pleasures of Hope); Herbert Knowles, 1798-1817;

James and H. Smith, 1779-1844 (Rejected Addresses); DIBDIN, 1765-1814 (Songs for Seamen, &c.) The anti-Jacobin poetry of Camus and others, 1788-1810; J. Leyden, 1775-1812. *The Drama*: Mrs. Inchbald, 1753-1821; George Colman, 1762-1830; Thomas Holcroft, 1745-1809; J. P. Kemble, 1751-1823; Mrs. Siddons, 1755-1831. *Fine Arts*: Flaxman, 1755-1826 (sculpture); G. Morland, died, 1804; H. Fuseli, 1741-1825 (painters); Joseph Strutt, died, 1802; W. Sharpe, 1740-1824; Sir Robert Strange, died, 1792 (engravers).

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.—*Essays and Poems*: Mrs. Opie, 1769-1853; Mrs. Ann Grant, 1755-1838; William Hayley, 1745-1820; Anna Seward, 1747-1809; William Gifford, 1756-1826 (editor *Quarterly Review*, 1808-1824; anti-Jacobin poetry); John Leyden, 1775-1811; M. G. Lewis, 1775-1818; CHARLES LAMB, 1775-1834; HANNAH MORE, 1745-1833 (Repository Tracts); Isaac Disraeli, 1766-1848; Gilbert White, 1720-1793; W. Gilpin, 1724-1804. *Orators, Politicians*: Charles J. Fox, 1749-1806; Lord Erskine, 1754-1823; J. P. Curran, 1750-1817; William Pitt, 1759-1806; R. B. Sheridan, 1751-1816; Edmund Burke, 1730-1797; Shelburne (Marquis of Lansdowne), 1737-1805; Grattan, 1746-1820; and Flood, Irish Parliament; Whitbread, 1758-1815; Thomas Paine, 1737-1806. *Antiquities*: Richard Gough, 1735-1809; John Brand, 1743-1806. *Fiction*: Miss Burney (D'Arblay), 1752-1840; Miss EDGEWORTH, 1767-1849; Miss Porter, 1776-1850; Mrs. Radcliffe, 1764-1823; THOMAS HOPE, 1770-1831; JANE AUSTEN, 1775-1817; Miss Ferrier, 1782-1854; William Godwin, 1756-1836; Beckford, 1764-1844; John Galt, 1779-1839; J. Morier, 1780-1849; Charlotte Smith, 1749-1806. The EDINBURGH REVIEW commenced 1802, the QUARTERLY, 1809, the respective organs of the Liberal-Whig and of the Tory party. New editions of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA were published: in 1776; second edition, ten volumes, 1797; third edition, eighteen volumes and two supplements, 1810-1826; the fourth, fifth, and sixth editions, with supplements, six volumes; the seventh edition, in 1826-1842, twenty-one volumes; the eighth edition, 1859, 1860; the ninth edition began to be published in 1878. The *Daily Papers*: The TIMES, COURIER, MORNING CHRONICLE. The ANNUAL REGISTER, commenced 1758, appeared regularly each year, and is yet continued.

LITERATURE IN THE UNITED STATES.—While the UNITED STATES were mere infantile colonies, the State of New England manifested that love of literature which it has communicated to the entire union. Most of the authors, and the teachers of the thousands of schools

in the Union, are by birth and education New Englanders. HARVARD UNIVERSITY was founded, 1636; YALE COLLEGE, 1700; the University in Philadelphia, 1731; Princetown, 1746; the Academy, 1751; King's, now Columbia, College, in New York, 1754; Rhode Island (Brown's University), 1764, and Charleston University, 1786. One exception to the general patronage of learning is found in the person of the royal Governor of Virginia, the representative of Charles II., who has stigmatised himself by a few words: "I thank God we have no free schools here, nor printing. . . . God keep us from both!" Some of the early emigrants to Virginia were authors, and sent their writings to England, but *the first printing press* was at work in 1639 at New Cambridge (Massachusetts). "Before the middle of the eighteenth century the colonists could boast of such writers as Josselyn, Wood, Winthrop (the friend of Boyle), Bannister (the correspondent of Ray), and the Pennsylvanian Bartrams. In classical learning the leading controversialists, as Cotton, Shepard, Hooker, the erratic Ward, the philanthropic Eliot and William, were proficient."¹ JONATHAN EDWARDS, the great theologian and metaphysician, was born 1703, and died 1758. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, the printer, the patriot, and the common-sense philosopher, was born 1706, and died 1790. The great names of WASHINGTON, Joseph Warren, John Hancock, James Wilson, JAMES OTIS, RICHARD HENRY LEE, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, PATRICK HENRY, Fisher Ames, THOMAS JEFFERSON, and JAMES MADISON are identified with the Revolution, 1776-1783. JOHN WOOLMAN (the Quaker), 1720-1776, is distinguished for his noble, simple piety, and his singular biography. Joel Barlow and John Trumbull attempted poetry; but the literature of the UNITED STATES has since taken a position alongside that of the mother country, and is not afraid to claim an equality of excellence.

FRENCH LITERATURE FROM 1788-1815.—The political excitement in France under the revolutionary government and that of Napoleon called forth a large number of political writings from 1788 to 1796. During the Empire historical and philosophical studies were discouraged. The mathematical and natural sciences were, on the contrary, particularly patronised. The polytechnical schools and the Institute were patronised by the emperor to the exclusion of metaphysical and historical studies.

Mathematical Science: La Place, 1729-1807, whose exposition of the system of the world and celestial mechanism, 1796-1799, has been the

¹ "American Literature," by John Nichol, 8vo. 1882.

accepted theory by the learned; La Grange, 1736-1813 (mathematics); Biot, 1774-1862 (natural philosophy and mathematics); Carnot, 1753-1823 (mathematician and military organiser under the Republic and Empire); Delambre, 1749-1822 (astronomy); Monge, 1746-1818, (mathematical, and the arranger of the normal and polytechnic schools); Fourier (J. B.), 1768-1830, (mathematics and natural philosophy). *Physiology*: Bichat, 1771-1802. *Mineralogy*: Haüy, 1743-1822. *Chemistry*: Berthollet, 1748-1822; Lavoisier, 1743-1794; Vauquelin, 1762-1829; Fourcroy, died 1809. *Geology*: Cuvier, 1769-1832, also Palæontologist. *Medical Science*: Cabanis, 1759-1808; Bichat, 1771-1802. Fouquet, 1727-1806. *Politics*: Rabaut, 1743-1793, and many others perished in the Revolution; there are a large number of memoirs published by persons connected with the Revolution and the Empire, chiefly apologetic, but of questionable veracity; St. Pierre, a moralist and philanthropical writer, 1737-1810. The great *painter* is David, the founder of a school. *Historians*: Volney, the traveller, 1757-1820; Ségur the Elder, 1753-1830; Ferrand, 1751-1825; Koch, 1737-1813; Levesque, 1737-1802. Necker, the financier, 1732-1804, though a Swiss, was deeply connected with French politics.

The *Newspapers* and Journals of the Revolutionary period are more important than the literature. The principal were La Gazette Nationale, which changed into *Le Moniteur*; Journal de Paris; Nouvelle Politique; Journal des Débats. The favourite republican papers were the Courrier de Provence, edited by *Mirabeau*; Journal des Débats and des Décrets, by *Barrère*; the Patriote Français, by *Brissot*; the infamous Père Duchesne, by *Hébert*; the Défenseur de la Constitution, by *Robespierre*; La Sentinelle, by *Tallien*. Two Magazines were of importance, the Décade Philosophique, by *Cabanis*, madly atheistic, though edited by a mathematician and a moral philosopher, and the Revue Française, which became the Revue des Deux Mondes. Among the Institutions, the *Sorbonne* remained, but under restraint; the *Academy*, merged in the *National Institute*, and the *Polytechnique*.

Italian Literature from 1788-1815.—Alfieri's last days were spent in Italy after his marriage with the Countess of Albany (widow of the Pretender), 1788; he died at Florence, 1803. Filangieri, the great legal reformer, died, 1788. Rosario Gregoria (the historian of Sicily), 1753-1809; Gioja, 1767-1825; and Count Pecchio, 1785-1815 (political economy). Romagnosi, 1761-1835 (jurisprudence); Oriani (the astronomer), 1752-1832;

Brocchi (the geologist), 1772-1826. The great men of the middle of the eighteenth century were preparing for the approaching new age of Italy.

GERMAN LITERATURE FROM 1788-1815.—It is very different, as in the case of the other nationalities, to separate the writers peculiar to this period; most of them belong to the preceding and succeeding periods. *Science*: Chladin, 1752-1827; Scheele, 1742-1786 (chemistry); Werner, 1752-1817 (geography); J. C. Rosenmüller, 1771-1820 (anatomist). *Geography*: Büsching, 1754-1792; Mannert, 1758-1820; Memers, 1747-1810 (Greek and Roman geography). *Public Law*: Justus Moser, 1701-1755; P. M. Moser, 1723-1798; J. S. Putter, 1725-1807. *Political Writers*: Brandes, who died 1819; Rehberg, 1757; Gentz, 1764-1832; Goertz, 1737-1832. *Philosophy*: Tennemann (history of philosophy), 1761-1819; Mendelssohn (Moses), died 1784; F. H. Jacobi, 1743-1807, and the Schools of Philosophy after Kant, belong to the following period. *Oriental Literature*: REISKE, who died 1774, and J. D. Michaelis, who died 1791, left many Oriental scholars to labour in this period; Jahn, 1750-1816. *History*: J. V. Müller, 1752-1809; G. J. Planck, 1757-1831; A. H. Schlözer, 1737-1809; *Ecclesiastical History*: Schroekh (35 vols.), 1733-1808. *Philology*: ADELUNG (J. C.), 1732-1806. *Criticism of the Old and New Testament*: GRIESBACH, 1745-1812; HEYNE, 1729-1812 (Homer). *General Literature*, POETRY: Gleim, 1719-1803; L. BORNE (the German Voltaire), died 1784; W. Ramler, 1745-1798; UHLAND, died 1787; WIELAND, 1733-1813; Kleist, 1776-1811; Hippel, 1741-1796; Iffland, 1756-1814. *Biblical Criticism*: Semler, 1725-1794; J. G. EICHHORN, 1752-1827; J. A. ERNESTI, 1707-1781; J. G. ROSENMÜLLER, 1736-1815, and many others of minor note. *Cuneiform Inscriptions*: First deciphered by G. F. Grotefend of Hanover, in 1802; born in 1775, died 1853.

DENMARK, from 1788-1815, had no great writers, but many useful ones; the names of her poets, dramatists, &c., have a mere local celebrity, but there are a few names of more than local interest. In general literature, Birkner, 1756-1798; Foersom, the translator of Shakespeare, 1778-1817. In *philosophy*, Baden, 1735-1804. Zoega, well known for his study of Egyptian antiquities, 1756-1809; and Thorlasius, 1741-1815, for his northern antiquities; and Bugge, 1740-1815, the astronomer.

SWEDEN from 1788-1815.—The great names belong to the past, and to the period following the present; there were a large number of poets and dramatists. Botin, the historian, 1724-1790; Hoijér,

1757-1812 (philosophy); Bishop Celsius, 1716-1794 (the tragedy of Gustavus Vasa); Thorild, 1759-1808 (philosophy and politics). These writers are fair specimens, but their reputation is peculiarly local.

HOLLAND.—Many authors of local reputation. C. de Pauw (historian), 1739-1799; Helmers (poet), 1767-1813; Tollens, 1780-1856, romances and songs; BILDERDYK, 1756-1831, a distinguished poet.

RUSSIA.—KARAMSIN, 1766-1826, published his "History of the Russian Empire," 1816-1829, and with Jakovskey and others belong rather to the following period. In the SCLAVONIC literature of POLAND, or in that of the MAGYARS in HUNGARY, there is nothing beyond poems, &c., of local interest. One poet, Krasiski, who died, 1801, is called the Polish Voltaire. Niemcewicz, 1767-1800, is the Polish historian, poet, &c. Mailath, 1786-1855, is the Hungarian historian, but properly belongs to the next period.

SPAIN.—The disturbed state of Spain was unfavourable to literature. Moratin, 1758-1828, is called the Spanish Molière. Valdez, who died, 1817; Luenprejos, who died, 1812; and Noronna, who died, 1816, were chiefly lyrical poets.

State of the World 1815 A.D.

EUROPE.

NORWAY AND SWEDEN united.—All Sweden east of the Gulf of Bothnia to Russia.

DENMARK, consisting of the peninsula of Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein, with Iceland.

RUSSIA.—Extending over the whole east of Europe, from the Gulf of Bothnia and the White Sea to the Black Sea, with three-fourths of the ancient Poland, and with the old German provinces of Esthonia, Courland, Livonia. Separated from Turkey by the Pruth and the Danube on the south-west.

GERMANY.—PRUSSIA, with Westphalia and the Duchy of Posen (Poland); AUSTRIA, with Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Croatia, to which were added Lombardy and the old Venetian territory in North Italy, and Dalmatia.

The KINGDOM of BAVARIA, WÜRTEMBERG, HANOVER, and SAXONY, with about thirty confederate provinces and free towns, with Prussia and Austria, formed the GERMAN CONFEDERATION.

SWITZERLAND.—A collection of republics with aristocratic institutions generally.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.—The kingdom of the Netherlands under William of Orange.

ITALY.—The kingdom of SARDINIA, including Genoa, the kingdoms of NAPLES and SICILY, the POPEDOM. The duchies of Tuscany, Modena, Parma (independent nominally, but really vassals to Austria).

FRANCE, with Corsica.—Its old boundaries under the monarchy in 1792, except Landau and some other frontier towns.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, with Heligoland and Malta (the Ionian Islands placed under British protection, and so remained until given to the kingdom of Greece in 1864).

SPAIN, under its king (restored by the British army).

PORTUGAL, under its king (restored by the British army).

TURKEY (in Europe) had regained the Morea. Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia were under native rulers appointed by the Porte.

ASIA.

TURKEY IN ASIA, extending over Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia, Kurdistan to the Tigris, and the separating range which bounds Persia. ARABIA nominally subject to Turkey.

SIBERIA and all Northern Asia, and part of Central Asia to Russia.

CENTRAL ASIA.—Turkestan, Bokhara, Samarcand, Balk, &c., under native rulers, coerced repeatedly by the Russians, or the Persians, or the Afghans.

PERSIA, under the Kadjar Dynasty since 1795. Ceded Caspian provinces to Russia, 1813.

AFGHANISTAN.—Cabul, Candahar, &c., to the Ameer of the Afghans.

INDIA.—The *Seiks*, *Mahrattas*, the Ameer of *Scinde*, the King of *Oude*, the *Nizam*, the *Mysore*, all subject to the English East India Company, controlled by the British government. The *Mogul* at Delhi dependent upon a pension.

Birmah and *Pegu* under Birmah.

Siam, *Cambodia*, *Cochin China*, independent. French settlements in Cambodia.

Ceylon to England, *Java* and the *Moluccas* to Holland, the *Philippines* to Spain.

CHINA, with its Tartar tribes extending from Eastern Turkestan to the Yellow Sea, her northern boundary conterminous with the southern boundary of Russia. *Korea* independent.

JAPAN, at this time, closed to trade and intercourse with foreigners.

AFRICA.

EGYPT. After the expulsion of the French, 1801, Mehemet Ali, the Turkish commander, was chosen as viceroy by the Mamelukes, and appointed by the Porte Pasha of Cairo, &c., 1807. By the massacre of the Mamelukes, 1811, he became absolute master of Egypt, though nominally a vassal of Turkey.

NUBIA, and the country between Egypt and Abyssinia, under independent tribes.

ABYSSINIA and SHOA. Two independent states, more or less distracted by civil wars.

TRIPOLI. Yet under the Caramanti family, nominally subject to Turkey.

TUNIS under its Bey; ALGIERS under its Dey; both nominally subject to Turkey.

MOROCCO and FEZ under its Xeriffs. Christian slavery abolished, 1814.

NORTH AMERICA.

CANADA, and all the territory west of Canada, the exact boundary line not yet settled, under England. Also *Nova Scotia*, *New Brunswick*, *Cape Breton*, *Newfoundland*, and the *Bermudas*. In the far west, Columbia, Vancouver's Island, and the coast as far as the Russian claims.

THE UNITED STATES occupied all North America, south of the British possessions and north of the Spanish territory.

MEXICO, NEW MEXICO, GUATEMALA, YUCATAN, and the FLORIDAS yet remain under Spain.

RUSSIA claims the north-western peninsula, ALASKA and its territory.

WEST INDIA ISLANDS. Jamaica to England. Cuba, Porto Rico, to Spain. Hayti independent blacks. The Caribbees to England, France, and Holland.

SOUTH AMERICA.

The Northern territories, COLUMBIA and VENEZUELA, with PERU, CHILI, and BUENOS AYRES, to Spain.

PARAGUAY declares its independence, under two Consuls, 1813, followed by the dictatorship of Francia, 1814.

BUENOS AYRES, dissatisfied with the Spanish Cortes, declared its independence, 1810, and formed the Argentine Confederation.

GUIANA. *Cayenne* to France. *Surinam* to the Dutch. *Demerara* to England.

BRAZIL to Portugal, the residence of the royal family since 1808.

AUSTRALIA.

The English Colony of NEW SOUTH WALES, founded January 26, 1788. The colonists *first* cross the Blue Mountains in 1813.

TASMANIA occupied, 1803, as a penal settlement by New South Wales.

THIRTEENTH PERIOD.

From the Peace of Paris, 1815, to 1884.

THE history of this period of seventy years is naturally comprised under five divisions. (1) To the revolutionary changes in France, 1830. (2) To the great revolutionary year, 1848. (3) To the conclusion of the war of England and France against Russia, 1856. (4) To the overthrow of the Second French Empire by Germany, 1871. (5) To the year 1884. This portion of the history is, of course, a mere chronicle; and has to be written by the next generation.

I.—*From 1815 to the Revolution in France (the three days of July), 1830.*

1. In the opinion of some extreme politicians, "the battle of Waterloo put back the clock of the world's progress." By such, the results of the Congress of Vienna will be viewed as the establishment of a series of barriers against the liberties of the European nationalities. The congress certainly destroyed no constitutional liberties on the Continent, for there were none to destroy. Their arrangements, though much open to censure, placed the separate members of the European family to carry out changes and reforms which were impossible while under the control of the despotism of Napoleon, and so far they were beneficial. The plenipotentiaries at the congress did what they could, not always what they would. The old law of the strongest operated as usual, but checked to some extent by higher and more liberal influences. Russia, Prussia, and Austria had peculiar claims, with the great advantage of possessing the power to enforce them. The Czar claimed the whole of Poland; Prussia the whole of Saxony. Austria claimed Lombardy, Venice,

the Tyrol, with unmistakable desire to possess in addition the smaller duchies and the Papal States. England proposed to unite the Low Countries and Holland as a bulwark to the progress of France, to which France was naturally opposed, as her astute representative had some hope of absorbing a large portion of that territory within the new boundaries of that kingdom. So determined were the intentions of Russia and Prussia to carry out their exorbitant wishes, that early in February, 1815, England, Austria, and France had entered into a secret treaty to oppose them. Had there been no return of Napoleon from Elba in February, 1815, and no restored Empire of 100 days, there would probably have been a general war of the great powers, or, in other less dignified language, an unprincipled scramble for increased territory among the professedly disinterested deliverers of Europe from the aggressions of Napoleon. But after the battle of Waterloo, when the congress resumed its labours, Russia, not having had the opportunity of joining in the last campaign, was more moderate in its demands. Austria and Prussia, in opposition to the English proposal respecting the Netherlands, thought it desirable rather to attempt the revival of the old kingdom of Burgundy by the erection of Alsace and Lorraine into a separate state under the Archduke Charles, as a barrier between France and Germany. This was opposed by England, France, and Russia. Mutual concessions had to be made before the map of Europe was adjusted. (1) SWEDEN, under Bernadotte, received Norway as the reward of the rebellion of that lucky general against his master, Napoleon, the aristocratic congress thus agreeing to maintain the son of the innkeeper on the throne of Scandinavia. (2) DENMARK was thus punished for its honourable fidelity to Napoleon by the loss of Norway. (3) RUSSIA, so often the accomplice of the late Emperor of France, and whose emperor had been personally a traitor to Prussia and Austria, without the excuse of necessity, was rewarded by being left in possession of Finland, and by the addition of the major part of Poland, by which that semi-barbarian power intruded, as with a wedge, into central Europe. (4) PRUSSIA received one-half of Saxony, with part of Poland (the Duchy of Posen), and in addition the Rhenish provinces, which had formed the kingdom of Westphalia under Jerome Buonaparte; thus Prussia was placed as a barrier against France. (5) AUSTRIA received Galicia (part of Poland), Cracow being erected into a petty city republic, and in addition the Tyrol, Lombardy, and Venice. (6) The new GERMAN CONFEDERATION, the heads of which were the Emperor of Austria

and the King of Prussia, consisted of Bavaria, Hanover (raised to the rank of a kingdom), Baden, Würtemberg, and thirty other smaller states. However defective such a confederacy, it was an improvement upon the Germany of the eighteenth century, with its 300 independent sovereignties. (7) FRANCE received her old boundaries (before 1793), except Landau and other towns on the north-east frontier. She had to pay twenty-eight millions sterling as an indemnification for the cost of the last campaign, and to bear the burden of the support of a garrison of 150,000 men for three years. (8) In ITALY, Naples and Sicily, Tuscany, and the other petty duchies reverted to their old Bourbon rulers, and the States of the Church to the Pope. The republics of Venice and Genoa were not restored to their former position, not from any objection to republics of such an oligarchic character, but from the impossibility of their possessing anything but a nominal independence. The same objection might apply to the duchies and to Naples; but there was this difference, that the sovereigns of these states could fall back upon the support of the Austrian emperor, wherein the two republics must have been virtually subject, the one to Austria and the other to Sardinia. The King of SARDINIA received Genoa, by which he acquired a maritime position of importance. The Liberals raised a loud outcry at the loss of these republics, as if they had been free, constitutional, and genuine republics, whereas they had been the most narrow and tyrannical of all oligarchies, and, so far as Genoa was concerned, its union to Sardinia was a great gain. (9) SPAIN and PORTUGAL remained as before. (10) ENGLAND restored Java to Holland, but retained the Cape of Good Hope. So the French colonies were restored to France except the Mauritius. Malta was retained. It was obviously too important a point to be relegated to the care of Naples; like Gibraltar, it was held by the English Government, as much for the interests of Europe as for those of England. (11) Holland and the Low Countries were again united as in the sixteenth century, and formed the KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS. This measure was first proposed by Lord Chesterfield, as appears from his letter (Sept. 23, 1748) to Mr. Darolles. Yet "the genius of Marlborough could discern and declare the fatal obstacle" to that promising measure, in his letter to Lord Godolphin, from Flanders, December 6, 1708. "Not only the towns, but the people, of this country hate the Dutch."¹ Besides these regulations of territory, the congress

¹ Lord Mahon's "History of England," 12mo. edition, vol. ii. p. 181.

condemned the slave trade and passed a resolution condemning the piracy of the Barbary States of North Africa. The three great powers, September 26, no doubt most sincerely at the time, entered into "the Holy Alliance," an engagement to which France acceded, but which England declined to join. This league was, in fact, a mutual guarantee of "legitimacy" in political governments in opposition to popular claims. It was no hindrance to the action of the great powers in their relations with each other, while it evidenced a jealousy of popular opinion, and created a feeling of jealousy against these three great powers, which had a disturbing influence on European politics. Practically, the constitutional governments went on their way unaffected by the ultra-monarchical feeling of Continental Europe generally, except in the case of Spain and of the petty states of Italy. It required the experience and the gradual enlightenment of a third of a century before Europe was ripe to receive and manage representative assemblies and constitutional governments. Napoleon was sent to St. Helena under the custody of England.

2. One practical result of the Peace of 1815 was a gain to humanity, especially to the populations of the south of Europe, by the suppression of the piracies which, for three centuries, had been carried on by the States of Barbary, to the great disgrace of England, France, and Spain, who had, through their mutual jealousies, permitted the infliction of so much robbery and misery. After futile attempts to obtain redress for the past and security for the future, the English and Dutch fleets, under Lord Exmouth, silenced the Algerian batteries, burnt nine frigates and numerous gunboats, by a tremendous bombardment, August 27, 1816. Within three days 1,083 Christian slaves were liberated and restored to their respective countries, and the piracies ceased.

3. Some valuable remarks from the late Charles Knight and from A. Fyffe are most important in connexion with the state of England and of the Continent following the close of the war in 1815. They ought never to be forgotten. "The peace of Europe was settled, as every former peace had been settled, upon a struggle for what the Continental powers thought most conducive to their own advantage. The representatives of Great Britain manifested a praiseworthy abnegation of merely selfish interests. Napoleon, at St. Helena, said to O'Meara, 'So silly a treaty as that made by your ministers for their own country was never known before. You have given up everything and gained nothing.' We can now answer that we gained everything when we gained a longer period of repose than our

modern annals could previously exhibit. We gained everything when, after twenty years of warfare upon the most extravagant scale, the spirit of the people conducted that warfare to a triumphant end. The gains of a great nation are not to be reckoned only by its territorial acquisitions or its diplomatic influence. The war which England had waged, often single-handed, against a colossal tyranny raised her to an eminence which amply compensated for the mistakes of her negotiators. It was something that they did not close the war in a huxtering spirit, that they did not squabble for this colony or that *entrepot*. The fact of our greatness was not to be mistaken when we left to others the scramble for aggrandisement, content at last to be free to pursue our own course of consolidating our power by the arts of peace. . . . Security was won, we were safe from the giant aggressor.”¹ So far for England and its gains by the conclusion of the war. What were the gains of the Continental powers? We may quote the fullest and the clearest exhibition of their gains from Fyffe :—“In the course of the epoch now ending *the whole of the Continent up to the frontiers of Austria and Russia had gained the two fruitful ideas of nationality and political freedom*. There were now two nations in Europe where before there had been but aggregates of artificial states. Germany and Italy were no longer mere geographical expressions. In both countries, though in a very unequal degree, the newly-aroused sense of nationality had brought with it the claims for unity and independence. In Prussia, Germany had set a great example, and was hereafter to reap its reward. In Italy there had been no state and no statesman to take the lead either in throwing off Napoleon’s rule, or in forcing him, as the price of support, to give to his Italian kingdom a really national government. Failing to act for itself, the population of this kingdom was parcelled out between Austria and its ancient dynasties ; but the old days of passive submission to the foreigners were gone for ever, and time was to show whether those were the dreamers who thought of a united Italy, or those who thought that Metternich’s statesmanship had for ever settled the fate of Venice and Milan. The second legacy of the revolutionary epoch, *the idea of constitutional freedom*, which in 1789 had been as much wanting in Spain, where national spirit was the strongest, as in those German states where it was the weakest, had been excited in Italy by the events of 1796–1798, in Spain by the disappearance of the Bourbon king, and the self-directed struggle of the nation against the invader ; in Prussia

¹ Knight, “History of England,” vol. iii. p. 456.

it had been introduced by the government itself, when Stein was at the head of the state. . . . There was, in fact, scarcely a court in Europe which was not now declaring its intention to frame a constitution. The proposition might be lightly made, the desire and the capacity for self-government might still be limited to a narrower class than the friends of liberty imagined ; but the seed was sown, and a movement had begun which was to gather strength during the next thirty years of European history, while one revolution after another proved that governments could no longer with safety disregard the rights of their subjects. Lastly, in all the territory that had formed Napoleon's empire and dependencies, and also in Prussia, *legal changes had been made in the rights and relations of the different classes of society, so important as almost to create a new type of social life.* . . . The principles of the French Code, if not the Code itself, had been introduced into Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, into Naples, and into almost all the German dependencies of France. In Prussia, the reforms of Stein and Hardenburg had been directed, though less boldly, towards the same end ; and when, after 1814, the Rhenish provinces were annexed to Prussia by the Congress of Vienna, the Government was wise enough and liberal enough to leave these districts in the enjoyment of the laws which France had given them. . . . In other territory, now severed from France and restored to German and Italian princes, attempts were not wanting to obliterate the new order and to reintroduce the burden and confusion of the old régime. But these reactions, even where unopposed for a time, were too much in conflict with the spirit of the age to gain more than a temporary and precarious success. It was, indeed, within a distinct limit that the revolutionary epoch effected its work of political and social change. Neither England nor Austria received the slightest impulse to progress. England, on the contrary, suspended almost all internal improvement during the course of the war. The domestic policy of the Austrian court, so energetic in the reign immediately preceding the Revolution, became, for the next twenty years, except when it was a policy of repression, a policy of pure vacancy and inaction. But in all other states of Western Europe the period which reached its close with Napoleon's fall left deep and lasting traces behind it. Like all other great epochs of change, it bore its own peculiar character. It was not, like the Renaissance and the Reformation, a time when new worlds of faith and knowledge transformed the whole scope and conception of human life. It was not, like our own age, a time when scientific discovery and increased means of communication silently attend

the physical condition of existence. It was a time of changes directly political in their nature and directly affected by the political agencies of legislation or war. In the perspective of history, the Napoleonic age will take its true place among other and perhaps greater epochs. Its elements of mere violence and disturbance will fill less space in the eyes of mankind ; its permanent creations more. As an epoch of purely political energy, concentrating the work of generations within the compass of twenty-five years, it will, perhaps, scarcely find a parallel."¹

4. The peace was followed by a period of great distress among the manufacturing and agricultural populations both of England and the Continent. The necessary taxation, and the waste of capital in war, which gave no material productive returns, had affected all classes of society. Manufacturing industry had no market, as the purchasing power of the people had been greatly lessened ; so also with agricultural products ; there was everywhere an enforced economy in consumption ; employment for labour was difficult to find, and the labourers needing employment were increased in number by the thousands who had been released from the army and commissariat department ; wages were lowered, while the necessities of the poor were deepened by the rise in the price of food occasioned by bad harvests and by protectionist fiscal arrangements, which raised the price of corn and fettered the commerce of the country. For some years past the country had been living partly upon its capital. Since 1810 the Government expenditure had averaged nearly 109 millions annually, while in the years immediately succeeding the peace the average was sixty-five millions, a difference to the amount of fifty millions, much of which had been spent on the home industry of the land. It is true that the wealth of the country had increased during the war through the amazing extent of the steam power and manufacturing skill which carried the nation through the war, but in the absence of a market there was no field for the employment of capital and labour. Every capitalist, whether manufacturer or trader, had to limit his dealings, and to wait until there was a profitable demand. Some years had to pass away before the stagnation which followed the peace was removed. Meanwhile political discontent was all but universal ; the Government was accused of profligate expenditure ; a national debt of 800 millions necessitated heavy taxation, and, while the Government had made at once great reductions, they were not considered

¹ Fyffe, vol. i. pp. 536-547.

commensurate with the claims of a strict economy. Riots, public meetings, seditious speeches, insults to the Prince Regent in 1817, and the Peterloo meeting, and "massacre" at Manchester, 1819, with the Cato Street Conspiracy, February, 1820, followed by Lord Sidmouth's Six Acts of Repression, characterised this period of distress. The agriculturists had obtained in 1815 a corn bill which forbade the importation of wheat until it had reached the famine price of 80s. per quarter; and the manufacturing and trading classes, favoured by good harvests and the opening out of markets abroad, gradually recovered their former prosperity. Unfortunately, reckless speculation brought on a remarkable crisis at the close of the year 1825. A gradual change of public opinion on some points of our foreign and commercial policy may be marked by the appointment of PEEL as successor to Sidmouth—"the shallowest, narrowest, most *borné*, and most benighted of the old Tory crew"¹—in the Home Office, January, 1822; then of CANNING to that of Foreign Secretary on the death of Castlereagh, September, 1822; of ROBINSON (Goderich) to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and of HUSKISSON to the Board of Trade in 1823, at which time the Currency Bill, which secured the bullion standard, came into operation. Lord LIVERPOOL'S illness early in 1827, and the death of the Duke of York, the great opponent of Catholic Emancipation, led to great changes in the Cabinet. CANNING was Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1822, and had given a liberal character to our foreign policy; he became Prime Minister from April to August, 1827, when he died. Then Goderich, having failed as minister, the Duke of WELLINGTON and PEEL, in 1828, directed the national affairs (without the aid of the more liberal members of the former administration). By their influence over the Tory party they were able to carry, in opposition to the will of the king (George IV.) and of the public generally, the great measure of Catholic Emancipation, March–April, 1829. George IV., who had begun to reign on the death of George III., January 28, 1820, died, unlamented by any, June 26, 1830. His reign as king had been disgraced by the charges brought against his queen (Caroline), June–August, 1820, and by his personal extravagance and self-indulgence.

5. In FRANCE, the experiment of "that worst of revolutions—a restoration"—was tried without success. Louis XVIII. understood, as well as any Bourbon could, the times in which he lived, and desired to govern liberally, but he was, from his failure of health,

¹ W. Greg, "Essays," second series, p. 234.

unable to resist the influence of the ultra-royal and popish party, which ruled the Comte d'Artois and the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême. The Duke of Berry was assassinated, February 14, 1820; his infant child, known to us as Count Chambord, was born several months after his death. In accordance with the wishes of the Congress of Verona, December, 1822, a French army was sent to put down the revolutionists of Spain, and to declare Ferdinand VII. in 1823 (February–August). This expedition was hoped to be the precursor of a campaign on the north-east, which the ultra party had planned to recover the boundary of the Rhine, and thus connect the restored régime with the military glory of France. Louis XVIII. died, September 16, 1824, and Charles X. succeeded.

Charles X., the successor of Louis XVIII., September 16, 1824, was a true Bourbon, who had “forgotten nothing and learnt nothing” in the twenty-one years of exile. He kept three objects in view; (1) to modify or rather destroy the liberal constitution of Louis XVIII.; (2) to restore, as far as possible, the privileges of the old régime; the emigrants had already received a milliard of francs (forty millions sterling) compensation for the estates sold by the revolutionary government; (3) the establishment of the clergy in their former position—the king himself having long before identified himself as president of the congregation, a religious party, ultra-Catholic, and zealous in promoting processions, missions, and festivals, altogether in opposition to the views of the French people. Attempts were continually made to limit the freedom of the press; the National Guard of Paris was dismissed on account of some seditious cries against the Jesuits and royal family, April 12, 1827. Vilèle's ministry was obliged to resign, January 8, 1828; that of Martignac succeeded, and was again succeeded by Polignac, August 8, 1829; under his administration Algiers was taken, June 14 to July 7, 1830. This conquest produced no reaction in favour of the Court, and the new elections were completely in favour of the Liberal party. A *coup-d'état* was resolved, unknown to any one but the ministry and the *papal nuncio*! On Monday, July 26, five ordinances signed by the king and his ministers appeared in the *Moniteur*: (1) abolished the freedom of the press; (2) dissolved the Chamber; (3) altered the electoral law, so as to confine the franchise to a richer class; the practice of renewing the Chamber by one-fifth yearly was restored and the power of the Chamber limited; (4) the Chamber to meet on the following September; (5) nominated a number of ultra-Royalists and of the priestly party

members of the Council of State. These ordinances astonished and roused Paris. In the afternoon a meeting of the writers for the newspapers met in the office of the *National*, and Thiers drew up the protest, which was signed by forty-four representatives, and eleven journalists. Paris was quiet, but the funds fell. On July 27, 28, 29, began the "three glorious days of July," being the days of resistance in the history of Paris. Lafayette was at the head of the National Guard. The king, alarmed, appointed a new ministry *too late*. On the 30th, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was proclaimed General Lieutenant. By August 3, Charles X. gave up all hopes of recovering his position, and on the 4th began his journey to Cherbourg, whence he embarked, August 16, for England. Louis Philippe was called to the throne by the Chambers, August 7, and on the 9th took the oath required and was solemnly proclaimed king. The dethronement of Charles X. was a good thing in itself; but the revolution was spoiled in the mode of its accomplishment, and from this circumstance was truly "an untoward event." There are few civilised countries in which a town mob would be permitted to change the head of the Government at the instigation of a number of the gentlemen of the press, or in which a country like France would at once submit to the dictation of the mob of its capital. The success of the mob on this occasion has been an evil example to prompt the imitation of mobs in other nations. Luckily for the Revolution, the elected Chambers met and gave legality to the acts of the improvised provisional government. Had Louis Philippe refused power, except as Regent for the Duke of Bordeaux, and had the youth been placed under the care of suitable guardians, the state of France might now have been much happier and far more prosperous, and Louis Philippe and his family would have left a noble and brave act for the admiration of posterity.

6. The state of the Continent after the peace was as unsettled as in England and France, and from similar causes. In GERMANY and ITALY especially, the people were looking for the free institutions for which they had been led to hope as the reward of their sacrifices in the struggle with the common enemy, Napoleon; they saw no preparation towards the realisation of the promises made to them in the time of trial. The sovereigns were to be pitied as well as blamed; they had no past experience from contact with constitutional governments to guide them in the difficult task of framing free institutions. The men in whom they had reason to trust as guides were utterly incapable of comprehending the possibility of government under constitutional limitations. Any one reading the

self-complacent memoirs of the Austrian Prince Metternich¹ may perceive the Egyptian darkness in which the Continental counsellors were involved, and may perceive the cause of the political revolutions which make up the history of Europe for ten generations. Something might have been accomplished towards the beginning of a constitutional régime, by the improvement and extension of the old liberties, which have been connected with the mediæval kingdom and provinces ; but there was a general prejudice against all that was old, and a rage for the new. The Liberals forgot that a free constitution is a very complex affair, which cannot be improvised ; it must have roots in the past history and sympathies of the people, growing with their growth, and gradually adapted to the necessities of their position. A constitution on paper is one thing, a workable arrangement, which will guarantee freedom while maintaining order, is a different affair. The fault of the sovereigns was that they appeared to oppose the very slightest exercise of self-government, and to rely upon the repression of all free action as the only means of maintaining social order. The general discontent expressed itself in SPAIN by the rebellion of the troops under Riego in January, 1820, followed by the new constitution, March 9. So also in PORTUGAL, September 15, and in NAPLES, July 20. In the year 1821, in January, SARDINIA, and even beyond the Atlantic, MEXICO and BRAZIL, in February, declared for representative institutions. The sovereigns held congresses at Troppau in October, and at Laybach in December, 1820. Italian risings were easily put down. The condition of Spain, followed by the GREEK REVOLT and the establishment of a provisional government, June 9, 1821, were considered in the Congress of Verona, December, 1822, but the English Government, during the secretaryship of Canning, separated itself from the policy of the great powers, which countenanced France in the invasion of SPAIN to put down the insurrection and restore Ferdinand VII. to his supreme authority in 1823 (March–September). PORTUGAL was under English protection, and the American Spanish and Portuguese states were beyond the reach of the allied powers of Europe ; but the insurrection in GREECE, in its bearing upon TURKEY and the whole Eastern question (as it is called), required the most serious attention and joint action of all the great powers. From that time it has been the great disturbing element in the politics of Europe, and will remain so until the great powers lay aside their mutual jealousies and provide

¹ 4 vols. 8vo.

some settlement which will secure something like a fair and just rule over the states which are regarded as parts of the Turkish empire. No one, however attached to legitimacy and "the right divine to govern wrong," could imagine that the Greek resistance to Turkish rule was uncalled for. The insurrection commenced March, 1821, and a provisional government established June 9. To attempt the overthrow of the Turkish power was felt by the Greeks to be a "sacred duty" after the murder of the Greek patriot at Constantinople, April 21, 1822, and the massacre of 50,000 Greeks in Scio in April and May of that year. Ali Pacha, of Albania, who had long been virtually independent of the Sultan, was deposed and killed, February 5, and the Turkish government were free to put forth their full strength against the revolt; but the Greeks, by their small vessels at sea and by their guerilla parties on land, were able to maintain their position. In 1825, the Sultan engaged the Pasha of Egypt to send Ibrahim with an army to the Morea, by whom that peninsula was cruelly devastated. England, France, and Russia, July 6, 1827, offered their mediation, and required Ibrahim to cease his ravages. On his refusal the combined fleets destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino, October 26, 1827. This "untoward event," as the cold-blooded politicians of Europe called this act of mercy, was followed by the expulsion of the Egyptians from the Morea by the French troops, October 26, 1828. Meanwhile, by the abolition of the rebel Janissary troops and their extermination in the streets of Constantinople by Sultan Mahomet, June 15, 1826, the military power of Turkey was weakened, and was utterly unable to resist the Russian invasion which followed the Turkish declaration of war, December 20, 1829. The Russians advanced to Adrianople, August 20, 1829, and on the 28th a treaty was made, by which Russia acquired territory in the Circassian provinces and on the Danube. MOLDAVIA and WALLACHIA recovered self-government in local affairs. SERBIA retained its privileges; the independence of GREECE was acknowledged, and Russia was to receive four millions sterling indemnity for the cost of the war. This may be regarded as one step in the right direction towards the settlement of this vexed Eastern question. Capo d'Istria had already been installed at Nauplia as President of Greece.

7. RUSSIA was troubled by secret societies, whose object was the political amelioration of the government and of society, working by clubs and associations in the army and in the universities. The last days of the well-meaning but unstable Alexander I. were pained by the knowledge of the existence of these conspirators. On his

death, December 1, 1826, there was a military revolt in St. Petersburg, mainly organised by the members of these societies, which, affecting to defend the rights of Constantine, the elder brother of Nicholas, to the throne, aimed at effecting a revolution. By his personal bravery, Nicholas quelled the revolt, December 26, 1826. He was the great hero of the Continental conservative party, but during his whole life he had to struggle with the liberal reaction in Europe, which may be traced to the influence of GEORGE CANNING, the English Secretary for Foreign Affairs, September, 1822, and Prime Minister, April 27 to August 8, 1827. In this interval of four years England was the hope and stay of all the Liberals in the world. The independence of the SPANISH colonies in America was favoured by Canning. Mexico, Columbia, Peru, Chili, La Plata, had been completely free since the battle of Ayahuco, December 9, 1824, and after the surrender of Callao, January 22, 1826, Spain had no footing either in South America or Mexico. English consuls were first appointed and the acknowledgment of these colonies as independent states naturally followed. In defending his policy in the House of Commons, when blamed for not resisting the invasion of Spain by France in 1823, Canning remarked, "If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No! I took another way. I sought material of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that, if France had Spain, it should *not* be Spain 'with the Indies.' I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old."¹ The new world had already influenced European affairs in PORTUGAL. BRAZIL, where John VI. ruled as King of Portugal, had advocated a constitution, September 15, 1820, under the regency of Don Pedro, his son, who was proclaimed emperor, December 1, 1822. On the death of John VI., in Portugal, March 10, 1826, Don Pedro placed his daughter Maria as Queen of Portugal, under the regency of Don Miguel, his brother, who, however, usurped the crown, June 25, 1828, in the interest of the Absolutist party.

II.—*From the Revolution of 1830 to the great Revolutionary Year 1848.*

The Revolution in FRANCE, July, 1830, disturbed the quiet of all Europe. The new kingdom of the NETHERLANDS was dissolved, the union being specially disagreeable to the Belgians.

¹ Miss Martineau, "History of the Peace," vol. i. p. 408.

Between August 25 and December 26, when the great powers interfered, the Dutch were expelled, and on June 4, 1831, Leopold became King of BELGIUM, by the choice of the people and the will of the great powers, to the great dissatisfaction of the King of HOLLAND, who retained Antwerp until 1832. GERMANY had to deal with troubles in Brunswick, Hesse Cassel, and Saxony. Insurrections in various parts of ITALY were raised by Mazzini and the Carbonari conspiracy, by which the zeal of young Italy was kept alive. In SWITZERLAND the cantonal governments revised their constitutions, in some cases with opposition and bloodshed. POLAND was unfortunately led to rise against RUSSIA, December 29, 1830, but in February, 1831, the Russian armies entered Poland, and from that time to September 7, were engaged in the contest with Czartoryski, the Polish leader, until the rebellion being put down, Poland was formally annexed to Russia, February 26, 1832, and "order reigned in Warsaw." The existence of an *independent* kingdom of Poland, in a territory consisting of a vast plain without any natural defences, and surrounded by neighbours all of them inimical, is a physical impossibility even if the people of Poland were of one mind to maintain it. But the fact is that the desire for independence is confined to the Polish aristocratical nobility, while the peasantry have been placed in a better position as to liberty and property by the Russian rule. The visitation of the CHOLERA in Europe, 1831 and 1832, helped to sober the politicians, and to restore political quiet for a time—a short time, from 1832–1848.

The history of ENGLAND from 1830–1848 is mainly one of internal reform, in the attempt to repair and rebuild on the old foundations the old English constitutional liberty. A Liberal ministry, under the veteran Earl Grey, succeeded the Wellington ministry on November 16, 1830. By this ministry *the Reform Bill*, by which the franchise was transferred to the middle class, was carried June 4, 1832. Slavery was abolished August, 1833, and carried into effect August 1, 1834. Sir Robert Peel and a Conservative ministry were in office from December, 1834, to April, 1835, when the Liberals, under Melbourne, were restored, and on September 7 passed the Act for *the reform of the corporations* of the United Kingdom. On June 20, 1837, Queen VICTORIA succeeded the good-natured, well-meaning King William. In 1830 the *Liverpool and Manchester* Railway was opened. In 1838 *steam navigation* was established between England and the United States; and in 1840 the penny postage was established, January 10, and the

Queen happily married to Prince Albert, February 10. The administration of Sir R. Peel from September 16, 1841, to June, 1846, is connected with the revival of the income-tax, 1842. It was disturbed by the agitation in Ireland for Repeal under *O'Connell*, and by the potato famine, 1845, 1846; but there was time found to regulate factory labour, 1844, and to fix the endowment of Maynooth, and to establish the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. The necessity of a change in the Corn-laws appeared evident to Sir R. Peel and his colleague the Duke of Wellington. After a thorough revision of the tariff, Sir R. Peel, finding his colleagues opposed to the repeal of the Corn-laws, resigned, December, 1845, but, on Lord J. Russell's failure to form a ministry, resumed his position, and by the pressure brought to bear upon the Peers, the great measure for which Cobden, and Villiers, and Bright had laboured, and towards which the Anti-Corn-law League had so largely assisted, was carried in 1846, and the importation of corn was freed from all restrictions. The external history of England is mixed up with that of FRANCE in common with the affairs of SPAIN and TURKEY. By the death of Ferdinand VII. (September 29, 1833), the crown of SPAIN devolved upon his infant daughter, under the guardianship of her mother Christina. Don Carlos (the next male heir) raised a civil war, supported by the Absolute party. In defence of the child queen, England and France with Spain and Portugal, formed the *Quadruple Alliance*, April 26, 1834-1839. The weakness of the Sultan of Turkey emboldened his vassal, Mahomet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, to seize Syria, to pass the Taurus, and defeat the Turks at Konieh, December 20, 1832. Russia came to the help of Turkey, and by the treaty of Unkiar Salassi, July 8, 1833, the Sultan agreed to close the Dardanelles to foreign powers whenever required by Russia; but, meanwhile, Mahomet Ali had made peace at Kutayeh, May 6, 1833, and had received SYRIA as his reward for rebellion. In 1839 Mahomet again asserted his independence, and beat the Turks at Nezib, June 25. England and France interfered to save the Turkish Empire, though their plans were not in exact accordance, France being not unwilling to allow the Pasha to possess Syria. The English fleet took St. Jean d'Acre, November, 1841. Peace was made by the great powers and Turkey, by which Syria was taken from the pasha, and the invidious control of the Dardanelles by Russia was set aside, July 13, 1841. A settlement with the United States of America respecting the Oregon boundary was made in June, 1846. On the retirement of Peel, Lord John Russell was Prime Minister. Soon after, in 1846, 1847, Ireland suffered to a

large extent the misery of famine through the failure of the potato crop, and in 1847 England suffered from the great commercial panic.

The history of the experiment of a rebuplican monarchy in France has an interest in itself. Louis Philippe was punished by the very success of his selfish ambition, the crown was to him one of thorns. He had to govern as a king a republican people, to be ever talking of patriotism and liberty, and to be at the same time obliged to impose restrictions on popular licence. He had to consent to the abolition of the hereditary peerage, and to a series of measures opposed to his own wishes, and perhaps to the opinions of the real friends of liberty and constitutional government in France; he lived in daily danger of assassination, and the course of his government was continually disturbed by conspiracies and revolts. The Duchess of Berry, from April to November, 1832, was busy in the west of France. There was a serious riot in Lyons, April, 1834, and Louis Napoleon made two attempts upon his throne, one at Strasburg, 1836, and another at Boulogne, August, 1840. After this the body of the great Napoleon was removed from St. Helena to Paris, and entombed in the Invalides, December 15, 1840. Friendship with England was maintained, though there were serious collisions respecting Otaheite and the missionary Pritchard in 1842-1844, and the affair of the Spanish marriages in 1846, arising out of the desire of Louis Philippe to secure the preponderance of his dynasty in Spain, which had a tendency to lessen the friendship of the two powers. The death of the Duke of Orleans, the eldest son of Louis Philippe, July, 1842, was deeply felt by the king. Soult, Thiers, Guizot were the leading ministers; but, under every administration, the grasping demands of the king for donations to the different branches of his family lowered his personal character, in spite of his recognised ability and respectable family life. Towards the close of 1846 some very disgraceful revelations of official and social degeneracy and corruption aroused a cry for reform in the electoral system. About 200,000 electors returned the members for the Assembly, of which 120,000 returned only eighty-one, and 98,000, 273, the thinly-peopled rural and ignorant districts returning the larger number. Reform banquets were instituted as means of influencing public opinion: these were forbidden. An émeute began on February 22, 1848, and continued on the 23rd and 24th, on which day the king abdicated, yielding to the power of a mere mob. The abdication in favour of the Comte de Paris was of no avail. The republic was proclaimed, and the king and family took refuge in England. Thus, by a singular Nemesis, the king, raised

by a mob revolution, was dethroned by a mob revolution after a rule of eighteen years. "Louis Philippe smiled with pity in 1830 on the imbecility and blindness with which Charles X. rushed on his fate; yet, eighteen years later, he himself showed the same blindness, the same ignorance of the danger before him, and of the spirit of the people which he governed. Human prudence failed in the one as completely as divine right blinded the other. Louis Philippe thought himself both right and safe as long as he scrupulously kept within the letter of international law, without perceiving that he totally nullified the spirit. Neither he nor M. Guizot perceived the danger of their position, and that in case of an émeute the monarch's unpopularity would array the National Guard as well as the people against them, and that, in the face of this, the army would be reluctant to act. To be sure, the Government was always able to prevent an émeute, and in this indeed was their only chance. But a variety of circumstances deceived the Government into allowing full play and space for the commencement of the insurrection, which, once aroused and in conflagration, it was no longer possible by human means to repress."¹

Between 1830 and 1848 SPAIN had been the victim of many changes in its government and policy. Ferdinand VII., the most thoroughly unprincipled and contemptible of all Spanish monarchs, had died, September 29, 1833. Christina, his widow, was supported against the Carlists by France and England. This rebellion ended in 1839. The violence of political parties, the Moderados, the Progressistas, and others, made regular government impossible. The queen, as Regent for her daughter, was compelled to consent to re-establish the impracticable constitution of 1812. Then followed a series of changes of rulers in the name of the young queen, Espartero, Narvaez, O'Donnell, Isturitz, &c. Isabella was declared of age, April 4, 1846, and was married, October 10, 1846, to her cousin, through the insidious policy of Louis Philippe. PORTUGAL was relieved from Don Miguel's despotism in 1833 by the restoration of Donna Maria by her father Don Pedro, the ex-Emperor of Brazil. In SWEDEN, Oscar had succeeded Bernadotte (Charles XIV.), March 8, 1844. In DENMARK, Charles VIII. succeeded Frederick VI., December, 1839. Frederick VII. succeeded, January 20, 1848, and framed a new constitution, which became a source of trouble to his successor. Sultan Mahomet, who had destroyed the Janissaries, died in 1840, and was succeeded by Abdul Mejid as

¹ Crowe, vol. v. pp. 559, 600.

Sultan of TURKEY. The great powers placed Otho, a young Bavarian prince, incapable from the very first, on the throne of GREECE, August 30, 1832. By a revolution, the people forced upon the king a charter of representative government, March 16, 1844. ITALY: Rome, under the POPES, was disturbed by revolutionary attempts. Gregory XVI. succeeded Pius VIII. in 1831, Pius IX. succeeded in 1846. SARDINIA: Charles Albert succeeded Charles Felix in 1831. He was liberally disposed. In NAPLES and SICILY insurrectionary movements began at Palermo January 12, and at Naples January 29.

There were occurrences of importance in CANADA which deserve notice. A rebellion in 1837, 1838, was put down, and Lord Durham sent on a special mission, 1839, which led to the union of the two Canadas, and to great changes in the administration. In INDIA, apart from the general and gradual union of the several states which belong purely to the history of India, the Indian Government, desirous of securing Afghanistan as a barrier against Russia, interfered in the dissensions of the chiefs, and deposed Dost Mohammed, the Ameer, in 1839, placing Shah Shuja in his place. This feeble ruler was supported by English troops, but by a sudden blow the English residents were murdered, and the army compelled to fall back on India in the midst of winter. Four thousand English troops, with their camp followers, were destroyed, November, 1841, to January, 1842. The British armies under Pollock, Nott, and Sale were again in possession of Kabul, September, 1842. SCINDE was conquered in 1843. The first SIKH War, 1845, 1846; the second, 1848, 1849, ended in the annexation of the PUNJAB. There was also a dispute, and practically a war, with China from 1839-1842. The discovery of the gold mines in California in 1847, followed by the further discovery of gold in Australia, 1851, was a great event in connexion with the impulses given to manufactures and trade over the whole civilised world.

III.—*From the great Revolutionary Year, 1848, to the Conclusion of the War of England and France against Russia (the Crimean War), 1856.*

The Republic (the second in France) of 1848, like its predecessor, the first Republic of 1793, prepared the way for the Empire. As in 1830, when the real interests of the French people, which required a firm executive controlled by constitutional checks, were sacrificed to the rage for a mere change of dynasty, so, in 1848, the popular impatience and the vanity of the leaders of the people, especially in

the case of the imaginative and eloquent Lamartine, led to the rejection of the Comte de Paris and of the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, under whom, the chief place being occupied, the area of public strife and contention might have been limited to practical arrangements bearing upon the reparation of great mistakes and the provision of security for the future. An assembly of the reformed representatives of the nation, meeting and acting under the authority of the crown, might have secured the support of the army and the control of the most revolutionary party, who regarded a revolution as an end in itself, rather than as a means to a desired end. France would then have been spared the loss of life in the civil war carried on in Paris during the year, followed by the election of Prince Napoleon, the *coup-d'état* of December 2, 1851, and the Empire of December 2, 1852, culminating in the disaster of Sedan, September 1 and 2, 1870, and the German occupation which followed.

The provisional government under Lamartine and his colleagues, endorsed by Louis Blanc, issued a decree recognising the right of every workman to labour; for which purpose public workshops were instituted. These, of course, became centres of idleness and waste. They proved so costly, that they were, after a fair trial, abolished. On May 4 the new Assembly met, and the provisional government was succeeded by an executive committee of six, under Lamartine, L. Rollin, Arago, and others. The Social Democrats, a minority, with no votes in the National Assembly which met May 4, attempted to dissolve the new government on May 15; but their attempts were unsuccessful. The proposed dissolution of the week before was the occasion of the fiercest insurrection on June 23. Cavaignac was appointed to the command of the troops as Dictator. All attempts at conciliation failed. The Archbishop of Paris was accidentally shot while attempting to urge the insurgents to accept terms of peace. In the four days' fighting 12,000 of the insurgents were killed. On June 28 peace was restored, and Cavaignac was made Head of the Executive Committee and President of the Cabinet. The workshops were closed, so also the more extravagant clubs, and eleven newspapers were silenced, and the state of siege (martial law) was continued. Thus the Republic was obliged to follow and exceed the restrictive measures of the Bourbon kings. Louis Blanc and Caussidière fled, to avoid inquiry into their connexion with the late insurrection. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon, had been elected, and took his seat in the Assembly, September 21. In the new constitution, through the influence of

Lamartine, the choice of the future president was not given to the Assembly, but to the people, and the members of the families who had reigned in France were not excluded from election. Thus, by this unfortunate influence of Lamartine, in this respect the evil genius of France, the Republic, which his eloquence had saved, was, after a brief period, destroyed. Had the choice of a president been left to the Assembly, Cavaignac or Lamartine would have been elected to the presidency, and the new Republic would have had a better chance of a fair trial. The new constitution was read for the first time, October 20, with singular haste, and on December 10 Louis Napoleon was declared president by 5,500,000 votes, while Cavaignac obtained only 1,500,000, and Lamartine only 18,000 ! The Chamber consisted of 750 paid members, chosen for three years ; the President for four years, who was not eligible for re-election until an interval of four years had elapsed. The administration of the new President fairly began when the Assembly, which may be called "constitution," was dissolved and superseded by the National Assembly which met May 28, 1849. Then followed a series of struggles on the part of the friends of the President and of the parties opposed to him. Universal suffrage had been limited, May 31, 1850, by which the majority of persons opposed to the president were secured. Of this the President complained. The Assembly, by a majority of 446 against 278, was willing to agree to a revision of the constitution, but this was a merely numerical majority, and not a legal one of *two-thirds* of the voters present. Nothing was left but a civil war or *coup-d'état*. The President chose the latter, relying on the prestige of his name and the unpopularity of the Assembly, and supported by the army, which regarded his cause as that of order, seized during the night of December 2, 1851, some 80 to 100 of his leading opponents in the Assembly. The provinces heard of the *coup-d'état* with indifference. Between December 3 and 4, barricades had been erected in Paris, but they were easily taken ; the loss of life was small, though it is asserted that many hundreds of peaceable persons were wantonly slaughtered on the boulevards by the soldiers. This is improbable, and no proof has been as yet given of the fact. The act of the President was accepted by 7,500,000 votes against 650,000 opponents. The President was for ten years. A new Assembly of 261, with a senate, met, March 29, 1852, and on December 1 the crown was offered to the President at the Palace of St. Cloud, and on December 2 the Emperor Louis Napoleon III. made his public entry into the capital. To most Englishmen, and to a small band of high-minded Frenchmen, this act of the President

—the *coup-d'état*—was regarded as without excuse, as treacherous, false, and treasonable, a deed which could not be condoned by its success, or by the general approval of the French people. From an English point of view this feeling was correct. But fairly to judge it, we must look back to sixty years past. The original fault is traceable to the decline of legal government, which commenced after the dissolution in September, 1791, of the National Assembly of 1789. The struggles of parties, and the helplessness of the Assembly, without the support of any military power, then gave the Municipality, which had the command of an armed force, the real government of France, and set aside all legally-constituted authority. From that time, under the Directory, under the first Empire, and after the Restoration, during the reigns of Louis XVIII., and Charles X., and Louis Philippe, the government of France, in its popular assemblies, had never fairly represented the opinions of France. The authority of the Assemblies, as well as that of the executive, had lost all the prestige of sacredness which is associated with the rule of fixed, inviolable, constitutional law. Only one power was recognised, that of *Force*. On this Charles X. relied, and was beaten; so also Louis Philippe, and was beaten. *Force* established the Republic, and upheld it for a while, though no one except the mob believed in it. The same *Force* (*might* overcoming legal *right*) at the disposal of Louis Napoleon set aside the Assembly, and by so doing avoided a civil war for a time; and Napoleon then, supported by *Force*, re-established the second Empire. This act, to him and to his party, and to the vast majority of French people, was what every one expected, and seemed to be in the natural order of things. And so it was in the natural order of things, in periods of revolution when the old time-honoured rule of legal government has been swept away. Revolutions, dynastic changes, and republican reaction may be occasionally necessary, but they imply such a sacrifice of principles and consistency in public leaders as is destructive of all confidence in their honesty. The Assembly “had come to be regarded as a plague, a mischief, and an enemy.” Only when it ceased to sit did France begin to breathe freely. The plain truth is that no nation, not even the French, can bear to be for ever in hot water. Ceaseless political agitation is an element in which neither material prosperity nor moral well-being can live. No one can defend the conduct of Louis Napoleon, but, in extenuation, he was fighting for his life, and by his prompt action he saved France from a civil war.

The immediate effect of the revolution of February, 1848, in Paris, was most disturbing to the peace of all Continental Europe.

In *Italy* the desire for reform had been practically shown in the attempts of the Duke of Tuscany and of the population of Lucca to carry out changes in the administration of affairs. A new Pope, Pío Nono, elected in 1846, evidently favoured the efforts of the Liberals, and permitted the formation of a National Guard, while Charles Albert, King of *SARDINIA*, annoyed at the seizure of Ferrara, in the Pope's territory, by the Austrians, threatened resistance. There was an insurrection at Palermo early in 1848, and a constitutional government established in Naples, in Tuscany, in Sardinia, and the papedom. The events in Switzerland gave an additional impetus to the revolution in Italy. The people of Milan drove out Radetzky, the Austrian general, after a fight of five days (March 18-23). The *VENETIANS* rose, March 22, and took Mazzini as their leader. The King of Sardinia declared war against Austria, and gained a battle at Goito, but was utterly defeated by Radetzky at Custoza, July 25. Milan, supported by Garibaldi, held out for a brief period. King Ferdinand of *NAPLES* put down the revolution, May 15, and rescinded the grants of liberties made only four months before. The new *ROMAN REPUBLIC* did not work well. On November 15, Count Rossi was assassinated, and soon after the Pope escaped from Rome, and sought the protection of the King of Naples at Gaeta. The Duke of *TUSCANY* fled, February 7, 1849, and a republic was established; but the reaction soon followed. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, was defeated at Novara, March 23, 1849, and was succeeded on his abdication by his son, Victor Emmanuel II. The republic of Rome, under Garibaldi and Mazzini, was dissolved, and Rome occupied by a French army, sent most inconsistently by the new French Republic, July 2, 1849. *VENICE* yielded to Austria, August 22, 1849. The Grand Duke of *TUSCANY* and the Dukes of *PARMA* and *MODENA* returned to their old positions, and the *POPE* was in Rome, April, 1850, but controlled as well as supported by a French army, to the great benefit of Rome itself. Then there was again "order" in Italy. The revolution, however, was only smothered, the fires yet burned. In the dominions of the King of *SARDINIA* preparations were making for reform and national reorganisation, the benefit of which was seen in 1859 and 1860.

In *GERMANY* there had been for some time a general and deep discontent. It is very difficult to exhibit a clear and precise narrative of the revolution and reaction in brief. Perhaps the chronological order of the years 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, and 1852 may be the most lucid arrangement of the course of events. *The year*

1848: (1) there were almost simultaneous risings of the mobs in VIENNA on March 13 to 15, and in BERLIN March 18 to 20. There was also a revolt in PRAGUE (Austrian dominions), put down June 12, 1849, and what was really a serious affair, an insurrection in Hungary, June, 1848. (2) In the smaller states, BADEN, NASSAU, and BAVARIA, there were similar disturbances and new constitutions granted; the King of BAVARIA, Louis, resigned March 21, in favour of his son Maximilian. (3) At Frankfort, 500 respectable Germans, belonging to all the different states, met, and on March 21 constituted themselves a PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, which was *at once* recognised by the legal diet of the confederation; the *National Assembly* opened May 18, under Archduke John, of Austria, as the head of the new provisional central government, and this also was acknowledged by the confederate diet on July 12. The archduke appointed a ministry of seven; no opposition had been offered. Here was a fair opportunity for the explication and redress of practical grievances, but the unpractical character of the Continental liberals destroyed all chance of benefit. The discussion turned on abstract principles, and there was no agreement—a mere war of words, to the great disgust of the people and to the mortification of all friends of rational constitutional liberty. (4) While the assembly was sitting German troops had been sent to protect the insurgents in SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, who had risen against the rule of DENMARK, and a truce had been agreed to by the German commander for seven months, August 27. This was confirmed by the National Assembly, September 16. A riot was the consequence, which had to be put down by force on September 18. (5) In PRUSSIA, the result of the insurrection in Berlin, March 9–18, was the calling of a National Assembly, which met May 22; another on November 9, adjourned to Brandenburg on the 27th, came to no satisfactory agreement with the king and was soon dissolved. (6) In AUSTRIA, the insurrection in Vienna, March 13, 1848, caused the flight of Prince Metternich. A new Constitution was promulgated March 4, 1849. The Emperor Ferdinand left for Innsbruck. On July 22 a National Assembly met in Vienna, and the emperor returned to Vienna, August 12, but had soon to leave for Olmutz. Vienna was in a state of anarchy without any responsible government until the army rallied and re-took it, October 30. On December 1, Ferdinand abdicated in favour of Francis Joseph. (7) The HUNGARIAN rebellion was a serious injury to the power and prestige of Austria. In June, 1848, Kossuth was the ruling mind in the diet. On September 11 the independence of Hungary was proclaimed, and on September 28

a provisional government was established, but the Slavonians and Croats took up arms for Austria. The insurgents in Vienna were assisted by the Hungarians, but, when Vienna had been captured by Windischgrätz in October, the power of Austria, assisted by Russia, June 17, 1849, prevailed; after various battles bravely fought by the Hungarians, the resistance ended September 28, Kossuth escaping to Turkey. In 1849, the Frankfort parliament continued its sittings. (1) Gagern tried to exclude Austria from the proposed new confederacy, but Austria formally claimed admission. On April 27, the imperial crown was offered to the King of Prussia, but declined. May 20-30, AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, and HANOVER withdrew from the Parliament, which then removed its sittings to Stutgardt, where it was dispersed by the King of Würtemberg, June 18. (2) There were riots and disturbances, from May 3 to July 23, in SAXONY, BADEN, and BAVARIA, which were put down by the Prussian troops. (3) In PRUSSIA, a new parliament was assembled February 26, composed of two chambers, which closed April 27; another, which met August 7, came to an agreement with the king February 6, 1850. (4) The Constituent Assembly for Prussia met at Berlin, May, 1849, to form a new confederation *without* Austria. (5) AUSTRIA, by the help of Russia (May to August), succeeded in putting down the Hungarian revolt. In 1850, April 21, a parliament met at Erfurt, under the influence of PRUSSIA, and a congress of German princes at Berlin, May 10. By the advice of Russia, AUSTRIA, with BAVARIA and WÜRTEMBERG, revived the old Diet of Frankfort (the old diet of the Confederation), so that Germany had for a while two diets and two rival powers. The Frankfort Diet sent help to the Elector of Hesse against his refractory parliament, November 1, but PRUSSIA interfered and took possession of Cassel. Conferences between Prussia and Austria took place at Olmutz and Dresden, May to December, and the result was that in 1851 Prussia at last joined the Frankfort Diet, apparently giving up its ambitious schemes, June 12, 1851. In 1852, on January 1, the Emperor of Austria withdrew the constitution which had been presented, March 4, 1849, so that, *with the exception* of a constitution in Prussia and the setting aside of the constitution in Austria, and the unsettled state of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, the old order of affairs seemed to be restored. The affairs of SCHLESWIG and HOLSTEIN exhibited the dishonesty, duplicity, and greed of both Prussia and Austria, most disheartening to all who desire to see legal governments established on the foundations of justice and righteousness, so as to command the confidence of the populations under their rule. Not less painful is the

conviction of the untrustworthy character of the most solemn treaties, even when the great powers had solemnly pledged and guaranteed their observance. The desire for German unity in 1848 was strongly felt, not only in HOLSTEIN, which was purely German, but also in SCHLESWIG, with its mixed population of Danes and Germans. Both these duchies were united to the Danish crown, but HOLSTEIN could only be held by male heirs as a fief of the German empire. So also Schleswig, by its own law of succession. The first mistake was made by Christian VIII. of Denmark, who, influenced by Russia, issued in 1846 letters patent extending the Danish law of succession by females to the whole of the Danish possessions, on his death-bed, January 20, 1848. Frederick VII., his son, succeeded, and as soon as the news of the Revolution of Paris was received a demand arose for the union of Schleswig and Holstein, and the admission of Schleswig also into the German Bund. A provisional government for the two duchies was appointed with the Duke of Augustenburg at its head. Frederick William IV. of Prussia pledged himself to support the duke. The diet at Frankfort approved. German troops defeated the Danes and entered Jutland, May 18, but were recalled by Russian influence. An armistice at Malmo was concluded, August 26, for seven months. War broke out again in 1849, April 26, but after the loss of a battle and two of their best ships the Danes agreed to another armistice on the basis of the separation of Schleswig and Holstein, July 10. Peace was concluded between the Danes and the King of Prussia on the part of the Bund, July 2, 1850, by which the duchies were left to the Danes, but the rights of the Bund in Holstein were admitted, though the Danes agreed to take no steps towards the incorporation of Schleswig. Again, in the Treaty of London, May 8, 1852, Austria, Prussia, England, France, Russia, and Sweden guaranteed the integrity of the Danish monarchy, including Schleswig and Holstein; all the dominions then united under the crown of Denmark were to fall to the Duke of Sonderburg-Glücksburg; the rights of the Bund in Holstein and Lauenberg were reserved, and the Duke of Augustenburg relinquished for a pecuniary consideration his claim: to this treaty, however, the German states were no party. Hitherto Schleswig and Holstein had one common assembly and political constitution; this was altered, and then again, November 13, 1855, Frederick VII. framed a new arrangement, by which all the Danish states were united in one Rigsraad; but this settlement held only a few years.

ITALY, after the first outbreak in 1848, remained quiet; Austria,

the duchies, the Pope, and the King of Naples held their position in peace. SARDINIA, under Victor Emmanuel, was preparing for resistance to Austrian rule. AZEGLIO and CAVOUR were his able ministers, by whom great reforms, civil and ecclesiastical, were carried out. Though the Jesuits had been expelled in 1848, there were yet left 23,000 ecclesiastics in this small kingdom. By the SICCARDI LAW of 1850 all ecclesiastical courts, corporations, and privileges were set aside, and forbidden to receive or purchase landed property. In 1854 a bill was passed, empowering the government to abolish monastic bodies. There was also a free press, as well a constitutional representative government. By the advice of Cavour, Sardinia joined England and France in the war with Russia.

SWITZERLAND.—The League of the Sonderbund by the seven Catholic cantons, 1846, was declared illegal by the diet, July 29, 1847, and defeated at Lucerne by Dufour, November 24. In 1848, the radical party were anxious to help the revolutionists in Germany. In *Belgium* the revolution of 1848 in France created no disturbance.

ENGLAND was slightly affected by the events in France in 1848. There were Chartist meetings and processions, met by the firm resistance of the middle classes, April 10, 1848, and a rash attempt at rebellion in Ireland by a Protestant gentleman, Smith O'Brien, and others, in 1848 (July 29). The appointment of Romish bishops to English sees produced violent expressions of dissatisfaction, and the passing of an act against the use of the titles in question, August 1, 1851. The opening of the *International Exhibition*, May 1 to October 1, was a great event, the beginning of a series of those peaceable rivalries in which the civilised powers displayed their treasures and resources. It is singular that, amid the rejoicings of the friends of peace and progress, the news arrived of the discovery of gold in New South Wales and in Victoria, 1850; this, following close upon the discoveries of gold in California, was a cheering fact in connexion with the impulse given to the manufacturing and agricultural community, and to the trade of the world. Between 1848 and 1850, the production of gold had been calculated at five to six millions annually, but from 1851 to twenty-four millions at least. It is easy to understand how the industry of producers and exchangers is stimulated by an increase of the purchase power of the community to the amount of twenty-four millions annually. The death of Sir Robert Peel, July 2, 1850, was felt as a national loss, and that of the Duke of Wellington, September 15, 1852, called

forth the respectful feeling of the Government and the people. Through the alarm created by some foolish speeches in France, the volunteer movement began and has maintained increasingly its popularity. In February, 1852, the ministry of Lord John Russell came to an end. Lord Derby succeeded, with Disraeli as his Chancellor of the Exchequer, a change which alarmed the friends of free trade and caused the Free Trade League to revive. In December, Lord Derby resigned, and Lord Aberdeen formed a coalition ministry of Whigs and Conservatives of the Peel class, Gladstone being Chancellor of the Exchequer. As a war minister, Lord Aberdeen, able and excellent as he was, did not meet the excited expectations of the nation, so that in 1855 he resigned, and Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister (Gladstone retiring from office).

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA had since 1815 increased in population and in wealth, as well as in the enlargement of their territory. Louisiana had been sold to them by Napoleon, 1812. Texas had been wrested from Mexico, 1835, by American settlers, and was admitted into the Union, 1845. At the conclusion of the war with Mexico, 1846, 1847, California and New Mexico were ceded to the United States. Soon after, the gold discoveries in California gave an impulse to production and trade unequalled even by the immediate results of the discovery of America in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The peace of Europe was broken in 1853 by the resistance of France and England to the natural yearnings of RUSSIA for a southern extension of its boundaries at the expense of Turkey. This craving for a southern outlet communicating direct with the Mediterranean *must* and *will* be satisfied, despite the natural jealousy of England for the safety of India. England may, for a time, check the advance of Russia by the support of Turkey and Persia, and perhaps of Afghanistan and other barbarians of Central Asia ; but, considering the power which England possesses of influencing peacefully the action of Russia by forwarding and helping its reasonable aspirations, would it not be well for statesmen to reconsider and weigh in the balance of humanity our past policy of suspicion and resistance to Russian advances in Central Asia ? It is admitted by all the opponents of Russia that the barbarous Turcomans and other tribes of Central Asia, together with the Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcund, exercised the most grinding oppression on the populations under their control, and were guilty of continual raids upon their neighbours, murdering with extreme

cruelty the old and helpless, and carrying the young and the female population into slavery, while under Russian rule there is peace, prosperity, and personal freedom. England cannot perform the duty of reducing these barbarians to order; Russia is in a position to do it, and has done it to a large extent. We know that Russia cannot drive us from India, but it may make India a burden to us; while, on the other hand, we may seriously injure Russia by the support of Turkish tyranny and misgovernment of the provinces bordering upon Russia, which call upon Russia for help, and which Russia is compelled by public opinion to help. The Emperor Nicholas sounded the English Government, and desired a peaceable recognition of the interests of all parties. Russia was exposed to danger by the sudden collapse of Turkey, and desired, in connexion with England, to provide for the coming catastrophe. There is no proof that the Emperor Nicholas aimed at any unfair advantage. He was neither a plotter nor a robber; he proposed that which will surely come to pass, a division of the so-called Turkish Empire by the European powers. The proposal might be premature, but there was nothing in it, or in his attack on Turkey, which necessarily called for the war. The so-called Crimean War, which cost England fifty millions sterling and the loss of thousands of its bravest men, and which effected nothing but a brief delay, was a great mistake. Turkey obtained a reprieve, but France and England incurred losses which will effectually prevent a repetition of their sacrifices to again uphold Turkey. We might have first tried to arrange with Russia measures for the protection and advancement of the interests of the Christian races in the Turkish Empire. It is questionable whether the bare possibility of some distant improvement of the degraded Christian races in Asiatic Turkey warranted the loss of so many valuable lives, to say nothing of the wasted millions, the product of English industry.

The ostensible cause of the war was the guardianship of the holy places in Jerusalem, and a claim to the protectorate of all Greek Christians in Turkey, claimed by Russia. To admit the latter would have implied a right of constant interference in the internal affairs of Turkey; but, then, this is and has been the normal condition of all the alliances of England and France, and of all the Continental powers, with Turkey, not a year passing without some such interference on behalf of Catholic, Greek, or Protestant populations in Turkey. They had interfered in Greece, and in Syria, in the Roumanian provinces, and in Servia. There was nothing specially aggressive in the demands of Russia. The real fact, so far

as England was concerned, was the want of confidence in Russia and the jealousy for India, while the Emperor of France had to resent the cold civility of the Czar, and embraced the opportunity of increasing the friendship of England as well as of gaining military glory. In June, 1853, the English and French fleets were in Besika Bay; on June 26 the Russian troops crossed the Pruth, and on November 30 the Russian fleet destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. The Turks declared war against Russia, October 4, the English fleet entered the Black Sea, December 3, 1853, and on March 27 and 28, 1854, England and France declared war against Russia. Sardinia in the following year joined England and France. An English army of 20,000 and a French army of 50,000 landed in the Crimea, and the battle of Alma was won, September 20. Sebastopol, the Russian harbour and arsenal, was besieged and bombarded, October 17. The battles of Balaclava, October 25, and Inkerman, November 5, proved the bravery of the allied armies; but the great storm of November 14, in which there was a great loss of life and of ships to the value of two millions sterling, was a serious calamity. The Emperor Nicholas died, March 2, 1855, and was succeeded by Alexander II. In the month of September the French took the Malakoff, and the English were repulsed in the Redan after capturing it—both of them forts of Sebastopol. Sebastopol was no longer tenable, and was abandoned. On March 30, 1856, peace was made at Paris at a congress in which Austria and Prussia were parties. Russia gave up the protectorates, promised to create no arsenal on the Black Sea, to reduce her fleet to the limits of that of Turkey, &c.

IV.—*From the End of the Crimean War, 1856, to the Overthrow of the Second French Empire in 1871.*

THE SEPOY MUTINY.—It was well that ENGLAND was freed from the burden of the Crimean War before the outbreak of the SEPOY MUTINY in INDIA in March, 1857. The ostensible cause was the distribution of greased cartridges, the use of which perilled the purity of caste in the mind of a Hindu, and was equally offensive to the Mahometans. The Mogul puppet sovereign at Delhi and the ex-King of Oude became, in the course of the struggle, more or less implicated in the revolt. The massacres of the Europeans in Delhi and at Cawnpore in June were followed by swift retribution. Lucknow was captured by the British forces, September 25, and Delhi, September 27, and due punishment inflicted on the murderers.

On August 28, India was placed under the direct government of the crown. A little war with PERSIA, in which an expedition was sent up the Persian Gulf, November, 1856, to March, 1857, and a war with CHINA, 1855, in which Canton was taken, December 29, 1857, and which ended in the Peace of Tientsin, June 26, 1858, are the mere episodes of the Indian Mutiny. Very soon another war with China, in which France was allied with England, began in 1860. Peking was captured by the allied forces, and the royal palace burnt, October 12. Peace followed on November 5, 1860.

ITALY FREE.—The Emperor Louis Napoleon had in early life been identified with the Liberal conspiracies and risings in Italy in 1831. Great things were anticipated from his interference when he became the ruler of France, and the intervention against the Republic of Rome, in 1848, was probably undertaken mainly to anticipate Austria's action. On January 14, 1858, Orsini, one of the fellow-conspirators with Louis Napoleon in 1831 made an attack on his life by a murderous machine, in which 141 were injured, and several were killed on the spot. This attempt was a means of expediting Louis Napoleon's action on behalf of Italy, to which he had been pressed by Cavour in 1856. The official reception of the ambassadors, January 1, 1859, by Louis Napoleon, excited some alarm, by his declaration to the Austrian ambassador that "the relations of that empire with France were not so good as they had been." Victor Emmanuel, on January 10, stated in the SARDINIAN parliament, that "he could not be insensible to the cry of pain which proceeded from so many parts of Italy." On April 23, AUSTRIA threatened war unless Sardinia disarmed in three days. Sardinia refused, and Louis Napoleon declared that, if Austria crossed the Ticino, he should consider it a declaration of war against France. The Ticino was crossed, April 29, and the war began. Napoleon hoped to free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic." Tuscany, Parma, and Modena (without their dukes) identified themselves with Sardinia. The battles of Magenta, June 4, and Solferino, June 24, were gained by the French and Italians. Then Napoleon hesitated. The four quadrilateral fortresses, Verona, Peschiera, Legnano, and Mantua, required to be besieged, and might hold out a long time. It was also probable that Prussia might assist Austria. Napoleon, therefore, made peace at Villafranca with the Emperor Francis Joseph on July 11. This peace was completed by the Treaty of Zurich, November 10. LOMBARDY was yielded to SARDINIA, TUSCANY and the DUCHIES refused to receive back their old rulers, and soon, in 1860, united themselves to Sardinia. The

Confederation of Italy, presided over by the Pope, and, as such, depending upon France, which was the favourite idea of Louis Napoleon, could not be carried out. Cavour, regardless of the difficulties of Louis Napoleon, was disgusted with this treaty, and resigned his position in the cabinet. FRANCE received NICE and SAVOY as the reward for her interference which, though its immediate results were disappointing, paved the way for the realisation of Italian unity. Knowing the discontent imminent in NAPLES and SICILY, GARIBALDI, the great free-lance of the nineteenth century, raised 2,000 men in Genoa, May 5, landed in Sicily, which received him as a liberator, and, passing over to Italy, entered Naples, September 8. King Francis (who had succeeded Ferdinand in 1859) fled, and Garibaldi had the satisfaction of presenting the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to Victor Emmanuel. The fortress of Gaeta was taken by the regular Sardinian troops, the Pope's army was defeated, and in February, 1861, Victor Emmanuel was KING OF ALL ITALY (except Venetia and the city of Rome). Cavour died, June 6, a martyr to labour, anxiety, and the quackery of Italian physicians. His death was followed by brutal rejoicings, prompted by the priesthood among the Irish in America and England.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH INTERFERENCE IN SYRIA.—In 1860 fresh proofs of the inefficiency of the Turkish government, or, in other words, additional instances of the uselessness of all attempts to reform and resuscitate this *brutal empire* were afforded in the state of Syria. In May, 1860, the Druses of Mount Lebanon fell unexpectedly upon the Maronite Christians, and murdered men, women, and children of all ages. The Turkish troops are charged with joining in these atrocities. In Damascus, 6,000 Christians were murdered, and the rest would have been destroyed, except for the interference of Abd-el-Kader, the former Emir of Algeria. France occupied Syria until June, 1861. Lord Dufferin, as the English commissioner, and Fuad Pacha, representing Turkey, punished the more guilty, the governor was hanged, and peace restored.

RUSSIA AFTER THE WAR.—The emancipation of the serfs, in 1857, was a measure of policy as well as humanity. That it has been accompanied by social evils and the existence of great disorders is no proof of its impolicy or failure. We are now learning, both in the West Indies, in the Southern States of America, and in the case of Russian serfdom, the difficulty of righting an old-standing wrong. The Polish insurrection in resistance to the conscription, roughly carried out in January, 1863, ended, in spite of the remonstrance

of England, France, and Austria, with the annexation of POLAND to Russia. Nihilism began, after this, to trouble the empire.

WAR OF THE SECESSION IN THE UNITED STATES.—Jealousy on the slave question had long threatened the separation of the South. The election of President Lincoln hastened the outbreak in 1860. On December 20, South Carolina seceded from the Union. Lincoln entered on his duties, March 4, 1861. A terrible war succeeded, remarkable for the large number of combatants in the armies, for the generals who commanded, and for the loss of life during the contest. On April 9, 1865, General Lee surrendered Richmond to the United States. On April 14, Lincoln was assassinated by a slave-holder fanatic. On May 30, President Johnson proclaimed an amnesty. The constancy and dogged determination of the United States in this war, and the moderation and lenity after their victory called forth the admiration of the civilised world. In this war the Confederates were decidedly guilty, and upon them the responsibility of the guilt of bloodshed rests. They had their full share of representation in Congress, and had power sufficient in the House of Representatives and Senate to fight constitutionally for their real and fancied interests, for which they were able to secure due deference. But they preferred war, and lost all they contended for. The merciful conduct of the United States Government cannot be too highly applauded. Much is it to be regretted that in England so large a number of the higher and middle classes sympathised (from ignorance of the true state of the question) with the Confederates. The people of England, generally, instinctively took the side of the United States Government. The result was the abolition of slavery in the United States—the restoration of freedom to more than four million of negro slaves. While the civil war was raging, 1862, Mexico was invaded by an English, French, and Spanish force, seeking the reparation of certain injuries inflicted on English and French subjects. Reparation being made, the English and Spanish retired, April 9, 1862. The French remained, and occupied Mexico, June 5, 1863. The Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, was invited to assume the government as emperor, and on June 26, 1864, he and the empress entered Mexico. By the United States Government this proceeding was regarded with jealousy, and the Emperor of France was compelled to withdraw his troops in 1866. The result was the fall of the imperial power and the death of Maximilian, who, with two of his generals, was shot by order of Juarez, June 19, 1867. The excuse was a decree of Marshal Bazaine, the French general, which threatened

death to all Mexicans taken in arms against the emperor. In thus opposing the establishment of an empire in Mexico by French armies, the Government of the United States consistently maintained the principle of the non-admission of any additional European power on the continent.

GERMANY AND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.—On November 15, 1863, Ferdinand VII., King of DENMARK, died, and Christian IX. succeeded, according to the protocol of 1852. Austria and Prussia demanded the abrogation of the new constitution, but the Danish Rigsraad passed an act for the formation of a new assembly, consisting of deputies from Denmark and Schleswig only, excluding, however, Holstein and Lauenburg. German troops entered Holstein, December 23, and invaded Schleswig in February, 1864. A truce was granted, May 12. England wished France to interfere, but France declined. Jutland was overrun. Peace was made, August 1, when the Danes ceded Holstein and Schleswig to Austria and Prussia, who had thrown aside the pretensions of the Duke of Augustenburg, and claimed them as German territory by the right of conquest. By the Convention of Gastein, August 14, 1865, Holstein was to be governed by Austria, and Schleswig by Prussia, while Lauenburg was purchased by Prussia. The *robber powers*, for such they were, quarrelled, and in June, 1866, both duchies were taken possession of by Prussia. The tedious narrative of this nefarious transaction is justified by the light thrown upon *the unworthy and disgraceful conduct of both Prussia and Austria*. BISMARCK, the prime minister of Prussia since 1862, a man of iron will, and untroubled by any scruples as to the moral character of political transactions, is generally regarded as the responsible party. DENMARK was, no doubt, partly to blame. This is admitted by Bryce.¹ If Schleswig and Holstein were fiefs of the empire, where was the difficulty in the way of their being held by the King of Denmark, who had a claim of 800 years standing, since 1026? It was a singular conservatism to set aside the old landmarks. Buccaneering is not a safe proceeding for an old-established government in the nineteenth century, nor a wise one, as time will show. Europe has lost in the spoliation of Denmark a useful and respectable state, which true policy would have strengthened, as holding the key of the Baltic. Russia has gained in Europe an advanced position through Denmark in the west, which may some day be a matter of importance to the injury of civilisation and progress.

¹ "Holy Roman Empire," p. 426.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EMPIRE OF GERMANY BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.—The struggle, the final struggle for pre-eminence in Germany, which had begun in 1740, in the war against Maria Theresa for Silesia, recommenced. Saxony, Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Nassau, were at once overrun by the Prussians, then Bohemia, and at Königgrätz the Austrians were defeated, July 2. This was called the battle of Sadowa, the Prussians lost 10,000 men, the Austrians 20,000, besides 18,000 prisoners. On August 23 this *seven weeks'* war ended by the Treaty of Prague. Austria was excluded from Germany, resigned all her rights in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, and paid forty millions of dollars for the expenses of the war (receiving half of that sum on account of Schleswig-Holstein). Peace was also made with the minor states, which made cessions of territory, and Würtemberg and Baden agreed to place their armies at the disposal of Prussia. Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort were annexed to Prussia. All the states to the north of the Maine agreed to form a NORTH-GERMAN CONFEDERATION UNDER PRUSSIA. On July 24, 1867, the first representatives of the Confederation met at Berlin.

SPAIN had been engaged in a war with Morocco in 1859, and in 1863 joined England and France in an expedition to Mexico for redress of sundry injuries, which were obtained. The reign of Isabella II. was characterised by the changes of the premiers, occasioned sometimes by court caprice, and more frequently by military pronunciamientos. In 1868 General Prim headed a revolution, and Isabella fled to France. For a brief period Amadeo, of the family of the King of Sardinia, occupied the throne, 1870, but retired in 1873, as he found his position painfully perplexing. The so-called republic was then restored.

FRANCE.—In 1860 and 1861 the Chambers began to assume a greater liberty of speech. An attempt to re-establish an empire in Mexico, under the Archduke Maximilian, partly succeeded, 1864–1866, but, on the settlement of the Secession War in the United States, Napoleon was obliged to withdraw his troops from Mexico, and the new empire came to an end, Maximilian being barbarously shot (June 19, 1867) by the Mexican Juarez in retaliation for an edict issued by the French General Bazaine directing every Mexican insurgent to be shot. The views of the emperor had extended to the increase of French colonies in the east of Asia. Saigon, in Cambodia, was taken in 1859, and Lower Tonquin was ceded to France in 1863.

ENGLAND.—The history of the period in England is mainly one

of internal reforms: (a) *Education*, a Minister of Education appointed, 1856; the Elementary Education Act, 1870, and the appointments of the Civil Service by competition; the removal of religious tests in the Universities, 1871; with the reduction of the excise duty on paper, 1860, 1861. (b) *Trade* had its checks and crises in November, 1857, and May, 1866; the cause of free trade lost its able advocate, Cobden, in 1865, by whom the treaty of commerce with France in 1860 had been settled; in September, 1866, the Atlantic telegraph was successfully carried out, the beginning of that quick communication of thought now extended over the civilised world. The years from 1868–1870 were not good years for the mercantile or any classes. (c) *Irish reform*: The disestablishment of the English Church in Ireland, 1869. Before this there had been manifestations of *Fenianism* in Ireland, and an attempt was made to release Irish prisoners in Manchester, 1867, and to blow up Clerkenwell prison, in which some Irish were confined. The agitation for Home Rule increased in 1870. (d) *A new Reform Bill*, extending the franchise, was passed by the Derby-Disraeli ministry in 1867. (e) *The warrant* legalising purchases of commissions was cancelled by the Queen, so that the old system of promotion by purchase was set aside by a doubtful use of royal prerogative, 1871. *Several changes of ministry* took place. In 1858 Lord Palmerston retired. Lord Derby with Disraeli succeeded in February; the Jews admitted to Parliament in July. In 1859, Lord Palmerston with Gladstone (June) succeeded. After the death of Lord Palmerston, October, 1865, Lord J. Russell, with Gladstone as leader in the Commons. This ministry resigned in June, 1866, and Lord Derby and Disraeli took office. One great measure was passed by this administration, the union of the North American colonies as *the Dominion*, 1867. Lord Derby retired February, 1868, and Disraeli was Premier until December, when the results of the elections caused him to resign, and GLADSTONE succeeded, 1868. By the death of the Prince Consort, December, 1861, the Queen lost her beloved husband, and the country the services of a man of sound judgment and high character. Lord Brougham died, May 7, 1868, the last of the great Liberals who formed the opposition from 1810–1830. The Great Exhibition of 1862, in London, May to November, exceeded its predecessor. By the remissness of the government, the *Alabama*, privateer, fitted out by friends of the Confederates, was permitted to sail from Liverpool, and was the cause of great loss to the commerce of the United States, for which England became morally responsible. By the detention of some English in Abyssinia, the

English Government were obliged to send out an expedition for their rescue, the king, Theodore, was killed, Magdala was taken, and the captives released, after which the English forces returned, 1868.

GREECE.—By a revolution, which was the expression of the national contempt, *Otho* was deposed, October 24, 1862, and retired to Germany. Attempts were made to secure an English prince, but without success. George, son of King Christian of Denmark, and brother-in-law of the Prince of Wales, was made king, March 3, 1863, and the English Government relinquished the protectorate of the *Ionian Islands* to the care of Greece.

The next great revolution in Europe, the SUBVERSION OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE (the second) UNDER NAPOLEON III., was no doubt provoked by the increase of power and territory accruing to Prussia after Sadowa in 1866. Why the Emperor of France did not interfere in 1866 is a mystery not yet fully explained. Whether he was led by Prussia to expect the extension of France to the Rhine frontier by the sacrifice of Belgium or not, he certainly expected some addition of territory in the direction of the Rhine. Singularly, Spain, which had proved so fatal to the great Napoleon I., was the ostensible occasion of the war between France and Prussia. In Spain, after a reign remarkable for civil broils and ministerial factions, Isabella was dethroned, September 30, 1868. Early in July, 1870, a petty German prince, Leopold, of Hohenzollern, was proposed by the Spanish Government, with the permission of King William, as a candidate for the Spanish throne. This excited great commotion in France. On July 13, 1870, the French ambassador demanded that Prussia should give an assurance that the candidature of this prince should not be renewed. This was out of the question, and was obviously intended to produce war. France declared war on July 19. The emperor relied on Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden being willing to take the opportunity of throwing off the control of Prussia, but was mistaken. Public opinion in Germany had been purified by the experience of the evils of French domination under the first French Empire. The war was for predominance in Germany, whether the Emperor of France or the King of Prussia with the Confederation. The choice was between a foreign or a home power. Never had France been so unprepared, she had scarcely 300,000 troops to oppose a million of Germans. On August 4, the French were defeated at Weissenberg, on the 6th at Wörth and at Saarbrücken. Marshal Bazaine was shut up in METZ, with 170,000 men, and the army at SEDAN, under the emperor, was beaten, September 1, and had to surrender on the 2nd,

and the emperor and 84,000 men, fifty generals, and 5,000 officers were prisoners to the Germans. After this followed the siege of Paris, which commenced on September 19; Strasburg capitulated, September 27; Bazaine, at Metz, with 170,000 men, capitulated in October, with three marshals and 6,000 officers. King William's head-quarters were fixed at VERSAILLES, October 5, 1870. Then, while Paris was being besieged, and while brave efforts were being made by the French provisional governments at Tours and Bordeaux to resist the invaders, plenipotentiaries from all the southern states of Germany met at Versailles, October 15, to form a *German Union*, comprising the south as well as the north, November 15-25. On December 4 the King of Bavaria proposed that the President of the Confederation should be entitled the Emperor of Germany. So, then, on January 18, 1871, KING WILLIAM was proclaimed at Versailles EMPEROR. On January 28, Paris surrendered. A treaty of peace was signed, February 26. France ceded ALSACE (not Belfort) and LORRAINE, including Metz and Thionville, and agreed to pay five thousand millions of francs: (the Emperor Napoleon retired to England to live in privacy until his death, January 8, 1873). The conclusion of this war raised the NEW EMPIRE OF GERMANY to the front place in Europe. This empire was no reproduction of the nominal empire which had ceased in 1806, and which presumed to have inherited rights over France and Italy, &c., from Charlemagne. It was an empire over confederate states, each having its own rights intact and each bound to specified duties, an empire framed to meet the conditions and requirements of the nineteenth century. The policy of the treaty in some of its provisions, which were hard and unjust, is questionable; it will not be considered as binding on France when France is powerful enough to *revendicate* the lost territory. At present the disparity of the military power and resources of France and Germany make the politicians doubt the possibility of such an effort on the part of France. They forget that France is and will be on this point a *united* will, and by its compactness able, *when ready*, to act with *united power*. Germany labours under the disadvantage common to all confederations, and the next generation may not be disposed to make the sacrifices which a citizen army must endure in war merely to hold Lorraine and Alsace from France. No one acquainted with the past history of France and its vast resources can doubt but that France, with a government which knows how to rule France, and twenty years' peace, will be a power competent to compel the reconsideration of the treaty of 1871.

V.—*From the Overthrow of the French Empire, 1871–1884.*

The events of general interest affecting the peace of Europe during the thirteen years of this portion of the narrative are few; they are (1) the *settlement of the German Empire*; (2) the *Russian and Turkish War*; (3) the *Egyptian outbreak*; (4) the *present unsettled condition of Egypt* in its relations with Turkey, and the *Eastern Question*.

1. *The settlement of the German Empire*.—The terms of the peace with France were needlessly severe; the confiscation of 4,700 square miles of territory, including two most important fortified towns, Metz and Strasburg, with the exaction of two hundred millions sterling, was an abuse of power which France will never forget. The first Imperial Parliament consists of (a) a *Bundesrath* formed of the representatives of twenty-five governments constituting the Bund, in all fifty-eight votes; PRUSSIA, seventeen; BAVARIA, six; SAXONY and WÜRTENBERG, four each; BADEN and HESSE, three each; MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN and BRUNSWICK, two each; the rest each one vote, six; (b) *the Reichstag*, consisting of 382 members elected by manhood suffrage. The Chancellor of the Empire is President of the Bundesrath. The population of the Empire is about 41,000,000, and the area is about 217,770 square miles. This Imperial Parliament met for the first time, June 15, 1871.

2. *The Russian and Turkish War*, like all previous wars between these powers, originated in the uneasiness of all the Christian populations of Turkey, expressing itself in insurrections more or less important, for which Turkish officials will always afford a reasonable ground. The cry against Turkish tyranny which follows the summary repression of rebellion excites the sympathy of the millions of their co-religionists in the Russian Empire, and becomes a power which the autocratic Czar cannot withstand. The revolts in Bulgaria, and the attempts of Servia and Montenegro to sympathise actively, had called forth the admonitions of the great powers, and at length a conference was held at Constantinople, December 24, 1876, without any result. Russia declared war, April 24, 1877; the Danube was crossed, June 27. Plevna was invested, but made an obstinate resistance under Osman Pacha, and was not taken till December 11. The Balkans were crossed and Adrianople occupied January 20, 1878, while in Asia Kars had been captured, November 8, 1877. Angry negotiations followed between England and Russia

with the usual inutility. Turkey, with a Russian army at the walls of Constantinople, was compelled to sue for peace. After a preliminary truce, the Peace of San Stephano was concluded between Russia and Turkey, March 3, 1878. The conditions were not unreasonable, compared with the terms granted to France by Germany. The independence of MONTENEGRO, and SERVIA, and ROUMANIA was secured with some additions of territory. A new state, BULGARIA, extending from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, was to have self-government under a Christian prince tributary to Russia. A Russian army of 50,000 men was to remain in the country for two years. Russia was to receive part of *Armenia* and the *Dobrudscha* with 300,000,000 of roubles. The Dobrudscha was to be given to Roumania in exchange for a part of Bessarabia, which had been taken from Russia in 1856. Meanwhile England (under Beaconsfield's administration), highly excited and alarmed at the additional territory taken from the Porte and at the increased authority over Turkey which Russia would naturally exercise, endeavoured to interest all Europe to interfere. By way of precaution a secret treaty between England and Turkey was framed by which Turkey agreed to give up Cyprus to England, and England engaged to defend Asia Minor against Russia, on the humiliating terms of paying to Turkey the usual tribute paid by Cyprus to Turkey. This agreement was accepted by Disraeli, *knowing at the same time the impossibility of England's defending Asia Minor* against Russia, while, in fact, pledging England to a war with Russia at any time whenever a Turkish pacha might tempt a Russian general to an aggressive act. By the mediation of Germany, a congress was held at Berlin, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, June 13 to July 13, and the Treaty of Berlin superseded the Treaty of San Stephano. The territory added to MONTENEGRO, SERVIA, and ROUMANIA was diminished. The new BULGARIA was divided; one portion between the Danube and the Balkans; the other portion received the name of EAST ROUMELIA, and was to receive a Christian governor-general and separate administration, but to remain tributary to Turkey. AUSTRIA received the military possession of BOSNIA, HERZEGOVINA, and NOVI-BAZAR. GREECE had to rely upon the hope that the advice given to Turkey to cede EPIRUS and THESSALY would be effective. Russia received in Asia Batoum, Kars, and a considerable territory. *All the influence of England had thus been employed to depress the Christian nationalities* and to inspire Turkey with confidence in the support of England against Russia. We need not wonder that Russia pays no

attention to the remonstrances of England against her progress in Central Asia.

3. *Then followed the Egyptian outbreak.* It was obvious to all politicians that the opening of the Suez Canal, October 16, 1869, greatly increased the importance of Egypt and of its ruler, the *Khedive Ismael*, who, from the beginning of his reign in 1863, had devoted himself to the material advancement of Egypt, reckless of the expense, which had been met by loans amounting to 80,000,000 sterling. A pressure on the part of the bondholders, supported by England and France, established a dual control over Egyptian finances. This was followed by the formal deposition of Ismael on June 26, 1879. Mahomet Tewfik, his son, succeeded to his position, but not to his authority. A *so-called* national party, composed of all nationalities (except the Egyptian fellaheen, the real nation) was formed. The usual universal remedy, a parliament (an assembly of notables) was called together. Arabi, an influential officer, supported by the army, became Prime Minister, and made himself a power superior to that of the Khedive and the parliament, February to May, 1882. The ruffian mob of Alexandria, prompted by some unknown power, rose in insurrection and murdered all the Europeans within their power, June 11, 12. The English fleet bombarded Alexandria, July 11, and an army was sent from England under General Wolseley, who, on September 13, defeated Arabi, and thus England, master of Egypt (and of the Khedive, the nominal ruler) became responsible for Egypt, as France declined to assist either by ships or troops. In the difficult task of maintaining the authority of the Khedive while compelled to act independently, and while opposed by all the foreign population, bent entirely upon the maintaining their own interests at the expense of the Egyptian population, the administration of England has been unsatisfactory. Hicks Pacha was permitted to invade the Soudan, in order to re-establish the dominion of Egypt, which had become hateful to the natives. He and his army were destroyed by the army of the MAHDI, a Mahometan prophet, whose head-quarters were at *El Obeid*, November 3, 1882. All the Arabs, and the natives of Nubia to the south of Egypt and of the Soudan, supported the Mahdi. In order to rescue the Egyptian troops in Soudan, General Gordon volunteered his services, important from his personal character and influence, and was accepted as the agent and representative of the English government, 1884. He proceeded to Khartoum, which he has managed to hold against hordes of opposing Arabs and natives. The policy of the English Government was almost daily impeached

in the English Parliament, sometimes with reason, but mostly in a factious spirit, and has been yet more severely and more reasonably censured by the Continental press. An expedition to Suakin, which defeated Osman Bey, a supporter of the Mahdi, is to be followed by an expedition up the Nile in the autumn of 1884. Meanwhile the finances of Egypt are yet more deeply involved in debt and unable to meet the interest of the loans advanced by European capitalists. The proposal of England to reduce the interest upon this debt made to a conference of the great powers has been rejected by the influence of France, and the Earl of Northbrook, a member of the cabinet, has been sent to Egypt as the representative of English authority, to act as circumstances may seem to require. After making every allowance for the peculiar and extraordinary difficulties in which the English ministry were and are yet placed, it must be confessed that these have been aggravated by the indecision and vacillation of its policy in Egypt, in its anxiety to lessen the susceptibility of France. 4. Hence *the present unsettled condition of Egypt in its relations with Turkey* (the suzerain power) and as *connected with the Eastern Question*, in which all Europe is interested. England is afraid to set aside altogether the claims of Turkey lest Russia should be encouraged to further aggression. She is willing to make great sacrifices to ensure the prosperity of Egypt by regulating its finances and by securing justice to the fellahen, but is continually embarrassed by her own delicate consideration of the claims of the bondholders. There is no European sympathy for England in this affair. Our French and German allies especially cannot understand the conscientious scruples of our administrators which impede the prompt exercise of our power, while they would probably resent the firm exercise of it as an unwarranted assumption. The English Executive is thus placed in a trying position, from which it is difficult to escape with credit; it has erred on the side of a prudent and just consideration of the claims of other powers, with an anxiety to deal justly with all parties, especially with the Egyptian *fellahen* (the peasantry): this high principle and honesty is not generally understood. An expedition under Lord Wolseley is now in Egypt to relieve Khartoum, in which General Gordon is resisting the rebels successfully.

There are other difficulties looming in the future, arising out of the action of the FRENCH Government in MADAGASCAR, 1882-1884, now at war with the Hovas, the only civilised race in that island, partially christianised by the labours of the missions of the London Society, followed by those of the Church of England; and again yet more from

the determination of the French to form, not merely a factory, but a colonial empire, in connexion with their old settlement at Saigon in Cambodia. They have conquered TONQUIN, and the empire of ANNAM, of which it formed a province, 1882, 1883, and by this conquest have come in collision with CHINA,—an important fact, from the danger of the complications which may arise with the European powers interested in the trade with China.

The Local Histories and General Review.

ENGLAND, 1870-1884. — Under the Gladstone administration since December, 1868. In 1870, the *first Irish Land Act* was passed, providing, for compensation to outgoing tenants, for loans to landlords for improvements, and to tenants desirous of purchasing their farms. The *Elementary Education Act* was passed, authorising the establishment and support of public schools by *School Boards* elected by the ratepayers, while continuing the government grant to denominational schools where the conscience clause is carried out. Voting by ballot, a long-contested question, was settled, 1872, and the Supreme Court of Judicature Act, by which the Courts of Equity and Common Law are consolidated and a Supreme Court of Appeal is established was passed in 1873.

In the effort to meet the scruples of the Roman Catholics, the *Irish University Bill* was proposed, which, however, was regarded as unsatisfactory by both Protestants and Catholics, and was lost in 1873 (March). Parliament was dissolved in January, 1874, and, the result of the elections proving unfavourable to the ministry, Gladstone resigned, and in February the *Disraeli administration* commenced, of which Sir S. Northcote was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The purchase of the Canal shares belonging to the Khedive, 1875, and the official proclamation of the queen as Empress of India, 1877, were followed by the second Afghan War in India, 1878. By the interference of this administration the Russians were persuaded to moderate the requisitions of the Treaty of San Stephano, and agree to the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878). Discontent in Ireland expressed itself in the *Home Rule Association*, first commenced in 1870, the object being to obtain self-government, and the *Irish Land League* in 1879 (October), the object of which was to destroy landlordism in Ireland by encouraging the non-payment of rent. The Irish party in the House of Commons employed every means of obstructing public business possible by the forms of parliamentary procedure, from 1877 and

through following years. Regulations amending the rules of the House have been tried with some small success. Parliament was dissolved, March, 1880, and, the elections proving unfavourable to the ministry, Disraeli, who had become Lord Beaconsfield (1876), resigned, and Gladstone, with Childers as Chancellor of the Exchequer, succeeded to the direction of public affairs (April, 1880).

An *Irish Coercion Act* was passed March 3, 1881, and an *Irish Land Act*, August 22, providing a court of commission to settle differences between landlords and tenants, granting practically free sale, fair rents, and fixity of tenure. These Land Acts were interferences with the rights of property, very questionable, and involving difficulties extending to the whole landed property of the United Kingdom, and cannot be justified, but may be excused on the grounds of necessity arising from the peculiar situation of Ireland, in which property is, with some justice, regarded as having neglected its duties, while enforcing with a high hand its rights. In 1882 (May 6), Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke, secretaries to the Irish Government, were barbarously murdered in Phoenix Park (Dublin), just one month after Mr. Forster, a man of high character, had retired from office, dissatisfied with the ministry in refusing to continue the Coercion Act in Ireland. With him and his views the country at large sympathised, for, while desiring a liberal direction of Irish affairs, it was felt that the *first duty* of the executive was the protection of the loyal people of Ireland, comprising the bulk, if not the whole, of the sober, orderly farmers, traders, and others of the population. In the discharge of this first duty the Government has not been sufficiently prompt and earnest. An Irish Government must not only be just, but firm and vigorous. A *new Coercion Act* was enforced, July 14, and fresh stringent rules of procedure in Parliament to meet the obstructions of the Irish party were adopted, November 27. In 1883, the advanced party of the Irish rebels (in England, Ireland, and America), with whom the Irish party of Home Rule and the Land League disclaim all connexion, commenced a novel mode of action, the most atrocious of all, the attempt to destroy life and property by dynamite explosions. The first was in Glasgow, in January; in King-street, Westminster, in March; and at Birmingham, in April; and again in April, 1884, at Victoria Station and Scotland Yard. The session of 1884 was productive of the new Franchise Bill, which added about two millions of voters for the rural districts. This Bill passed the Commons in July, but was rejected by the House of Lords. During the entire

session the Opposition party emulated the obstructive conduct of the Irish party in continued questionings and censures (to some extent excusable) respecting the affairs of Egypt and South Africa.

FRANCE, again a republic after Sedan, had destroyed the Empire (September 2, 1870). The National Assembly at Bordeaux made peace with Germany, February 26 and May 10, 1871. By the insurrection of the Communists of Paris, followed by the destruction of life and property between March 28 and May 22, during which period these anarchists held possession of Paris, it is evident how narrowly France escaped a renewal on a large scale of the atrocities of the Reign of Terror in 1793.¹ THIERS was chosen President of the National Assembly, August 31, 1871, but by a coalition of extreme parties found it necessary to resign, May 24, 1873. Great efforts were made to obtain the restoration of the monarchy under the Count de Chambord as Henry V., which failed through the political obstinacy of the Legitimist Bourbons (honest on this point at least). General MacMahon was appointed President of the Republic for seven years, November 19, 1873. In February, 1875, the republican constitution was settled. A *Chamber of Deputies*, elected by manhood suffrage, for four years; a *Senate* of 300 members, seventy-five of which were to be appointed by the National Assembly, and afterwards by the Senate for life; 225 elected by the colleges of deputies, and delegates of the communes for nine years; a *President* for seven years, with powers almost equal to those of a constitutional king. Four years were spent in opposition on the part of the Liberals against the Legitimist, Orleanist, and Buonapartist parties; and also against the partisanship of the President suspected of Ultramontane and Royalist predilections. A *Dufaure* ministry in March, 1876, was followed by *Simon's* in December, 1876, and by a reactionary ministry, headed by the *Duke de Broglie*, May 16, 1877. Thiers died, September 4, the truest of patriots in his latter days. In the new elections, October, the large majority was Liberal, but the President, MacMahon, attempted to appoint a Royalist ministry; he was, however, obliged to accept *Dufaure*. The International Exhibition in Paris took place, 1878, and in 1879 the *President, MacMahon*, wisely resigned, and *Jules Grévy*, the President of the National Assembly, succeeded as President of the Republic, January 30, 1879, while

¹ "Paris under the Commune in 1871," by the Rev. William Gibson, crown 8vo., 1871.

Gambetta succeeded Grévy as President of the Assembly. The legislature was removed from Versailles to Paris; *Waddington* was minister, and an amnesty was granted to the Communists; the clerical schools were discouraged, and education was completely secularised by *Jules Ferry*, the Minister of Education; *Freycinet* succeeded *Waddington* as minister, December, 1879; the Jesuits in France were suppressed, March 30, 1880; *Jules Ferry* became minister, September 19, 1880; an expedition, which took possession of Tunis to protect French rights, occasioned many complications in foreign affairs in 1881; on November 13, *Gambetta* was minister, and *Paul Bert* had the charge of public worship, *Gambetta* having resigned because defeated on a motion to establish the *scrutin de liste*, January 27, 1882; *Freycinet* succeeded him in the foreign affairs, January 30, but resigned July 29, when defeated on the measure required for the protection of the Suez Canal during the Egyptian rebellion; *Du Clerc* succeeded him. French claims on Madagascar, and the French protectorate of Annam (established 1874), led to the bombardment of Tamatave, the port of the Hovas of Madagascar, and to an invasion of Tonquin, and the conquest of that country in 1882, 1883. The death of *Gambetta*, December 31, 1882, was a shock to all parties, and a loss to France. *Fallières* succeeded *Du Clerc*, January 29, 1883, and resigned, February 18; *Jules Ferry* became minister, February 21. The war in TONQUIN appeared to be settled by peace with CHINA in 1844, but was renewed in July to August by the treachery of the Chinese officials. War is now raging on the borders of Tonquin and on the sea-coast of China, to the great inconvenience of all the nations trading with China. The aggressions of France upon the civilised Hovas of Madagascar are painfully noticed by the philanthropists of England and the Continent as an attack upon a rising civilisation from which great results were anticipated.

GERMANY.—The first Imperial Parliament met, June 15, 1871. The whole business of the government from that time to 1884 has been confined to domestic legislation and the contest with the Pope and the Roman Catholic clergy. The Falk Laws were passed 1874 and 1880, but the policy of the court desiring a reconciliation with Rome led to their modification in 1882 and their repeal in 1883. Compulsory civil marriage was established, 1874. German commerce with West Africa, South Africa, and the Pacific has created a desire to form German trade factories, or colonies, in West and South Africa, which is encouraged by the government, and has been already partially carried out.

HOLLAND (*the Netherlands*) celebrated the Amsterdam National Exhibition, May 1, 1883. By the death of the Prince of Orange the succession to the crown devolves upon a girl, now four years old, the daughter of King William III. by his second marriage, January, 1879. The Dutch possessions in the East Indies are Java, Celebes, part of Borneo and of Sumatra, and the west of New Guinea, with the Moluccas. In the West Indies Curaçoa and Surinam, on the South American coast. A war which began with the Mahometan sultan of Achen (Sumatra) is not yet settled. The Dutch people are apprehensive of interference on the part of Germany with the freedom and independence of their nationality. To some German politicians, the addition of Holland with its seaports appears desirable to complete the consolidation of the empire, and make it a maritime power of the first order. Causes of offence, and reasons which may appear to justify the interference and control of Germany may not be wanting. Judging from the utterly unjust and unprincipled conduct of the German cabinet in the case of Schleswig and Holstein, the Dutch have no reason to hope that any regard for the public law of Europe (if such law can be said to exist) will be any hindrance to their annexation to Germany.

BELGIUM, under King Leopold II., an intelligent and liberal monarch. The Liberal ministry, under Frère Orban, 1878, has been succeeded by a reactionary ministry in 1884, which is already interfering with the educational system.

AUSTRIAN-HUNGARIAN Empire, under Francis Joseph I.—Both Austria and Hungary have their respective parliaments and administrations, yet continuing to act in concert. BOSNIA and HERZEGOVINA are occupied by Austrian troops, and may be considered as Austrian territory.

ITALY.—Rome has been the capital of Italy and the seat of government since July 1, 1871. Opposition to clerical intolerance and to the political Catholicism which would restore the papal rule in the old Papal States is the policy of the government. In 1873, all the monasteries in Rome and the Papal States were, with few exceptions, dissolved. In 1878 Victor Emmanuel died, and Humbert succeeded him, January 29. In 1881 a large measure of electoral reform was carried. The financial condition of the country is improving, and the paper currency has been replaced by a gold and silver coinage. In 1882 the earthquake at Ischia destroyed many lives as well as much property. In 1884 the cholera, which commenced in the south of France, was yet more destructive in Italy.

SPAIN.—Amadeo having resigned the crown in 1873, a republic and a civil war followed. By common consent, the son of Isabella, the dethroned queen, was called to reign as Alphonso XII., January, 1875. Spain is prospering, only requiring a fair share of good government and peace. Its great colonies are Cuba, with Porto Rico in the West Indies, the Philippines in the East Indies, and the Canary Islands.

PORTUGAL under Dom Louis I., who began to reign, November 11, 1861. The colonial possessions are Macao in China, part of Timor in the East Indies, Goa in India, Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands, the Azores, and Bissagos on the north-west coast of Africa, with St. Thomas and Princes Islands in the Gulf of Guiana. It claims Congo, Loango, Angola, and a vast territory on the west and east coast, with the corresponding interior, but these claims are not admitted (except in part) by the great powers.

RUSSIA.—The war between Turkey and Russia has already been narrated, 1877, 1878. The Nihilist conspiracy extended itself far and wide, so that three attempts were made on the life of the emperor in ten months in 1880, and at last successfully, March 13, 1881, when Alexander II. was killed. Alexander III. succeeded. SERBIA, through Russian influence, became a kingdom, March 6, 1881; population under 2,000,000. So also ROUMANIA, population 5,500,000. MONTENEGRO, with about 250,000 population, received Dulcigno and other accessions of territory, November, 1880, through the help of Russia. Russia is in Asia rapidly nearing the frontiers of Afghanistan. Sooner or later Asiatic Russia and Asiatic England will meet. To fix a natural boundary line, and to come to a mutual understanding, should be the object of the two rival powers. To avoid collision is the interest of both governments.

GREECE, with a population of nearly 2,000,000 in 1879, has since received the additional territory of Thessaly and part of Epirus, through the influence of the Congress of Berlin, 1878. These were reluctantly yielded by the Turks.

TURKEY, by the Peace of Berlin in 1878, though more favourably treated than by the Treaty of San Stephano, lost considerable territory. (1) The principality of BULGARIA, population 2,000,000; (2) EASTERN ROUMELIA, population about 800,000, besides the provinces of BOSNIA and HERZEGOVINA, now placed under the occupation of Russia. ALBANIA is governed by its wild, warlike tribes and their chieftans, though nominally it acknowledges the Turkish Sultan. ABDUL AZIZ was deposed, May 29, 1876. His successor, MURAD V., was incapable, and was followed by ABDUL

HAMID II., the present Sultan, August, 1876. The impossibility of maintaining this fictitious power, at the cost of the misery of the millions of its Christian and Mahometan populations, must soon force the great powers to come to some decision. The Turk, as a *ruler*, is hated by his Mahometan subjects as well as by the Christian.

DENMARK, reduced by the robbery of Holstein and Schleswig, remains a respectable state, the king allied by the marriage of one daughter to the Emperor of Russia, and by another to the Prince of Wales, the future king of England.

NORWAY and SWEDEN under a king of the Bernadotte family, Oscar II. Both in Denmark and in Sweden there are differences between the executive and the parliaments (the Rigsraad and Storting), which, if continued, may lead to a serious disturbance of the peace and prosperity of these countries.

PERSIA remains helpless and subordinate to Russia. Under an active and able government Persia would have been able to control the Turcomans, and other barbarous hordes, from ravaging its territory, and might have exercised a restraining influence over the Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand. From the helplessness of Persia, and from the desolation and misery caused by the Turcomans and by the tyranny of the Khans of Khiva and Bokhara, Russia has been compelled (not unwillingly) to extend its authority west and south of the Caspian to the frontiers of Afghanistan, to the great benefit of humanity and of civilisation, though to the great annoyance of the British Indian Government.

INDIA, since the Sepoy War, has been placed under the immediate government of the crown, 1858, and the queen has been proclaimed "Empress of India" since January 1, 1877. A terrible famine (1877, 1878) was, as far as possible, relieved by an outlay of eleven millions sterling in aid of the sufferers. The relations of the Indian Government with Afghanistan were disturbed by the Ameer, Sheer Ali, who engaged in intrigues with Russian officials. A Russian mission was received with honour, but a British envoy was refused admittance, 1878. British armies advanced, and Shere Ali fled and died. Yakub Khan, his son, concluded the Treaty of Gandamak (May, 1879), a British resident, Cavagnari, was admitted to reside in Kabul, but in September, 1879, he and his suite were treacherously massacred. A second war followed. Yakub Khan abdicated, and was sent to India. Kabul and Kandahar were occupied, and an insurrection of the Afghan tribes repressed, 1879, 1880. Abdurrahman Khan, the representative of the House of Dost Mahomet, was

appointed Ameer, and seems disposed to defend his independence by the help afforded by the Indian Government.

CHINA, during the wars with England and France, had been engaged in a civil war with the Taeping rebels, which, commenced in 1850, gradually increased in importance up to 1863, when Colonel Gordon, in the service of China, at the head of "the ever-victorious army," undertook to subdue it. This he effected by June, 1864. China, under the nominal government of a child, in the hands of an empress, is really ruled by the Prime Minister at the head of the Council. A child, *Tungchi* (six years old), reigned from 1860-1875. Then another child, *Kwangsi* (three years old). A Mahometan rebellion in Yunnan and Kansai, 1870, was suppressed, 1873. Kashgar (Chinese Turkistan), which had rebelled under Yakub Beg, 1866, was reconquered, 1877. Kuldja, a fertile province, was annexed by Russia (as a temporary guardian), 1871; was restored to China in 1881. The abolition of the absurd ceremony of prostration before the emperor (the kotow) by the ambassadors of foreign powers, 1873, and the opening of the first railway in China (Shanghai), though only eleven miles, 1876, are indications of coming changes in the policy of the empire. A war with Japan was avoided in 1882 by mutual concessions. The progress of the French from their colony in *Cochin China* towards the conquest of *Annam* and of *Tonquin*, which commenced by the capture of Hanoi by the French in 1873, has greatly annoyed the Chinese Government. In 1882, the King of Annam submitted to France, and Tonquin was conquered in 1883, and a treaty with China in 1884, which was unfortunately broken by the treachery of a Chinese commander, and war is now raging between France and China.

JAPAN abolished its exclusive systems of non-intervention through the bold conduct of the American, Captain Perry, March 31, 1854, after which treaties were formed with all the great powers, and diplomatic intercourse opened with Europe and America. This new state of affairs was followed by a resumption, on the part of the *Mikado* of the authority so long exercised by the Shogun (Tycoon), January 3, 1868. The residence of the Mikado was removed from Kioto to Jeddo. Feudalism was abolished, the revenues from land received by the *Daimios* (princes) exchanged for pensions, telegraphs, railways, schools, and all the appliances of European civilisation introduced, 1871. *Korea* was compelled to enter into a treaty in 1876, and the rebellion of Satsuma suppressed in 1877. Local elective assemblies for arranging local taxation were established in 1878, and a new constitution given in 1882.

KOREA, a peninsula dependent upon China, had from time immemorial maintained the exclusion of all foreigners, and of all intercourse with them. In 1876 the Japanese compelled the Koreans to make a treaty with them, and other treaties were made with the United States, Germany, and England, and four ports selected for foreign trade.

The *Imaum of Muscat* (or Oman) in Arabia is a petty Mahometan State.

EGYPT, under the Khedive Tewfik, occupied by the English army since the deposition of Arabi, September 13, 1882. General Gordon at Khartoum for some months past, the agent to the English Government, held his position. The Mahdi's ally, Osman, in East Soudan, was defeated and kept in check; an English army, under Wolseley, sent to Egypt to relieve Khartoum, August, 1884.

ABYSSINIA.—An embassy sent to induce the king, Johannes II. (Kassa), to co-operate against the Mahdi.

SOUDAN, independent of Egypt and under the *Mahdi*, the new prophet.

TUNIS under the French resident since 1881.

ALGIERS under France.

MOROCCO under its Xeriffe, in danger of French or Spanish control.

SOUTH AFRICA possesses now four *European* governments; (1) that of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal; (2) the Orange River Free State, a Dutch and English population; (3) the Transvaal Republic (Dutch Boers); (4) a new Republic in a portion of the Zulu territory; the political relations very unsettled through the vacillating policy of the English Government under every administration from 1829 A.D., the result of which must be either the abandonment of English rule in the Cape Colony, or its extension and maintenance over the whole of South Africa.

SOUTH-WESTERN AFRICA ON THE CONGO.—Through the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley, a large territory, washed by the affluents of the river Zain (Congo), has been laid open to trade. Stanley, and De Brazza, the French agent, have made *centres* of action for their respective parties. An "International Association" has been formed, under the patronage of the King of Belgium, to secure the mutual independency and neutrality of this region. Portugal has extensive claims and rights, which, however, have not been practically used since the sixteenth century.

LIBERIA is a Negro republic, with 500 miles of sea-coast, formed by free blacks from the United States; population of natives and

settlers, one million and a half; founded in 1822. Independent since 1849.

ZANZIBAR is a small island exercising some influence over East Africa, under an Arab Sultan.

MADAGASCAR.—A large portion under the HOVAS, partly civilised and christianised by the missions of the London Society, 1818–1825. The French engaged in war with them, claiming a protectorate over the north-west coast, 1881 (Sakalava Territory); the Madagascar ambassadors were treated with discourtesy in France, and Tamatave was bombarded and captured by the French, June 1883.

In the PACIFIC OCEAN there are French colonies in Tahiti and New Caledonia, and the English colony in Fiji; with two petty kingdoms, that of the *Hawaiian* Islands, population 76,000; and that of TONGA (the Friendly Islands), under King George, the Christian king. Bordering on the continent of Asia are the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, subject to Spain, population about three millions.

The *Australasian Colonies*, NEW SOUTH WALES, VICTORIA, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, WESTERN AUSTRALIA, TASMANIA, QUEENSLAND, and NEW ZEALAND have greatly increased in population, in wealth, and in their commerce since the discovery of gold, first in New South Wales, and then in Victoria in 1851. The amount of gold raised in the colonies of New South Wales, and Victoria and New Zealand, up to the end of 1883, is 283 millions. They have a population of three millions. Two points of importance are now under consideration, the annexation of the eastern portion of New Guinea and protection from the surreptitious entrance of French convicts from New Caledonia. There is also a discussion respecting the future FEDERATION of these colonies.

In the INDIAN OCEAN, the Island of Sarawak and a portion of the large Island of Borneo are occupied by English settlements.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA under the Presidency of Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur, have greatly prospered. By the census of 1880 the population had exceeded 50,000,000; their territory had been increased by the purchase of Alaska, in North-West America, from Russia, in 1867. President Garfield was assassinated by a madman soon after his accession to the Presidency, July 2, and died September 19.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA includes all the British Colonies in North America except Newfoundland, which chose to be separate in its administration. The population is about four millions and a half. NOVA SCOTIA, CAPE BRETON, NEW BRUNSWICK, PRINCE

EDWARD'S ISLAND, and MANITOBA (Red River Settlement), BRITISH COLOMBIA, and VANCOUVER'S ISLAND, are all included in the Dominion. The new Pacific Railway will soon connect *New Westminster* and *Victoria* on the Pacific, with Halifax on the Atlantic Ocean.

MEXICO.—Spanish Republic, population 9,650,000, with the *five* Republican States SAN SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA and COSTA RICA; population 2,600,000.

THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.—SPAIN holds CUBA, population 700,000; PUERTA RICO, population 400,000; ENGLAND, Jamaica, population 580,000; Trinidad, 153,000; the Leeward Islands, population 118,000; the Windward Islands, 285,000. The Island of HAYTI (Hispaniola or St. Domingo) has now two republics—one Spanish, the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, population 300,000; the other French, HAYTI, population 550,000.

The Old Republic of Columbia 1819, forms now two republics: *Venezuela*, population, 2,075,000; and *Columbia*, population 3,100,000. The Old Peru, 1821, now forms three republics: *Bolivia* (Upper Peru), population 2,525,000; *Ecuador*, population 1,100,003; and *Peru*, population 3,175,000. All the American-Spanish republics have deteriorated since their separation from Spain, but they are now beginning to settle with governments which are more stable and settled. The war between Peru and Chili has been a serious injury to both republics, and it is not yet fully concluded. The ARGENTINE CONFEDERACY (Buenos Ayres), population 2,450,000; PARAGUAY, 1814, population 293,000; URUGUAY, 1828 (Banda Oriental), population 450,000; CHILI, population 2,234,000; BRAZIL (Empire of), population 10,200,000. An English Colony (DEMERARA); a French (CAYENNE); and a Dutch (SURINAM), occupy GUIANA.

THE CONCLUSION.—Here ends the narrative of the history of the past. The future, who can divine? Public opinion fears rather than hopes. The three great emperors are meeting—the men who control Germany, Austria, and Russia. A sagacious and thoughtful Journal sees the position of public affairs clearly, but not hopefully:—"We are told this matter will secure peace. We suppose it will secure peace of a sort. With the three Emperors pledged not to fight while the Emperor William lives,—and that is, and must be, the limit of any personal pledge,—France cannot attack Germany, and Austria has no invasion to fear from Russia. That is satisfactory, so far as it goes; but, considering the vast age of the Emperor of Germany, it goes but a little way, and will have none of that effect of reassurance for which industrial interests are

longing, and which would allow Eastern Europe to complete its railways and organise its commerce in peace. It is but a truce, and a truce for which a price must be paid. An agreement among the Emperors on policy in the Balkan Peninsula must mean, as the *Economist* recently observed, either that Russia and Austria have agreed on a dividing line, or that they have resolved for a certain period to maintain the *status quo*, and either agreement means throughout the Balkans a policy of repression. The Princes must keep down all independent agitation by force. The States must make no effort at federation, or alliances, or the development in any way of their instinctive national life. The anarchy tempered by murder which reigns in Albania must continue unchecked, the efforts of the two Bulgarias for unity must be put down, and Macedonia must remain in its existing condition, probably worse than any condition ever endured by a civilised State,—a condition which even in Turkey would not be possible, but that the ruling Turks know that Macedonia is lost to Islam. If all prosperity perishes in Macedonia, and the people are driven by despair to brigandage, Greece or Austria will be the ultimate loser, and not Turkey. No anarchy so frightful has, we believe, ever been seen in Europe, for in no other country have an Asiatic garrison and an Asiatic police ever been the sources of the anarchy, and have been at the same time aware that for them there could be no future. Yet all this is all to go on for an indefinite time, and with no hope of redress, because the Imperial Powers wish to avoid any occasion of quarrel, or desire, when the opportunity offers, to divide Macedonia between them. Peace is good, but in a peace like this we see little reason for congratulation. The States of the Balkan are not enabled to go their own way, the peoples have no more hope of freedom, the wretchedness of the provinces still Turkish, is rather intensified than relieved. There is order ; but, to secure it, from the Danube to the Morea, the burden is pressed down upon all men a little more heavily. If, indeed, the Emperors agreed to let the Peninsula alone, and not stir a soldier whatever happened, there would be reason for congratulation ; but there is no prospect whatever of any such arrangement. The Imperial Courts are not prepared to give up anything, whether in possession or in prospect, and at most only postpone their contest till circumstances are a little more favourable for the signal.

“But, peace being arranged, the military burden may be reduced, and that is a benefit for the world? Certainly, if it were so ; but where is the evidence of such reduction? The burden now

weighing on Europe, from the Elbe to the Volga, the devotion of a tenth of all active life to military drill, is not diminished because frontiers are left less strictly guarded, and Poland is less like a cavalry exercise-ground. Conscripts are as unhappy in one barrack as another, and the number of conscripts will not be lessened. With a true peace, both Germany and Austria would, we believe, disarm in part, if only to reduce financial pressure: but Russia, in her present situation, cannot spare a soldier, and France will not; and peace, therefore, is only a period of preparation, with none of the blessings of peace and none of the chances of war. There will still be a million of men under arms between the English Channel and the Volga, still a taxation for armaments equal to a seventh of all human labour within those regions, still an organisation of society on the principle that everything must be sacrificed to safety. It is, we suppose, all inevitable; but it is all depressing, and the depression will be in no degree relieved by the meeting of the three emperors, even if they have no enterprise on foot, and sincerely desire 'peace.'”—*Spectator*, September 13, 1884.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY FROM 1815–1884.—*Church of England*.—Up to the great political crisis which culminated in the Reform Bill of 1832, the two parties in the Established Church, the HIGH CHURCH and the LOW (the EVANGELICALS), remained as before, differing in their modes of action, but without collision. The Evangelical clergy had by their activity and zeal increased in number until they amounted to about one-third or one-fourth of the clergy. Under the faithful and zealous ministrations of such men as Romaine, Toplady, the brothers Sir Richard and Rowland Hill, Grimshaw, John Newton, Thomas Scott, the Milners, Hervey, together with the younger generation, as Stillingfleet, Dykes, Carus Wilson, Simeon of Cambridge, and Wilson of Islington (afterwards Bishop of Calcutta), this section seemed likely to become the largest and most influential in the National Church, but with the later brilliant representatives of the Evangelical party, Hugh Stowell and the Deans of Ripon (McNeile) and Carlisle (Close), who well sustained its reputation for pulpit eloquence, the school appears to have come nearly to an end. One great mistake common to them and to the Evangelical Nonconformists went far to neutralise the effects of their zealous pulpit ministrations. This was their unreadiness to recognise the educational influences gradually changing the thought of the age in which they were living. Scientific discoveries, the profound scholarship which had modified the old Biblical criticism, and the general widening of the intellectual

horizon of the age had begun to alter the relations of the pulpit and the pew. Hearers no longer received the *dicta* of the preacher with submission, but rather questioned and doubted. There was nothing in these new and enlarged conceptions of the hearers irreconcilable with the old time-honoured truths; but there was needed, for the reconciliation of the new era with the old, a more thorough and comprehensive criticism, and a more thoroughly Christian (rather than Calvinistic) theology in the pulpit. Unfortunately the clergy of all denominations at first placed themselves generally in antagonism to the increasing intelligence of the age, which appeared to them to savour too much of the scepticism of the preceding century, and by this lessened their influence upon the rising generation. The churches exhibited the melancholy spectacle of an educated ministry, well versed in classics, mathematics, and all other literary accomplishments of the day, understanding, in fact, everything, except that which was especially needed, the true character of the times in which they lived. They have since rectified this mistake, and, while recognising the truths of science and criticism, have found them to be efficient helps rather than hindrances to their spiritual ministry.

The dangerous position of the Established Church in 1830-1832; its general unpopularity, arising out of an exaggerated notion of the opposition of the clergy to the political changes rendered necessary by the advanced notions of the great majority; together with the increase in the numbers and political influence of the Nonconformist party, led a body of serious and thoughtful Churchmen to consider the position of the Church, its danger, and the possible remedies. Since the year 1827, the publication of the *Christian Year* had produced a great effect upon Churchmen, reviving in them the appreciation of the old Church doctrines, substantially Evangelical, but jealously guarded by the Prayer-book and the rubrics. This little book is regarded as the "fons et origo" of the *Tractarian* party. "But the year 1833 was the time, and Oriel common room was the scene, of the birth of the Oxford revival. It found a voice on July 14, 1833, in Keble's famous assize sermon at St. Mary's, on National Apostasy." "I have always," says Newman in his *Apologia*, considered and kept that day as the start of the religious movement of 1833."¹ In that month a meeting of some members of the university took place at the residence of H. J. Rose, with the view of devising some remedy against the dangers which threatened the very existence of the Church of England. "It appeared to them that the action of Parliament" (the repeal of the Test and Corporation

¹ Hore's "Eighteen Centuries of the Church of England," pp. 553, 554.

Acts, 1828; the Emancipation Act, 1829, and the suppression of two archbishoprics and eight bishoprics in Ireland, and a threatened attack upon the Book of Common Prayer), "arose from a mistaken idea of the character and constitution of the Church, of its legal independence from the State, and the divine commission and authority of its clergy, and they agreed that the first step was to revive a practical recognition of the truths set forth in the preface to the Ordinal." The first fruits of that meeting were "The Tracts for the Times."¹ These Tracts advocated the *Apostolical succession* of the clergy of the Church of England, received through the channel of Rome direct from the Apostles, which constituted them their true successors, and, together with the Romish clergy, the only legitimate Christian ministry. All other ministers, of the Nonconformists, Presbyterians in England and Ireland, and of the Established Churches of Scotland and the Continent were simply laymen, having no rightful authority to administer the sacraments, and all other Churches except those of Rome and of England were merely SECTS, outside of the genuine Church, and left to the "uncovenanted mercies" of its great Head. Their views of the sacraments in these Tracts approximated closely to those held by the Church of Rome, in opposition to which the old founders of the English Church died at the stake. The clergy who adhered to these views were known as the *Tractarians*, and were remarkable for their Ritualistic tendencies in the increase of ceremonials, lighted candles, obsolete vestments, and in some cases by the use of incense and processions, as in the Romish Church. The ministers thus sought to be *Priests*, sacrificing priests, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and the tendency towards Rome was evident. With all this there was much that was good. They held fast to the doctrine of the Atonement, though its efficacy was by some confined to the ministrations of the PRIEST. They were also remarkably consistent in their lives, unremitting in their labours, especially in extra services and in pastoral visitation. In fact, the movement was a reaction against the past lukewarmness of the clericals, the indifference of the laity, and the general careless irreverence and neglect of order which had crept into the public worship of all churches, both in the Establishment and among the Nonconformists. *The Tracts* were abruptly terminated after the publication of No. 90, written by J. H. Newman to prove that the Thirty-nine Articles do not condemn anything Catholic, but only the "later definite system" in the Church of Rome. The condemnation of this Tract by the Bishop of Oxford, and the more formal resolution

¹ Hore's "Eighteen Centuries of the Church of England," pp. 551, 552, and 554.

of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors of the University of Oxford followed March 14, 1841. Newman, Ward, Faber, Oakley, and others seceded to the Church of Rome in 1845.

The BROAD CHURCH party (the name first used in the *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1850) may trace their lineage to the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century and to the latitudinarian bishops of the age of William III. and the early Georges—as Tillotson, Tenison, Burnet, Hoadly, and others. It is not fair to say that the Broad Churchism was purely political Churchmanship, and that “this Neo-Christianity of the nineteenth century was liberal to all but the Church.”¹ One proof of their true Churchmanship is seen in their evident distaste for nonconformity in every shape, and their incapability of comprehending from their liberal standpoint the sacredness of the scruples which keep so many excellent, able, and intelligent men from the communion of the Church of England. As a party they sympathise to a large extent with the “Higher Criticism” of Germany, and to some extent with the latitudinarianism of the liberal clergy and others, set forth in Tulloch’s “Rational Theology and Christian Philosophers in England in the Seventeenth Century;” holding, however, rather too lightly the old creeds and confessions, and apt to regard the Thirty-nine Articles of their own Church as merely Articles of peace, the fence against Dissenters and little more. Every shade of opinion is found in their ranks, from the late Dean Stanley, whose loving spirit hated controversy, and who, as Dr. Pusey remarked, “gave up every doctrine as soon as he found there were objections to it,” and the late Baden Powell, and Professor Jowett, happily yet living, who both have realised in their attenuated theology the minimum of faith absolutely necessary to a formal union with the English Church, and yet including men of deep religious fervour and undoubted orthodoxy, some of whom we may venture to name:—Archbishop WHATELY, the HARES, Bishops HAMPDEN and THIRLWALL, Dr. ARNOLD (Rugby), Archbishop TAIT, and others, men distinguished and influential in their several positions, and identified with this school of thought. There is nothing in this division of opinion and variety of action in the Church of England which ought to surprise those who have studied its beginning as a Reformed Church, and its development since the days of Henry VIII. It was the result of a compromise which has characterised its entire career. In throwing off the yoke of Rome, its leaders had no intention to separate from the Catholic Church of Western Europe, but to remain a National Church, purified from unseemly and useless

¹ Hore, p. 599.

accretions, but yet in communion with the Universal Church (so considered) of Rome. Hence, with reason, the *High Church* claim for their orders the benefit (as it seems to them) of the *Apostolic succession* through the Church of Rome (a clear stream, uncorrupted, as they think, by the impurity of so many centuries); logically regarding the dissident communities as mere SECTS, a term which is equally applicable (on these grounds) to the National Church of Scotland and Northern Germany. The EVANGELICAL party, on the contrary, would rather regard their Church as the conservator of the great protest against Romish errors made by small and scattered evangelical congregations in the middle ages. Their attachment to the hierarchy and orders of the Established Church is founded on the great truths set forth in the liturgies and homilies, which they regard as the true claim of the Church to their adherence. The RITUALISTS have also a reasonable claim to toleration. The *Rubrics*, which legally express the views of the Church of the Reformation, but which had fallen into partial disuse, are their warrant. Whether it be wise to disturb the peace of the Church by a zeal in things admitted to be non-essential is another question. The BROAD CHURCH, careless respecting Articles, Homilies, or Rubrics, claims the privilege of setting forth Christianity on an enlightened and philosophical basis, adapted to the more clear and thorough perception of Christian truth in all its depth and comprehensiveness, possessed by the scholars and divines of the nineteenth century. As St. Paul faced the prejudiced Hebrew and the sceptical Greek, meeting each on his own ground, being *in a sense* all things to all men, so they would deal with the abstruse and sceptical philosophy of Germany, with its one-sided criticism, and with the exclusive claims of physical science to be *the only Truth*. This is their platform, held and defended with great ability.

The appointment of Dr. Hampden, in 1836, to the office of Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford, by the Liberal Ministry, stoutly opposed, by the Tractarians especially, on the ground of heterodoxy in his Bampton Lectures, on Scholastic Philosophy considered in its relation to Christian Theology, 1833, called forth a powerful defence by Dr. THOMAS ARNOLD (the Head-Master of Rugby School) in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (April, 1836), entitled by the editor "The Oxford Malignants," which created a powerful sensation. The appointment of Dr. Hampden to the bishopric of Hereford, in 1847, called forth renewed demonstrations by the High Church and Tractarian party, which were treated with contempt by the Liberal Ministry. The same opposition was made against the appointment

of Dr. Lee to the bishopric of Manchester, and was equally ineffectual, "conclusively showing how completely the Church was subjugated by the state."¹ In one case, however, there was no interference with the exercise of Church discipline in defence of the received doctrine of future retribution. The Rev. F. D. MAURICE, the Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, had in his *Theological Essays* expressed doubts with regard to the doctrine of the eternity of future punishments, 1853. For these opinions he was removed from his professorship, but was still a clergyman and occupied a high position as an author and a divine. The personal character of this good man has given an importance to his teachings, whatever may be our opinion as to their merits. Pure, noble, and unselfish, approaching as nearly as possible the ideal of a perfect man, his power of fascination was remarkable. The grave men of our day, who in their youth had come within the charmed circle of his friends, have not yet lost the indescribable impression of his power. *What* he taught is difficult to gather, beyond his view of Christ as the root of humanity; a truth in itself, whether Maurice's explication of it be true or otherwise. In all his writings, and in the full exhibition of his views in the *Life* recently published by his son, the reader revels in the contact of thoughts noble and beautiful, opinions orthodox and undeniable, sympathies enlarged and comprehensive, tender and loving; but, after all, finds it impossible to define his theological standpoint. The late Canon Mozley remarks, "His strength is that of vehemence rather than accuracy . . . too generally almost as obscure as he is emphatic." Mr. GLADSTONE complains of "his intellectual constitution" as being a "good deal of an enigma" to him always. If, however, his theology does not leave the impression of that logical, clear-headed power which generally characterises the deliverances of the Broad Church leaders, there is in all his writings that which was evidently the secret of his influence and popularity, an earnestness and fervour which commended itself to their devout sympathies. Maurice's theology was critically examined by Dr. J. H. Rigg, in a volume entitled "*Modern Anglican Theology*" (1857),² a work which, while doing full justice to the ability and character of the author, lays open the serious defects of his theology and that of Archdeacon HARE and of CHARLES KINGSLEY; all of them personally estimable, and occupying intellectually a high position, and all of them influenced by the philo-

¹ W. N. Molesworth, "*History of the Church of England*," 1882.

² "*Modern Anglican Theology*," crown 8vo., 1857, 1880, by Dr. James H. Rigg.

sophy of Coleridge. This work was received with a hearty welcome by orthodox divines of the Church of England, as well as by the Presbyterians and Nonconformists; for in it the weak points and tendencies of the *Broad Church Theology* of thirty years ago are faithfully, and in a kindly spirit, described; the great fear is intimated that, along with the enlarged and noble catholicity which distinguishes the great leaders of that school of thought, there is some danger of keeping in the background the grand doctrine of the Propitiatory Atonement. With pleasure we admit that this defect is rarely prominent in the Broad Church Theology of our day, though some instances have called forth the note of warning from a journal of high repute and of kindred sympathies:—"Evangelism, however feeble in the Church, remains a vast force in the religious life of England, dominating as it does almost entirely the Nonconformist bodies. The more it decays within the Establishment, the more formidable will it be found as a hostile force without."¹

The increase of latitudinarian opinions, especially in regard to Biblical criticism and interpretation, was manifest in the publication of a volume entitled *Essays and Reviews*, in 1860, by six clergymen and one layman. There was nothing new advanced in this volume which had not been already taught by Baden Powell, by the late Dean Stanley, by Professor Jowett in his "Pauline Epistles," and others. "But what principally attracted attention to this book, and drew forth the warm eulogium of some, and the indignant denunciations of others, was the fact that these Essays were the productions of distinguished members of the National Church—of men holding high positions in the University of Oxford and in our great public schools—of men, in short, who might be regarded as placed by their position at the head of the religious education of the country."² No injury to the orthodoxy of the Churches followed, and in a short time the voluminous controversial works connected with the Essays, and the Essays themselves, gave place to a yet more remarkable display of latitudinarianism in the highest ranks of the Church. The publication by *Dr. Colenso*, Bishop of Natal, in 1862, of a series of treatises, entitled "*The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*," excited more than ordinary attention as the work of a sceptical bishop, not, indeed, the first of the class, but the first who had the honesty to avow his position, and to specify the points wherein his orthodoxy differed from that ordinarily accepted by his

¹ *The Spectator*, July 19, 1884, p. 597.

W. N. Molesworth, "History of the Church of England," 1882.

Church. This work embodied the results, as far as it was possible to gather them, of the varying, contradictory, and paradoxical criticisms of Germany, with the advantage of Dr. Colenso's plain English style, and with additions of his own, which were of minor importance: there was also much that was really valuable to the critic. About three hundred publications, small and great, of diverse merit appeared as replies; and some remain as valuable additions to the critical library of our divines. The conclusion at which the dispassionate learned have now arrived is, that the Rationalistic critics were justified in their assertions of the existence of passages in the Pentateuch implying an age much later than the time of Moses; but that these passages can be traced to interpolations from notes originally inserted in the margin by successive redactors (for instance, Ezra), or from the errors of copyists, to which all old writings are subject; and that all external, as well as internal, evidence bears testimony to the substantial genuineness and authenticity of this, the Sacred Law of the Jewish Church. The interest created by this controversy led to the compilation of the *Speaker's Commentary* on the Bible; so called because it originated with Denison, the Speaker of the House of Commons; a work which to some extent has redeemed the character of the British criticism of the nineteenth century. Outwardly the Church of England prospered. *Convocation* was permitted to assemble in 1854, for the first time since 1717, and its powers were gradually enlarged. Bishops of high respectability and mental power graced the more important sees:—among them BLOMFIELD, WHATELY, WILBERFORCE, MAGEE, BROWNE, TEMPLE, ELLICOTT, WORDSWORTH, FRASER, LIGHTFOOT, with such archbishops as TAIT and THOMSON. First beginning with services in the naves of the cathedrals in 1853, public appeals to the masses by bishops and other dignitaries of the Church became frequent, thus manifesting a growing sense of the claims of the community at large upon what claimed to be the National Church. The extension of the episcopate in the colonies and in the missions has been of great benefit to the Church in the colonies.

Certain legal provision was made for the settlement of disputes respecting the ritual and the discipline of the Church by the Privy Council, then to a committee of that Council, and afterwards to a Supreme Court of Appeal, 1873, and to the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876. Church-rates were abolished, to the general satisfaction and to the great increase of the popularity of the Church. In 1871 the Irish Church was disestablished and partially disendowed, but remained in a position highly favourable to its continued existence

and extension. In 1878 the clergy of the English Church numbered about 23,000, proofs in themselves of the awakening energy of the Establishment.

The NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES have largely increased, and in 1851 it was estimated that one half of the population of England and Wales were Nonconformists. Calculations of this sort are not very reliable, but probably this estimate is not far from the truth. All the CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES, the BAPTISTS, the PRESBYTERIANS, and the WESLEYAN METHODISTS, with the *New Connexion* and the *Primitive Methodists*, have also largely increased in the number of the churches erected, in their Church members, and in the number of attendants upon public worship. The power to raise money for religious purposes, whether for the home or the foreign work, has astonished the outside public. It is reckoned by millions when the foreign missions are included. Never was there a larger number of men of acknowledged ability in these Churches, whose labours are as beneficial to the country at large as to their particular Churches. It would be invidious to mention the names of men, happily yet spared to labour for the Church and the world. The UNITARIAN SOCIETIES are much more advanced than the Priestleys, the Belshams, the Prices, and the Reeces of the last century. The peculiarities of Christianity, as taught by Paul and the Apostles generally, are by degrees less visible in the writings of their divines. *James Martineau*, well known by his able writings on philosophy and ethics, is the representative of the new Unitarianism.

By the formation of the *Congregational Union*, 1830, which meets annually, choosing some distinguished member as president, the Independents consolidated their largely-increasing ministry, and facilitated their united action. In addition, the literary and theological character of their ministry became more generally known through the establishment of the *Congregational Lectures*, 1832, by which a series of discourses, preached by eminent members, were published year by year; the topics discussed with great ability by such men as Vaughan, Joseph Gilbert, R. Wardlaw, R. Vaughan, J. Pye Smith, E. R. Conder, T. Binney, Samuel Martin, Newman Hall, and others, gave the English public a more correct impression of the literary and theological ability of Dissent.

The *Baptists* also established a Union (1863). So also the Unitarians. The Baptists have been much benefited by the amazing and continued popularity of the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, who, for nearly thirty years, has by his pulpit labours, by his writings, and by his college, done great service to Christianity.

The *Wesleyan Methodists* increased largely between 1815 and 1884, in spite of sundry disruptions. In 1878 the constitution of the governing body (the Conference) was wisely modified by the admission of the lay element into its deliberations. The theological academies which the Congregationalists had possessed from the very beginning of their Churches, were not established by the Wesleyan Conference until 1834. A *Fernley Lecture*, after the model of the Congregational Lectures, was established, and the lectures by Dr. Osborne, Dr. W. B. Pope, William Arthur, Olver, Geden, E. E. Jenkins, and others, 1870-1884, fairly represent the theology of the Connexion. In another respect also the Wesleyan body has kept pace with the educational requirements of the age, in the establishment of four theological institutes and eight high schools or colleges. These establishments have long existed among the Congregationalists and Baptists, the Congregationalists having fifteen colleges and the Baptists ten, besides important schools, to the great benefit of the Nonconformist community. All the Nonconformist Churches have their home and foreign missionary agencies, as well as agencies directed to the spread of Protestantism on the Continent, and to the preservation, consolidation, and extension of religion in the colonies. These institutions, with the many societies in the Church of England and in the Churches of Scotland, together with the British and Foreign Bible Society in its multifarious kindred associations, interest England in promoting the spiritual welfare of the whole world. The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (Quakers), while declining in numbers, is as much as ever devoted to labours philanthropical in England and the world at large. Mrs. ELIZABETH FRY, 1780-1845, was especially distinguished by her labours among the prisoners in Newgate, London.

The Reform Bill, for a time, widened the differences between the Church of England and the Nonconformists, more especially the Congregational Independents and the Baptists, the Wesleyans being at that time either indifferent or rather inclining towards the Church of England, though there were some exceptions. In the great unpopularity into which the Church had fallen, men looked for its disestablishment and disendowment. The *Congregational Independents* and *Baptists* established the LIBERATION SOCIETY in 1844, which has since continued to support every means calculated to spread opinions of the non-Christian and impolitic continuance of the union of Christian Churches with the State. In this controversy much personal feeling exists, arising out of frequent conflict between the claims of the vicar, rector, or curates of country parishes with

the Independent or Baptist pastor of the locality. There can scarcely be any cordiality between the man who claims not merely the prestige arising from his position as the *legal* clergyman, recognised as such by all classes, but who also, on the ground of his "Apostolic succession," regards himself as the *ONLY* true minister of Christ. That this foolish notion, for which there exists no shadow of proof, and which in its implied principle of transmission by consecration, is utterly alien to the purely spiritual character of Christianity, should be held even by educated, and, in other respects, sensible men, is a proof of the power of the prejudices which cling to a *caste*. It implies the transformation of the presbyter into the priest. No men have more vigorously opposed, and more contemptuously scouted this notion than a large number of the more highly educated of the clergy. Witness Archbishop WHATELY, Dean STANLEY, and Dr. ARNOLD. The one doctrine which Dr. Arnold regarded as "*morally powerless*" and "*intellectually indefensible*" was "the importance of the Apostolical succession of the clergy, and the consequent exclusive claims of the Church of England to be regarded as the only true Church in England, if not in the world."¹ And again: "The lawfulness or expedience of episcopacy I am very far from doubting, not *its necessity*; a doctrine in ordinary times gratuitous, and at the same time harmless—save as a folly."² But it is no longer harmless if it tempts the clergyman to an arrogance which rouses in his Nonconformist neighbour any latent feeling of dislike and opposition to himself and to his Church. In practically carrying out a notion which has no existence in the Articles or Homilies of the English Church, a Romish priest, who conforms and takes a Protestant position, can be at once permitted to officiate without any renewal of ordination by a Protestant bishop, while a Nonconformist minister who conforms must submit to be re-ordained, first as deacon, then, in due time, as priest. Wherever the clergy stand up for this claim, there can be no cordiality between them and their Nonconformist brethren. Antagonistically, the extreme views of some Nonconformists, who regard national establishments as national sins, and the views of those who regard episcopacy as synonymous with popery, are equally offensive to good taste and kindly feeling. Sensible men regard these matters from the standpoints of utility and expediency, with a willingness to agree to differ, while maintaining Christian union.

¹ "Life of Dr. Arnold," vol. i. p. 4.

² *Idem*, vol. i. p. 327.

EDUCATION (national) has been one of the leading questions of the day during the last generation. Besides the national schools and those of the British and Foreign School Society, grants for general educational purposes were made by Parliament for the first time in 1833 to the amount of £30,000, gradually increasing in 1859 to £836,000. Then grants were made to denominational schools, on the principle of payment for results. By the establishment of educational boards of a representative character, education of an undenominational character is being extensively spread (1870); the aim is the education of the *whole* of the rising generation in England. In the HIGHER EDUCATION, the establishment of the *London University* in 1829, and the modification of its plan by the affiliation of University College and King's College, together with the establishment of the University of Durham (1831), and of Victoria University (Manchester), were steps in the right direction for England, followed by the establishment of local colleges in the larger towns. In IRELAND, the four Queen's Colleges and the new Catholic University of Dublin (1880), are attempts to satisfy the desire for united general education on the one hand, and of pacifying the more rigid Catholics on the other. In compliance with the general desire for religious equality, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been opened to Nonconformists of every class; and in 1871 the fellowships and tutorships of these Universities were no longer confined to clerics or members of the Church of England. There is nothing to prevent men in profession and principle atheists or agnostics, opposed to revealed religion, holding the position of influential teachers in our national Universities. Those who value the Christian principles of their young men will find it necessary to know the character of the leading minds of the several colleges before they arrange for the residence of their sons.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND for many years had been troubled by contests respecting the rights of the patrons to appoint to vacant livings; these were frequently opposed by the congregations, and very unseemly quarrels and even riots sometimes occurred. The great disruption of the Church, for which the discussions had prepared the minds of the people, took place May 18, 1843, when 500 clergy, giving up their livings and their homes, headed by the great Dr. Chalmers, quitted the General Assembly and commenced the FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, which now comprehends a large portion of the church-going population of Scotland. THE OLD EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, free from all Jacobinical tendencies, maintains a respectable position as the

Church of a select class ; but the Queen of England is in Scotland accustomed to sit under a Presbyterian ministry. A new sect, the *Holy Apostolic Church*, chiefly found in England, is strangely connected with the Presbyterian Church through a singularly eloquent minister, EDWARD IRVING, a colleague of Dr. Chalmers, who, in 1822-1831, was stationed in the Caledonian-road, and afterwards in Regent-square, London. For some time his extraordinary eloquence attracted large congregations and many distinguished hearers. He was led to believe in the revival of the gift of tongues, and was one of the members of the prophetic students at the seat of Henry Drummond, at Albury, 1826-1829. Accused of heretical views, he was deposed by the Presbytery, 1831, and died at Glasgow, 1834. In his congregation the new sect originated, and yet maintains its position.

In the *United States of America* and in the English colonies in *America* and *Australasia*, all the various Christian communions exist totally disconnected with the State, managing their own affairs, and prospering greatly. One great scandal to the Christianity of the nineteenth century has arisen in the United States, the establishment of a professedly religious society, founded on a revelation of the Book of MORMON to one JOSEPH SMITH, about 1830. A Church was founded. A Church government was established with a hierarchy of Elder and Apostles, with a supreme head in the person of Joseph Smith. Driven from Missouri in 1833 and 1838, the Mormons took refuge in Illinois, and built there a large temple, 1841-1844. In an attack upon the society by the people, the temple was destroyed and Joseph Smith killed, 1844. BRIGHAM YOUNG succeeded to his leadership, and, when driven from Illinois in 1846, he led the Mormons to Salt Lake, and there founded the city of Utah, 1847, 1848. Polygamy is the peculiar institution which justly offends the moral sense of all who look with horror on this retrograde step in modern civilisation—a step directly opposed to the plain teachings of our Lord. The MORMONS are almost entirely composed of emigrants from Great Britain and the continent of Europe, stimulated to leave their respective countries by missionaries sent from Utah. Two great facts are revealed to Christendom by the success of MORMONISM. *One* is the ignorance of large numbers of the lower classes, and the absence of right moral feeling, implying the depraved social state in which so many are living in the midst of our boasted civilisation ; the *other* fact is the necessity of connecting with Christian teaching the practical brotherhood of all Christians, the right conception of which, with its

duties and responsibilities, is the true Christian socialism. The attraction to the thousands who flock to Utah is not the teaching of the missionary, but the practical carrying out of social principles which profess to ensure to all the means of a comfortable subsistence.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—By the peace of 1815, the Pope (Pius VII.) was restored to the possession of Rome and the States of the Church. The usual misgovernment and discontent (chronic under papal rule) followed. Under the political revolutions of Italy, Rome was kept quiet by Austrian power. The election of Mastai Ferretti as *Pio Nono* (Pius IX.) introduced, *for a brief period*, the reign of a reforming, liberal, constitutional Pope, 1846. The disorders of 1848 compelled the Pope to take safety in flight. On his return in 1850, under the protection of the French army, his views and policy were altered. By the support of a French garrison, and under the control of the Jesuits, he governed absolutely (in the person of Cardinal Antonelli). THREE extraordinary events distinguish the remaining years of Pio Nono's pontificate. The *first* was the formal declaration of *the immaculate conception* of the Virgin Mary, 1854, December 8, proclaimed in the presence of two hundred bishops. Thus "a clashing bye-belief was lifted from the humble posture of pious opinion to that of a dogma binding on all, who must admit changes in their creed with every change of Rome. . . . A new and mighty advance in the power of the papacy was achieved, for a formal addition to the creed was made without the sanction of a general council. Those bishops who attended manifestly acted, not as members of a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, but as councillors of an autocrat. The absent were placed under the necessity of accepting the *fait accompli*, or of attempting to undo it in the face of the pontiff, the curia, and the majority of the prelates." In addition, "an impression of the personal inspiration of Pius IX. was conveyed with embellishments, so as to prepare the way for the recognition of his infallibility."¹ ("The Pope, the King, and the People: a History of the Movement to make the Pope Governor of the World by a Universal Reconstruction of Society, from the Issue of the Syllabus to the Close of the Vatican Council." This is the title of a work of laborious research by the well-known Rev. William Arthur, a work which will be *the authority* appealed to by the future historian of the nineteenth century.) The SECOND event was the publication, at the same time, of the

¹ "The Pope, the King, and the People," by William Arthur, 2 vols. 8vo., 1877.

ENCYCLICAL (*Quanta Cura*), in which the ruinous condition of political society, of which the bases were shaken by evil principles, is stated as the occasion which called forth the accompanying SYLLABUS in which (with many real and admitted evils) all that is valuable and characteristic of the present civilisation in Europe is condemned. The literature, the constitutionalism, the toleration, the liberty of the nineteenth century are to be thrown back three hundred years. The remedy is pointed out. "The recognition of a common father (the Pope), who shall teach subjects to obey as sons and sovereigns to rule as fathers, *a supreme judge, to declare and give sanction to the rights* of the one and the other." This is another instance of the anachronism of action and rule by which, for a thousand years past, the Popes have anticipated the millennium. The THIRD event was the calling of the ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL, which met at Rome, December 8, 1869, and which dispersed, October 20, 1870, soon after the temporal power of the Popes had ceased by the occupation of the city by the troops of the King of Italy. In this Council, July 13, by the votes of 513 prelates opposed by 88, the Pope was declared *infallible!* How this declaration is understood by educated Catholics we cannot tell; possibly they regard it as simply ruling the decisions of the Pontiff, to be, in all cases of dispute, decisive. Pius IX. died in 1878, and was succeeded by LEO XIII. Though more moderate than his predecessor, he still maintains the fiction of his captivity and bondage by the Italian Government, and remains within the precincts of the Vatican, receiving ambassadors from foreign powers, though legally a subject of the King of Italy. It is obvious that, while the Catholicism of Europe had been raised from the dust in FRANCE by Napoleon, and cherished under the Bourbons of both branches, as well as by the Empire, the new Republic of 1870 has made war upon it, especially in its educational action. Singularly the Republican régime, while supporting, from the funds of the State, a Romish hierarchy and priesthood, and while protecting the missions of French ecclesiastics in foreign lands, treats the ministers of the Roman Catholic Church as conspirators against the State. The fact that 7,000,000 out of 35,000,000 of the population of France have declared themselves non-Christian testifies to the growth of a fearful apostasy in France. In GERMANY, both in PRUSSIA and AUSTRIA, as well as in ITALY and FRANCE, legislation aims at the reduction of the clerical power. Marriage is, in these countries, a mere civil contract, and education is being freed from the interference of the clergy. In POLAND, Roman Catholicism has been at times persecuted by the Russian

Government, while in the Spanish and Portuguese populations in MEXICO, GUATEMALA, and in all SOUTH AMERICA, the power of the clergy has been greatly reduced. There can be no doubt but that these checks upon the clerical order, accompanied by large dissolutions of monasteries and convents, have been, on the whole, beneficial, especially in confining the clergy to their spiritual teaching, which, however it may fall short of the pure Christianity of the New Testament, contains truths which even the errors of the Romish Church cannot entirely neutralise. "The old Catholic Church," which professes to hold fast ancient Apostolical Christianity, has for its leader Döllinger of Munich, but it consists of a very limited number of professors. In IRELAND the endowment of Maynooth College, perpetuated and secured by an Act of Parliament, makes provision for the education of the Romish priesthood, and is exclusively under the management of the Romish episcopacy. In SPAIN, since 1815, the property of the Church has been sold by the Government, and professedly vested in the funds. The result is the general poverty of the clergy.

The GREEK CHURCH is predominant in Russia and in Greece. In Turkey it is fairly treated, through the influence of Russia and the great powers. So also with the various branches of Armenians, Maronites, and Syrian Christians in the Turkish empire.

Literary History.

ENGLISH LITERATURE from 1815 to 1884.—A classification of topics with a list of some of the leading authors is all we can give. To do justice to this subject would require the addition of hundreds of names, which the limits of this work forbid.

SCIENCE in General.—Duke of Argyll, Noel Arnott, Sir D. Brewster (kaleidoscope), C. Babbage, 1792–1871; E. Chadwick, Dallinger, T. H. Huxley, Sir J. Leslie, 1766–1832; Dion. Lardner (encyclopædia), R. Owen (palæontologist), Baden Powell, 1796–1860; Abraham Rees (encyclopædist), 1743–1825; Sedgwick, Mary Somerville, 1780–1872; Professor Tyndall, William Whewell, 1794–1866; A. R. Wallace, 1822; Wedgwood, Sir W. Thompson, Clerke Maxwell (mathematics), Graham Bell (telephone), Matthew Clifford, Dr. Joule, Tait, W. Spottiswoode. *Chemistry*: W. J. Brande, John Dalton (atomic theory), M. Faraday, 1793–1867; Leslie, Andrew Ure, Nicholson, Carlisle, Crookes, Sir H. G. Roscoe, Johnstone, J. Young. *Mathematics, Geometry*: Bonnycastle, De Morgan, 1806–1871; Olynthus Gregory, Hutton, Henry Smith, J. Todhunter,

J. B. Young, W. Hipsley, Barnard Smith, G. Boole, S. Parkinson. *Astronomy*: Sir George Biddell Airy, J. C. Adams (the planet Neptune), Sir John Herschel, 1792-1871; Carrington, Hodgson, Piazzi Smyth, J. Challis, J. R. Hind, J. N. Lockyer, J. P. Nichol, 1804-1859; R. A. Proctor, Huggins, Miller. *Geology*: Buckland, 1784-1856; J. W. Dawson (Canada), J. D. Forbes, 1809-1868; A. Geikie, J. Geikie, Hutton, Sir Charles Lyell, 1797-1875; Hugh Miller, 1802-1856; Sir R. I. Murchison, 1792-1871; John Phillips. *Electricity, Magnetism*: Sir William Snow Harris, Edward Sabine (meteorology), Plant, Varley, J. Munro, J. Jamieson. *Optics*: C. Wheatstone (telegraph), 1802-1875; Thomas Young, Wollaston, Sir J. Leslie, Cook, Fox-Talbot, Thomas Wedgwood, Abney, Graham Bell (telephone), Professor Stokes. *Natural History*: Sir James Banks, 1763-1826; Charles DARWIN (development theory), 1816-1878; Gould (ornithology), Kitchen Parker (embryology), F. Balfour (morphology), 1850-1882; Sir W. Hooker and Roget, Loudon, Robert Browne, Baron Müller (Australia), Sowerby (botany); Jardine, Sir J. Lubbock; E. B. Tylor, Sir C. W. Thomson, Andrew Prichard, Charles Waterton, 1782-1865. *Physiology*: Beal, Carpenter, J. Hinton. *Anatomy and Medicine*: John Abernethy, 1765-1831; Brodie, Cooper, Sir Charles Bell, J. M. Gully, Bond, Sir J. Alderson. *Ethnology*: Brace, Latham, Max Müller, J. C. Prichard, 1785-1848. *Palæontology*: Monsieur B. de Perthes, Professor Owen.

PHILOLOGY in General: Garnett, Horne Tooke (Diversions of Purley), Harris (Hermes), Max Müller, Isaac Taylor, jun. (the alphabet). *Classical*: Valpy, Blomfield, W. J. Donaldson, Gaisford, George Long. *Sanscrit*: J. Muir, H. H. Wilson, Sir C. Wilkins. *Indian Languages*: Carey, Caldwell, Crawford, Marsden, E. B. Eastwick, Gogerly, Hoole. *Chinese*: Robert Morrison, J. Legge, Edkins, Marshman, Williams. *Hebrew*: Lee, Pusey, Dr. Young, Grinfield, Jarrett, Driver. *Anglo-Saxon*: J. Bosworth, J. M. Kemble, Skeat, Morris, Earle. *Scotch*: Dr. Jamieson, Pinkerton. *Egyptology and Assyriology*: Bird, Hicks, G. Smith, Sayce, E. W. Lane, R. G. Poole, Todd, Chalmers, Ogilvie, Richardson, Rawlinson, Sharp.

POLITICAL ECONOMY: Babbage, Cobden, Fawcett, Goschen, Jevons, W. Jones, Sir James Mackintosh, James Mill, John S. Mill, Mayhew, J. R. McCulloch, Miss Martineau, Lord Overstone, M. T. Sadler, 1780-1835; N. W. Senior, 1790-1864; Tooke, Henry Price, D. Ricardo, Charles Perronet Thompson (Catechism of the Corn Laws), C. P. Villiers, T. E. C. Leslie, Newmarch, E. W. Norman.

STATESMEN AND POLITICIANS: William Cobbett, George Canning,

Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Daniel O'Connell, Richard Cobden, John Bright, Earl Grey, Lord John Russell, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Earl of Aberdeen, W. E. Gladstone, Earl of Derby, Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield), Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, Lord Clarendon, Lord Granville, Marquis of Salisbury.

FINE ARTS : J. Ruskin, P. G. Hamerton, J. C. Robinson, Professor Colvin. *Painting* : J. M. W. Turner, G. Morland, F. Calvert, W. Blake, D. Wilkie, Sir E. Landseer, B. R. Haydon, J. Martin, W. Hilton, Sir T. Lawrence, S. P. Jackson, T. Girtin, J. Varley, P. De Wint, Samuel Prout, David Roberts, Clarkson Stanfield, T. M. Richardson, W. Muller, Copley Fielding, J. E. Millais, Sir F. Leighton, Edwin Long, Alma Tadema, V. Prinsep, Albert Moore, G. A. Storey, W. L. Leitch, W. Hunt, E. Duncan, T. S. Cooper, F. Goodall, S. Palmer, H. B. Willis, W. Holman Hunt, A. Elmore, J. Sant, W. P. Frith, G. Cattermole, J. Glover, P. R. Morris, E. W. Cooke, E. M. Ward, Miss E. Thompson, F. W. Topham, F. Stothard, J. Constable, G. Lance, J. Holland, F. Tayler, F. Walker, Luke Fildes, A. Vickers, Sir J. Gilbert, R. Ansdell, T. Creswick, G. Chambers, E. K. Johnson, J. Linnell, J. Phillip, E. J. Niemann, J. C. Hook, T. Webster, H. S. Marks, Birket Foster, V. Cole, Briton Riviere, H. Herkomer, P. Graham, F. M. Brown, J. B. Burgess, Burne Jones, George Cruikshank, Richard Doyle, John Leech, J. Tenniel, G. Du Maurier, Charles Keene, Linley Sambourne—to which a large number of names of excellent artists might be added did space permit. *Engraving* : T. Bewick, Heath, Finden, T. Landseer, G. T. Doo, T. O. Barlow, S. Cousins, C. G. Lewis, F. Stacpoole, R. J. Lane, Lumb Stocks, R. Graves, J. W. Wilmore, W. H. Simmons. *Architecture* : Sir John Soane, W. Wilkins, J. Nash, Sir J. Wyattville, Sir Charles Barry, C. R. Cockerell, Sydney Smirke, Sir Robert Smirke, T. L. Donaldson, P. Hardwicke, J. Fergusson, G. E. Street, A. Pugin, E. M. Barry, Sir G. G. Scott, A. Waterhouse, George Godwin, R. N. Shaw. *Sculpture* : J. Flaxman, J. Nollekens, Sir F. Chantrey, J. E. Boehm, T. Brock, H. Weekes, J. Durham, T. Woolner, C. B. Birch, W. Calder Marshall. *Music* : Sir Sterndale Bennett, Sir John Goss, Sir H. Bishop, Sir M. Costa, Ebenezer Prout, V. Wallace, Balfe, Goring Thomas, Dr. Bridge, Dr. Stainer, Sir Henry Smart, J. Barnby, J. Hullah, Sir G. A. Macfarren, Sir J. Benedict, Sir A. Sullivan, Cowen, J. B. Calkin.

ENGINEERING : G. Stephenson, R. Stephenson, Sir W. Fairbairn, Sir William Armstrong, Brunel, Telford, Rennie, Scott Russell, Nasmyth, W. T. Henley (telegraphy).

METAPHYSICS, MORAL PHILOSOPHY. LOGIC : Sir W. HAMILTON,

Ferrier, J. S. MILL, Sir J. MACKINTOSH, G. H. Lewes, Maurice, Masson, MCCOSH, Mansel, G. Combe, 1788-1858; H. Sterling (Hegel), E. Caird (Kant), A. Bain, Herbert Spencer, CALDERWOOD, Professor Green, J. Grote, E. Grote, J. D. Morell, Thomas Webb.

LAW: Lords Truro, Selborne, Cockburn, St. Leonards, Lyndhurst, Coleridge, Westbury, Romilly, Cairns, Chelmsford, Hatherley, Penzance, Bramwell. The names of Mellor, Lush, Bacon, Malins, Phillimore, Jessel, Kindersley, Baggallay, Erle, J. F. Stephen, Ballantine, Wilkins, Hawkins, Huddleston, are all space allows to be given here.

HISTORY in General.—Sir G. C. LEWIS, Buckle, Charles BUTLER, Creasey, J. Nichols (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Literary History), W. H. LECKY, J. BRYCE (Holy Roman Empire), Sir J. Stephens, W. Smith, Dr. Dunham, H. F. Clinton (Grecian and Roman Chronology), Hales, Russell (Biblical Chronology). *Biblical History*: MILMAN, Dean STANLEY, Geo. Smith (Cambourn), Canon Farrar, Sir G. Grove, Edersheim, Sir Edward Strachey. *Biblical Criticism*: Scrivener, Westcott, Tregelles, Blomfield, Bishop Lightfoot, Grinfield, T. Davidson, W. R. Smith, Alford, Cheyne, Bishop Ellicott, Professor Moulton. *Antiquities*: Fosbrook, W. Gell, W. H. Nicolas, Britton, Planché, Thomas Wright, H. Ellis, Madden, W. Bentham, J. Fergusson. *Ecclesiastical History*: MILMAN (Latin Christianity); MILNER (A History of the Church of Christ), Stebbing, Waddington; Maitland (Mediæval History), Hardwicke; J. W. Donaldson (the Ante-Nicene Fathers); Burton, Isaac Taylor (Ancient Christianity); Thomas Greenwood (Latin Patriarchate); McCrie, John Nichols (the printer).

HISTORIES.—*Greece*: Thirlwall, Grote, Coxe, Keightley; Finlay, and Freeman (the History of Greece and of the Byzantine Empire). Mahaffy and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone have thrown a clearer light upon the Greeks and their history. Mure and Donaldson have written the History of Grecian Literature. *Rome*: Gibbon Ferguson, Hooke (the Historians of the Last Century); Dr. Arnold, Merivale, Dyer, G. Long, Liddell, Sheppard (the New Nationalities); Thos. Hodgkin (Italy and her Invaders); so also Hallam, and Robertson's Introduction to the History of Charles V. *England*: May, Wade, Lingard, Charles Knight, C. MacFarlane, Robert Vaughan, J. R. Green, Wade, Sir F. Palgrave, Charles Pearson, Miss Martineau, Spencer Walpole, Alison, Col. Napier, Kinglake, S. R. Gardiner, Gairdner, Molesworth, Professor Stubbs, Lecky, Earl Stanhope, Dr. Stoughton, Massey, Lord MACAULAY, FYFFE (History of Europe from 1789), W. H. Russell, A. Forbes, FREEMAN.

Scotland: J. H. Burton, F. W. Tytler, Cosmo Innes, E. W. Robertson, Robert and W. Chambers, Brodie (the critical examiner of Hume's History of the Stuarts). *India*: J. Mill, Thornton, Wilson, Wheeler, Sir J. Kaye, Malleison.

GEOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHIC DISCOVERY.—The *Arctic* voyages of *Ross* and *Parry*, 1818, of *Parry*, 1824, and the succeeding voyages of *Franklin*, *Richardson*, *Back*, *Beechy*, and *Scoresby*, with the expedition of *McClure* and others since, prove the interest felt in geographical problems. There are hundreds of volumes devoted to travels in every country in the old and new hemisphere, mainly to India, China, South Africa, the far west of North America, the Australian Colonies, New Zealand, and the Pacific, which may be found in any catalogue, some of which have taken a high position in our literature.

The *possibility* of the *North-easterly Passage* from the *North of Europe to Behring's Straits* has been settled by the voyage of the *Vega*, under Capt. NORDENSKJÖLD, 1878, 1879, which, after eleven months' detention a few leagues to the west of Behring's Straits, at length passed through and returned to Europe by the Indian Ocean and the Red and Mediterranean Seas; thus SWEDEN has had the honour of this great achievement. The area open to discovery becomes every day more limited. By the efforts now making we may expect a full exploration of *Central Asia*, of *Central Africa*, and of the *Northern Arctic Regions*. By the efforts of the agents and rivals of the International Association, the hitherto unknown regions between the Congo and the Niger are being, step by step, made known to geographers. E. H. Palmer, the great Orientalist, was killed by the Arabs, 1883.

The geographical writers are numerous. W. D. Cooley, Bunbury, R. F. Burton and also the Reports of the Geographical Society.

BIOGRAPHIES are numerous, and constitute a valuable portion of our literature. The few which we are able to select are best arranged alphabetically:—R. Bell (the poets), Lord Brougham (autobiography), Baron Bunsen's Life, Craik (Swift), Lord Campbell (the Chancellors), Carlyle (Frederick the Great, and Oliver Cromwell), Chambers (Scotch biographies) Life of Admiral Collingwood, Sarah Coleridge, Currie (Burns), W. H. Dixon's (Penn), Lord Dalling and Ashley (Palmerston), Deutsch's life and remains, Forsyth (Cicero), Foss (the judges), Forster (English statesmen, O. Goldsmith and Dickens), Froude (Cæsar and Carlyle), Gleig (Clive and Warren Hastings), Mrs. Everett Green (Princesses of England), Mrs. Gilbert (Ann Taylor, her autobiography), Thomas Jackson (John

Goodwin), Charles Kingsley's life, Lockhart (Sir Walter Scott), John S. Mill (autobiography), Macknight (Bolingbroke and Burke), D. Masson (Milton), Muir (Mahomet), Thomas Moore (Lord Byron), Morley (Cobden), Mozley (Reminiscences of Oriel College), Nasmyth's (autobiography), Mrs. Oliphant (Edward Irving), Paton (Oliver Cromwell), Sir Robert Peel's life, Lord Russell (Thomas Moore), Seeley (Stein), Smiles (industrial biographies), Mrs. Somerville's life, Southey's life, Stephenson (Dr. Hook), Southey (Wesley), Spedding (Lord Bacon), Earl Stanhope (William Pitt), Dean Stanley (Arnold), Sidney Smith's life, L. Tyermann (Wesley), A. Trollope (autobiography), Trevelyan (Lord Macaulay, and Charles J. Fox), Bishop Thirlwall's life; life of William Wilberforce and of Bishop Wilberforce; life of Whewell; Yonge (Lord Liverpool).

THEOLOGY.—Here is given a mere selection of names; many more might have been added, but the space is limited.

Church of England.—ARCHBISHOPS: WHATELY (theology, political and social economy, logic, rhetoric); TRENCH (the miracles and parables); TAIT, the late Primate (one of the most liberal and noble of all the ecclesiastical dignitaries; his death an *irreparable* loss to the Church of England); THOMSON (the Speaker's commentary and logic). BISHOPS: Brown (the Articles), Hampden (scholasticism), Ellicott (criticism), Lightfoot (criticism and commentaries), Thirlwall (history of Greece), Wilberforce (divinity and Church policy); Perry, Robertson, Hore (ecclesiastical historians), Frazer and Magee (able preachers) with Tristram and Fleming. Three distinguished bishops have been sent to Australia: Bishop MOORHOUSE (Melbourne), Bishop PEARSON (Newcastle), and Bishop BARRY (the Primate of Sydney); Bishop Temple (Sermons): the late Bishop of Lichfield, Dr. Selwyn, was the enterprising and gifted Bishop of New Zealand for many years. Dr. Thomas ARNOLD, A. W. HARE, Julius HARE, were divines identified with the Broad Church, but strictly Evangelical. MAURICE (philosophy—his position as a divine not easy to define; in character exemplary); Dr. JOWETT (critic and commentator), Charles KINGSLEY (naturalist and philanthropist), William Rowland (an advanced Broad Church divine). Of the advanced High Church School are Dr. Hooke, Blunt, KEBLE (the hymnologist), Dr. PUSEY, Dr. LIDDON (the first of preachers), H. J. Irons, men by no means agreeing in all their views of polity or theology; T. W. Birks, Edward Bickersteth, Melville will be regarded as Evangelical Low Church; Nares (the Creeds), ALFORD and Greswell are commentators. T. W. H. HORNE gave the first important English introduction to

Biblical criticism; Cheyne, Stanley Leathes (Hebrew literature) Canon Cooke (editor of the Speaker's Commentary), John Hunt (pantheism, English thought, &c.), F. W. Robertson (a popular preacher), E. H. Plumptre, C. A. Rowe, Wace (the evidences and apologetics generally), J. B. Maclellan (the Gospels), Mark Pattison. The *Missionary Bishops* were Heber, Wilson, Selwyn, sen., and Pattison (the martyr). There are other bishops and clergy yet living and labouring in the colonies and missions. The number of the English clergy is about 24,000, exclusive of the Church of Ireland, Sir Edmund Beckett and George Warrington are Churchmen who have done good service in the controversies of the day.

The *Presbyterian Churches*, including the Established, the Free Church, and the Nonconformist bodies, are, with the exception of a small number of Congregationalists (Independents and Baptists, and Wesleyan Methodists), the churches of the Scotch people. In the old Church, Tulloch represents a Broad Church party; Andrew Thomson was the great preacher in Edinburgh in 1820. In the Free Church Dr. Chalmers, Candlish, and Begg, with Sir H. Moncrieff, are dead; Dr. Eadie and J. Brown (commentators), with Guthrie, McCheyne, Bonar, Norman Macleod and J. Ker, are also dead. Among the living divines are Fairbairn, W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER (Independents), and Crawford, Bruce, Caird, Oswald DIKE; FLINT has taken a distinguished part in the theistical controversy. The DUKE OF ARGYLL has done good service to Christianity by his thoughtful, philosophical writings. In the mission work the names of Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, and Dr. Duff, of Calcutta, cannot be forgotten.

The Congregationalists (INDEPENDENTS).—Bennett, Waugh, Wilks, Jay, J. A. James, George Lambert, T. Raffles, Spencer, Liefchild, J. Parsons, Joseph Gilbert (*the Atonement*), the Claytons, James Bowden, E. Henderson, Dr. Kitto, Josiah Conder, J. Fletcher, William Bull, R. Vaughan, A. Raleigh, McAll, Brown (of the Bible Society), Urwick, R. W. Hamilton, J. Harris, John Campbell, Henry Rogers, Thomas Binney, Enoch Mellor, J. Baldwin Brown, Dr. Wardlaw, Samuel Martin, are dead. Among the living, Dr. Allon, Parker, R. Dale, Dr. Stoughton, J. G. Rogers, J. Kennedy, W. R. Reynolds, Alfred Cave, A. Morison, E. R. Conder, and Paxton Hood. In the colonies or in mission work, the names of Robert Morrison, (China), Moffat and Livingstone, in South Africa, and Williams in the South Seas, are generally known. The number of the Congregational ministers in the United Kingdom is about 3,000 (2,880 are found in the Congregational Year-Book).

The BAPTISTS have 2,280 ministers. Robert Hall, John Foster, Christopher Anderson, Dr. Innes, Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, H. Hinton, W. Brock, are dead. Dr. Angus, Dr. Landels, and the most wonderful of all modern preachers, C. H. Spurgeon, yet remain as prominent representatives of the Baptist Churches. On the mission, were the honoured names of E. Carey, Marshall, and Ward.

The UNITARIANS have J. Martineau, J. Beard, and others.

The WESLEYAN METHODISTS have 2,192 regular ministers in the United Kingdom, assisted by about 14,000 class leaders and 24,000 local preachers. Among the departed are Bramwell, Bradbury, Daniel Isaac, Jabez Bunting, Adam Clarke, Richard Watson, W. Townley, John Scott, Dr. Hannah, Dixon, Robert Newton, Daniel McAfee, B. Field, R. Treffrey, jun., Dr. Beecham, Dr. Hoole, Robert Young, Beaumont, W. L. Thornton, F. A. West, Dr. Waddy, C. Prest, J. Rattenbury, W. S. Wiseman, G. T. Perks, Dr. Gervase Smith, Thomas Vasey, Coley, T. Powell, W. Bunting, W. W. Stamp, and Drs. Jobson and Punshon. Yet living are John Farrar, G. Osborne, D.D., William Arthur, W. B. Pope, D.D., John H. Rigg, D.D., E. E. Jenkins, Dr. Rule, Professor Moulton, B. Gregory, J. O. Geden, M. G. Pearse, J. Agar Beet, the Commentator, R. N. Young, Thornley Smith, Olver, John Burton, Professor Dallinger, and others. Among the missionaries, Gogerly and Spence Hardy, known as Buddhist scholars. Barnabas Shaw and William Shaw, the fathers of the South African missions, J. W. Appleyard and W. J. Davis (Kaffir scholars), all of whom are deceased. John Walton, W. Tyson, and H. H. Dugmore, and others yet remain.

The METHODISTS OF THE NEW CONNEXION, the PRIMITIVE, and other bodies of Methodists are each labouring in their several spheres. Dr. W. Cooke is a leading theologian.

In these lists of Christian ministers of the more important Church organisations (the various *folds* which shelter the *one flock*), the intention is to give a specimen of the class of men who are labouring in the Christian Churches for the benefit of the world at large. Each denomination is interested in the prosperity and progress of the other denominations. The rivalry of the Churches should be confined to a generous emulation to labour the most abundantly in their respective fields. A time will come (but it is not yet) when all distinctions, so far as they separate good men, will disappear, and all the Churches in heart will be one. In the mean time it is desirable that the Churches should know something of the literary work of the learned, and of the leaders of

hought, in other Churches than their own. Such intellectual communion would not affect the grounds of their formal separation, but they would create mutual kindly and respectful feeling in the conviction that opinions the opposite of our own may be held by men as educated and as sensible as ourselves.

THE POETS and writers of verse are numerous. The principal are George Crabbe, Samuel Rogers, William Wordsworth, S. T. Coleridge, R. Southey, T. Moore, T. Campbell, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, P. B. Shelley, John Keats, R. Pollok, J. Keble, Alfred (Lord) Tennyson, A. C. Swinburne, Robert and Mrs. Browning, W. Morris. *Of Dramatic Verse*: Joanna Baillie, J. S. Knowles, E. L. Bulwer, T. N. Talfourd, Tom Taylor, M. Morton, J. B. Buckstone, Douglas Jerrold, D. Boucicault, J. R. Planché, H. J. Byron. *Of shorter Poems, lighter Verse, &c.*: G. Canning, Mrs. Barbauld, W. L. Bowles, W. S. Landor, Charles Lamb, J. H. Frere, C. Wolfe, James Montgomery, Hon. W. R. Spencer, Leigh Hunt, James and Horace Smith, Mrs. Hemans, T. B. (Lord) Macaulay, R. H. Horne (Orion), Thomas Hood, T. H. Bayly, Charles Mackay, D. M. Moir (Delta), J. Mayne. James Hogg, Allan Cunningham, R. Barham (Ingoldsby), B. W. Procter (Barry Cornwall), F. Mahoney (Father Prout), Miss Landon (L. E. L.), W. Aytoun, T. Pringle, Ebenezer Elliott (Corn Laws), Hon. Mrs. Norton, Mary Howitt, C. Patmore, Eliza Cook, S. Dobell, M. Arnold, R. Buchanan, Austin Dobson, M. Praed, L. Blanchard, C. Shirley Brooks, W. S. Gilbert, and very many others.

AMONG THE NOVELISTS, whose name is legion, the following names may be mentioned: Sir Walter Scott, W. Godwin, Mrs. Shelley, J. G. Lockhart, Miss Mitford, Sir E. L. Bulwer (Lord Lytton), Maria Edgeworth, Michael Scott, Miss Ferrier, J. Banim, J. B. Frazer, John Galt, T. Hope, J. Morier, Theodore Hook, Mrs. Opie, W. H. Ainsworth, Mrs. S. C. Hall, W. Carleton, Mrs. Trollope, Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield), Mrs. Gore, Capt. Marryat, G. P. R. James, C. Lever, Capt. Mayne Reid, E. Bradley (Cuthbert Bede), S. Lover, D. Jerrold, S. Warren, Miss Braddon, J. S. Le Fanu, Charles and Henry Kingsley, George MacDonald, Mortimer Collins, Dutton Cook, Mrs. Oliphant, Annie Thomas, Mark Lemon, Mrs. L. Banks, Laurence Oliphant, Rhoda Broughton, Helen Mathers, Mrs. Parr, Mrs. Henry Wood, Miss C. M. Yonge, Mrs. Cashel Hoey, Miss Mulock, Mrs. Lynn Linton, Mrs. Gaskell, T. Hughes, E. Jenkins, Capt. Whyte-Melville, Hamilton Aidé, Miss Macquoid, Mrs. Riddell, J. McCarthy, Sir G. Dasent, J. Sturgis, Mrs. Eiloart, J. Grant, W. H. G. Kingston,

G. Manville Fenn, Hawley Smart, Walter Besant, J. Rice, George Eliot (Miss Evans), Charles Dickens, W. M. Thackeray, G. A. Sala, Anthony Trollope, James Payn, Wilkie Collins, F. C. Burnand, W. Charles Reade, H. C. Merivale, Thomas Hardy, Edmund Yates, Black, R. D. Blackmore. A great many others might readily be added.

IN GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE are found many respectable and a few great names.

Mrs. AUSTIN, J. S. Blackie, W. Bagehot, P. Bayne, Canon Boyd, H. T. Buckle, C. Colton, Crabbe Robinson, Miss F. P. Cobbe, Lord Cockburn, T. DE QUINCEY, Isaac D'Israeli, C. W. DILKE, W. Hepworth Dixon, Dr. Doran, H. S. Edwards, Mrs. Ellis, A. D. Fonblanque (the *Examiner*), John Forster, G. R. Gleig, G. Gilfillan, W. R. GREG, C. C. F. Greville, W. Hazlitt, W. Hone (parodies), R. H. HUTTON (journalist), Sir A. Helps, Sir B. Head, Sir G. Head, T. C. Haliburton (Sam Slick), William and Mary HOWITT, Mrs. Jameson, Lord JEFFREY (*Edinburgh Review*), Dr. Kitto, Charles KNIGHT (a man to whom the literature of England is highly indebted, Charles LAMB (Elia), M. G. Lewis (Monk Lewis), W. E. H. LECKY, Lord Macaulay, W. Maginn, W. H. Mallock, E. Miall, Hannah More, Robert Mudie (Babylon the Great), George Macdonald, John Oxenford, Samuel Phillips, W. R. S. Ralston, S. Smiles, Sydney SMITH, Professor SHAIRP, Leslie STEPHEN, Nassau SENIOR, Isaac Taylor, sen. (Essays), J. Timbs, W. J. Thom (*Notes and Queries*), Blanco WHITE, F. Martin (Year-Book), John Brown (Rab.), Thomas Carlyle.

PHILOSOPHY in England has been discussed by about 130 writers since 1815, a few of which have been noticed in connexion with *Metaphysics*. The philosophy of LOCKE, explained by Reid, Dugald Stewart, Sir W. Hamilton, Sir J. Mackintosh, and McCosh is generally accepted, and is sometimes called the *Scottish philosophy*. The writers of this school have been affected by the teachings of the Eclectic philosophy (an offshoot of Locke's), as taught by Royer Collard and Victor Cousin in France. Meanwhile, the *German philosophy* of KANT and HEGEL especially has exercised a considerable influence over the opinions of English students, through the warm advocacy of that philosophy by S. T. COLERIDGE in his "Aids to Reflection," published in 1825. In this work, and in all his prose writings, "he took an attitude of contemptuous hostility towards the philosophical writers of his time, and aroused a belief in, and a longing for, what were supposed to be the profounder and more elevated views of the great German masters of speculation."¹

¹ Ueberweg, vol. ii. p. 485.

KANT has been translated by Mahaffy, Caird, and others ; HEGEL by J. H. Sterling. Traces of Kant's teaching may easily be recognised in Sir W. Hamilton, Dean Mansell, J. D. Morell, and many others of our philosophical writers. LOCKE's principles have been modified by Brown, Harris (Hermes), and Ferrier, but remain, on the whole, the most generally accepted of all the rival systems. The *associational psychology* of Hartley and Priestley has been revived by James Mill, stripped of its materialistic adjuncts, in which he has been followed partially by JOHN STUART MILL, by GEORGE GROTE (the historian), by GEORGE H. LEWES, and by ALEXANDER BAIN. HERBERT SPENCER has aimed to widen the psychological principles of the associational psychology into a universal doctrine of evolution, which should not only provide for the evolution of all forms of being, material and spiritual, but should also provide for the evolution of the fundamental principles of philosophy itself.¹ Philosophy has of late passed into cosmology, the mere science of the physical universe. It is busying itself with the beginnings of all material existences, the gradual formation of the solar system, the history of our own earth when preparing to be the abode of life, and the processes by which the cruder forms of life advanced to the highest exemplar of life in man.² To sketch the several systems would require a large volume, and to understand the novel phraseology necessary to do justice to the opinions of the writers would require a dictionary of special words and terms. Common sense revolts at the waste of brain labour and of time. It will be sufficient briefly to notice the philosophy of John Stuart Mill, Alexander Bain, and Herbert Spencer, who may be regarded as the philosophers of the day. *John Stuart Mill* "reasserts the psychological theory of empiricism against the opposite theory of transcendentalism. Its very purpose is to reassert Locke's principle in a form adapted to the latest development of opinion, and to exhibit afresh its universal competency."³ "After a long and laborious analysis, he reaches the conclusion that matter must be defined as a permanent possibility of sensation, and that mind is resolved into a series of feelings with a background of possibilities of feeling. In reference to the belief in the real existence of the external world, he concedes that it cannot be proved philosophically, and can only be justified by the consideration that the world of possible sensations, succeeding one another according to laws, is as much in other beings as it is in me. It has, therefore, an existence outside me :

¹ Ueberweg, ii. p. 422.² David Masson, pp. 275, 276.³ Ibid., p. 234.

it is an external world." ALEXANDER BAIN : "His writings treat mental phenomena on the theory of Hartley and James Mill, with this difference, that Bain makes much of the discoveries and analyses of modern physiology. . . . He does not deny the existence of a spiritual principle in man independently of a cerebral organisation, nor does he positively affirm it. . . . Though not an avowed materialist, his explanations all rest upon materialistic analogies." HERBERT SPENCER : "The starting-point of his system is the doctrine of evolution. . . . All organic development is a change from homogeneity to heterogeneity. . . . Matter and mind are simply bundles or series of phenomena, and nothing besides. . . . The persistence of force is assumed to be a universal and necessary axiom, applied to the persistence of phenomenal force, and also to the unknown and unknowable Being or force which is behind all phenomena. Science and religion are at one, as both assume *a one, a cause, a permanent all-prevailing force*. But revealed religion or scientific theology is impossible."¹ A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (No. 325) remarks that "Mr. Spencer's prime object is to prove that the universe has evolved itself out of a first cause, which does not add intelligence, or will, or any kind of personality to those imposing epithets which he applies to it ; that his whole system is simply a play upon words, a verbal conjuring, a philosophy of epithets and phrases, concealing the loosest reasoning and the haziest indefiniteness on every point except the bare negation of any knowable or knowing author of the universe, which, of course, is the reason why this absurd pretence of a philosophy has obtained the admiration of a multitude of people who will swallow any camel that pretends to carry the world, standing on the tortoise that stands on nothing, provided only it has been generated by a man out of his own brains, and asserted in imposing language with sufficient confidence."² To plain common-sense people it seems strange that an able, respectable man should so thoroughly persuade himself that these assumptions and contradictions, running through hundreds of pages, may claim the title of a philosophy ! There is a very able critique on Herbert Spencer in the *London Quarterly*, No. 120, July, 1883, entitled "The Synthetical Philosophy Examined."

Scarcity and cost of books from 1815 to 1829.—There were plentiful supplies of books of all sorts, from the quarto at five guineas to the octavo at ten or twelve shillings, for the wealthier classes, and libraries from which in large towns the middle classes could obtain

¹ Ueberweg, ii. pp. 432, 433.

² *Edinburgh Review*, No. 325, pp. 42-81, abridged.

the current literature, and, after some delay, obtain a copy of the more recent publications. A cheap serial, the *Mirror*, commenced about 1820, which had a large circulation. The rage to obtain a copy of one of the three volumes of the Waverley Novels was extraordinary: thousands were willing to pay threepence the volume for a day's perusal. These fascinating works led to a great increase of readers. In 1827, *Constable's Miscellany* of useful and entertaining works appeared in monthly volumes, the price, about three shillings and sixpence: the series completed eighty volumes. *Murray's Family Library* commenced 1829, and was equally successful. Then followed the *Edinbro' Cabinet Library* in 1831; *Chambers's Journal* in 1832. The publications of the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* had commenced in 1827; but, though excellent in their kind, they were mainly scientific, and unattractive to the masses. But this Society did much for the education of the middle classes, especially in the preparing and editing the *Penny Encyclopædia* (published by the Society in twenty-seven volumes, edited by G. Long), which yet remains an invaluable book of reference: so also the *Penny Magazine*. The *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* published the *Saturday Magazine*. The *Quarterly Reviews*, i.e., the *Edinburgh*; the *Quarterly* (Murray), Westminster, British Quarterly, North British Review, the British and Foreign Evangelical Review, the London Quarterly Review, the Church of England Review, the National, represent the opinions of distinct political and religious parties: so also the *monthlies*, i.e., Blackwood, Macmillan, Contemporary, Fortnightly, Nineteenth Century. The London *daily papers* now in circulation are—the Times, the Daily News, the Telegraph, Standard, Post, Chronicle, St. James's Gazette, Globe, Pall Mall Gazette, Evening News, and Echo. The old Courier, the Morning Chronicle, and the Sun have ceased to exist; as also Cobbett's Register, which was a weekly pamphlet. The *leading weekly papers* are—the Spectator, the Saturday Review, the Observer, the Illustrated London News, the Graphic, Truth, the World, Punch, and John Bull. The *literary papers* are—the Literary World, Athenæum, and Academy. The Church of England, the Non-conformists, and the Methodists have their weekly papers, which are not generally purely sectarian.

A series of invaluable dictionaries, biblical, classical, historical, and biographical, have been published by Murray, with histories edited carefully by writers of well-known competency. A series of small works on ancient and modern history and the history of England have been issued by Longmans. Each volume contains matter

equal to an ordinary octavo volume, and the writers are men of ability in their several departments.

The *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* (48 vols. 4to., 1818-1845) has not been continued by supplements, or reprinted in a new edition. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* has been repeatedly reissued in new editions since its first appearance in 1778. The present is the ninth edition. *Rees's Encyclopædia* (45 vols. 4to.) was compiled early in the century, and was published in 1802 and following years. Other encyclopædias have been published, as *Brewster's* (18 vols. 4to.), *Encyclopædia Perthensis*; *Encyclopædia Londinensis* (24 vols. 4to., 1810-1829); *London Encyclopædia* (22 vols. 8vo., 1829); *English Encyclopædia* (12 vols. 4to., 1856-1872); *Chambers's Encyclopædia* (10 vols. royal 8vo.). Many *Dictionaries of the English Language* have been re-edited, *i.e.*, Dr. Johnson by Todd and by Latham, in 4to.; Richardson, Nuttall, Chambers, Stormonth, Roget, and Ogilvie. A new dictionary is publishing by Cassell, and another on a larger scale, edited by Dr. Murray, publishing by the Clarendon Press, which will rival Grimm's Dictionary of the German Language.

TWO SOCIETIES established within this period have done, and are doing, good service to the community. THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, which is connected with similar societies on the Continent. It was established 1807, and has published a valuable series of reports, translations, and journals, all of prominent interest. THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE, established in 1866, by the untiring persistent efforts of the Rev. Robert Mitchell and Messrs. James Reddie and Alexander McArthur, Lord Shaftesbury being the president. Its object is to oppose those teachings of the science of the day which are alike scientifically and theologically untrue, while ready to receive thankfully the *facts* which almost daily add to our knowledge of the inexhaustible wonders of our world. The Transactions of this Society contain much that is highly instructive and specially interesting to all classes of the clergy. Another circumstance is characteristic of the improved character of our age—the establishment of a *Committee* to prepare a new *translation of the Holy Scriptures* of the Old and New Testaments, selected from all the Protestant communions (1878). As the first-fruits of the labours of this Committee we have already a new version of the New Testament (1881), which is a valuable help to the Christian public, though not likely to supersede the old version. It is, however, a contribution to the English Bible of the future.

Literature of the United States of America, from 1815 to 1884.

The literature of the United States has now taken its proper position in the world. It has not only a character of its own, but that character is a very high one.

SCIENCE: Dana, Audubon, Agassiz, Schoolcraft, Morton, J. W. Draper, Asaph, Hall, and Watson (astronomy.)

MENTAL PHILOSOPHY: Noah Porter, McCosh, Upham, Wayland, Marsh, Henry, Bowen, Brownson, Hickok, Asa Mahan, Day, Haven, Lieber, Cocker, H. B. Smith.

PHILOLOGY: Whitney, Marsh.

LEXICOGRAPHERS: Worcester, Webster.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE: Felton, Woolsey, Anthon, Everett, Lewis.

GENERAL LITERATURE: Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Dr. Holmes, J. K. Paulding, Lowell, Tuckerman, Follen, J. Quincy Adams, R. C. White, H. N. Hudson, Dr. Child, W. G. Simms, F. Hodge, C. T. Brooks, Edison, Horace Mann.

FICTION: C. B. Brown, R. H. Dana, E. A. Poe, J. F. Cooper, William Ware, Mrs. Stowe, Lydia Child, Verplank, T. S. Fay, W. D. Howells, N. P. Wilkie, Hawthorne, C. F. Browne (Artemus Ward), Henry James, C. F. Hoffman, F. B. Harte, J. K. Paulding, T. B. Thorpe, John Neal, H. Melville.

TRAVELS: G. W. Curtis, Fremont, Winthrop, Robinson, T. Starr, King, Thoreau, Hayes, J. A. MacGahan.

ARTISTS: Copley, West, Austin, Leslie.

POETRY: Mrs. Sedgwick, Mrs. Sigourney, Longfellow, Bryant, Whitman, Lowell, Whittier, Holmes, E. C. Steadman, Alice Carey.

HISTORIANS: Bancroft, Hildreth, Washington Irving, W. H. Prescott, Motley, Ticknor, John F. Kirk, Horace Greely, Ollier, Edward King, Marshall.

THEOLOGY: Timothy Dwight, Channing, Moses Stuart, Beecher, Todd, Finney, Bush, Atwater, Park, Jacob Abbott, Noyes, C. Hodge, Shedd, Woolsey, Schaaf, Bushnell, G. P. Fisher, H. James.

LAW: Marshall, Kent, Storey, Wheaton, Tayler, Lewis.

MISCELLANEOUS: Marshall, Jewell.

French Literature from 1815-1884.

Next to England and Germany the literature of France is the most important and the most extensive. In *Natural Science*, *Mathematics*, *Philosophy*, and *Philology*, the French writers occupy a leading position. The language of France is well adapted for

narration and political discussions and general literature. Most of the recent publications have in them little of European interest, but they are adapted to Parisian tastes, and some of them highly popular. The following list is confined to the most celebrated names:—

SCIENCE.—*Chemistry*: Thénard, 1777–1851; Chaptal, 1756–1832; Gay-Lussac, 1775–1850; Cailletet, and others. *Astronomy*: Arago, 1786–1853; Leorcabault; Leverrier. *Zoology*: Isidore, G. S. St. Hilaire, 1805–1861; Etienne Geoffroy St. Hilaire, 1773–1844. *Natural History*: Desmarests, 1725–1815. *Entomology*: La Marck, 1744–1829. *Fishes*: Lacépède, 1756–1825. *Botany*: Jussieu, 1748–1836, the founder of the Natural System, opposed to that of Linnæus. *Physiology of Botany*: Morbel; Biot (*Meteors*), 1803; Phynes Foucault. *Polarisation of Light*: Malus; Fremel. *Electricity*: Ampère. *Heat*: Séguin; Cloquet (*Anatomy*).

PHILOSOPHY: Royard Collard, 1761–1846; Jeoffry, 1796–1847; Joubert, 1750–1824 (equal to Pascal); Damiron, 1794–1862; Vacherot, 1809; Victor Cousin, 1794–1867; Auguste Comte, 1793–1857; Quinet, 1803–1875; Taine.

POLITICAL ECONOMY: Bastiat; De Lavergne; Blanqui; Chevalier De Tocqueville; Say.

PHILOLOGY: Remusat (Chinese, Thibet); Renan (Hebrew); Cheny, Bornœuf, Lassen (Sanskrit); Champollion (hieroglyphics); S. de Sacy (Arabic); S. Julian, Wolf, Diez (Roman languages); Lanze (Arabic).

LAW.—Leromoiner, 1805–1857; Baron de Gerando, 1772–1842; Lachaud.

SOCIAL REFORMERS.—Lamennais, 1787–1854; Lacordaire, 1802–1806; Père Felix, Père Hyacinthe, Le Play; Coquerel, 1820–1875; St. Simon, 1772–1837; Fourier, 1772–1837; New System of Society, Cabet, 1788–1856; Communism.

POLITICAL LITERATURE.—Chateaubriand, 1768–1848; Madame de Stael; Lamartine; Paul Louis Courier, 1722–1821; Joseph de Maistre (Absolutist Ultramontane), 1754–1821; Volney, 1757–1820; De Bonald, 1754–1845; (Royalist and Absolutist), Montalembert (royalist and Catholic, not Ultra), 1814–1870; Louis Veuillot (Absolutist, Ultramontane), died 1883; Bishop Dupanloup (Ultra-Catholic); Benjamin Constant (Constitutionalist) 1767–1830; Edmund About, 1828–1880; A. Carrel, 1800–1836; Jules Simon; Du Pin, 1783–1865; Martigniac, 1778–1832; Percier, Odillon Barrot, Manuel, General Foy, Laboulayé, Reynald.

HISTORIANS.—Louis Blanc; Raynal; SISMONDI, 1773–1842;

De Barante, 1782-1866; Jomini; Amédée THIERRY, 1787-1873; Augustus THIERRY, 1795-1856; P. Ségur, 1780-1875; Henry MARTIN, 1810; THIERS, 1797-1878; Mignet, 1796-1883; Michelet, 1798-1873; QUINET, 1803-1875; LANFREY, 1828-1871; Michaud, 1767-1839; GUIZOT, 1787-1876; Ampère (Roman History); Beugnot; Duruy, 1840; Laborde, 1801-1832; Michiels, 1813; Dumont D'Urville; Bonnechose, Buchons, Daru, TAINE; Du Laure, 1755-1815; Nettement, 1815-1869; Ternaut, 1808; Vapereau, 1790-1870; Lacratelle, 1761-1855; Bourrienne (Memoir of the Emperor Buonaparte), 1769-1834; Las Casas (Count) 1766-1842; the memorial of St. Helena, and the Historical Atlas published in 1802; Capefigue; Barbaroux (O.) 1794-1867; Histories of the Wars of Napoleon are numberless; so also personal memoirs relating to the period of the Revolution.

POETRY.—Béranger, 1780-1857; J. de Chénier, 1764-1833; A. de Chénier, 1762-1794; Casimir Delavigne, 1793-1843; Ducis (Shakespeare), 1731-1816; Ponsard, 1804-1867; Gautier, 1811-1872; Lamartine; Victor Hugo.

LITERATURE.—Littré, Saint Beuve, 1804-1869; G. Sand, 1793-1876; Balzac, jun., 1799-1850; Villemain, Gustav Flaubert (critics), 1799-1870; Nisard, 1806; St. M. Girardin, 1800-1873; Gustav Plaun, Buloz, Henry Etienne, S. René, Taillandu (critics, *Revue du Monde*) Demogeot, 1828; Merimée, Jules Verne, 1828; Madame de Genlis, 1746-1830.

FICTION.—De Maistre; De Vigny; Dumas; Erckmann-Chatrian, &c.

THEOLOGY.—De Pressensé; Vinet (Swiss); Bersier, Lichtenberger, and others.

ARTISTS.—*Painters*: G. Doré, Horace Vernet, Rosa Bonheur, Corot.

Philosophy in France, 1815-1884.—Since the beginning of the present century two philosophical tendencies opposed the sensualism and materialism which reigned from long before the Revolution to the conclusion of the first Empire. The one was the *eclectic and spiritual school* founded by Royard COLLARD, which was built up by COUSIN, who added to the views of Locke and Reid some of those of the German philosophers; the other was the result of Hegelianism, which found a few disciples. A system of "POSITIVISM, which refuses, in principle, to make affirmation respecting anything that is not a subject of exact investigation, but which yet, for the most part, makes common cause with materialism, was founded by COMTE." It denies all metaphysics and all search for *first* or final causes, and accepts neither Atheism, nor Theism, nor Pantheism.

The grand doctrine is IMMANENCE, which, according to Comte, is the watchword of science, explaining the universe by causes within the universe. Man has advanced necessarily through three estates, from the credulous, superstitious, theological state, through the abstract, scholastic, or metaphysical state, to the experimental or POSITIVE, which leads from the domain of metaphysics to the domain of positive science. In the classification and co-ordination of the sciences we are required to advance from the simple to the complex. At the basis are the Mathematics, then come in turn Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Sociology. These are the six fundamental Sciences. Recently Comte has arrived at a certain conception of religion and a real form of worship, of which humanity is the object; but this part of his philosophy is repudiated by his most eminent disciples. LAMENNAIS attempted to form a new school of philosophy, 1841-1846. The essay *Esquisse d'une Philosophie* is perhaps the most vast *synthesis*, which has been attempted in France in the nineteenth century. He applied the principle of evolution to the philosophy of Nature (as Schelling); he has found no followers.¹

Literature of Germany from 1815 to 1884.

German literature, even when limited to the period since 1815, is a vast and illimitable field, difficult even for literary Germans to master, and all but impossible to a foreigner. Of all the publications in English which attempt to do something like justice to the activity and depth of the German intellect the work of Gostwick and Harrison is undoubtedly the most satisfactory, and *it may be read with pleasure*.² The following very imperfect list of authors (which does not include a large number of valuable new writers who have sprung up within the last few years) may serve to give some idea of the variety and extent of German literature.

SCIENCE in general.—A. V. Humboldt (Kosmos), Goethe (the poet), Oken, Helmholtz, Marno, H. Müller, Dopler, Seebeak, Chladni. *Astronomy*: Encke, Schwabe, Biela, Lamont, Clausen. *Chemistry*: Liebig, Wöhler. *Botany*: Sacks, Moldenhauer. *Optics*: Frauenhofer. *Photography*: Ritter, Kirchoff. *Heat*: Mayer, Hirn. *Protoplasm*: Von Mohl. *Physiology and Embryology*: Von Baer, Schwann, Bourdach, Carus, Virchow, Schleiden, Vogt. *Materialist Philosophy*: Hæckel.

¹ Abridged from Ueberweg, vol. ii. pp. 337-343.

² Crown 8vo. 1883, p. 642.

GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVELLERS.—*Treatises*: Schutz, Berghaus, Ritter, Perthes, Sprüner, Oesterley, Arendts, Balbi, Peterman, Weber. *The leading Travellers are*: Rüppel, Richtofen, Kreitner, Schweinfurth, Lichtenstein, Barth, Krapf, Fritsch.

LAW, POLICE, AND NATIONAL ECONOMY.—Hugo, Savigny Gans, Feuerbach, Von Berger, Stahl, Gagern, Eichhorn; Lassalle and Karl Marx (Socialists), Schultze-Delitzsch (Associationism), and many others; J. Goerres, F. J. Jahn, E. M. Arndt, were political writers in the German reaction of 1812–1815; Justus Perthes.

EDUCATION.—Von Raumer, Herder, F. Jahn, Diesterweg.

MUSIC.—Wagner, Weber, Kostlin, Mozart, Spohr, Mendelssohn, Kullak, Carl Engel, Flotow.

HIEROGLYPHICS, &c.—Seyffarth, Klaproth, Grotefend, Lepsius.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE.—J. G. H. Hermann, F. A. Wolf, Bœekh, K. O. Müller, Cramer, Wachsmuth, Hermann (K. F.), Dindorf, Bekker.

PHILOLOGY.—Bunsen, K. W. F. Schlegel, Bopp, Rosen, Lassen, W. V. Humboldt, Thiersch, Pott, J. Grimm, W. Grimm, Graf, Mätzner, Stralman, Sanders, Wiegand, Lazarus, and others.

HISTORY.—*Biography*: Von Ense, Pertz, Mayerhoff, Pfizer, Justus Perthes, Droysen Gregorovius, Adolph Stahr, Gottschall (German Plutarch), Würzbach (Austrian Biographical Lexicon). *Literary History, &c.*: Ritter, Staekl, K. Michelet, Kuno Fischer, Ueberweg, K. Vehse (civilisation), Klemm (civilisation), Schön (European civilisation), Gulich and Hoffman (trade and agriculture), Wachsmuth (European morals). *General History*: J. Müller, Rotteck, Becker, Böttiger, Schlosser, Heeren and Ukert, Riehl, Corwen and Dieffenbach. *Ancient Oriental Nations*: Bunsen, Heeren, Dümichen. *Greece*: Curtius, Schorne, K. Lachmann, Droysen. *Rome*: Niebuhr, Drumann, F. Kortüm, Ihne, Schwegler, Mommsen. *The Middle Ages*: Pertz, H. Leo, F. Rehm, Hullman, Wilkens and Kugler. *The Papacy*: Ranke, R. Pauli, Harter on Innocent III. *Germany*: Giesebrecht, J. Chouel, Schlosser, Mailath, Wachsmuth, Spittler, Gagern, Haussen, Menzel, Kohlrausch, Archenholtz, Beitzke, Van Raumer and Benfy, Gindley, Droysen. *Oriental History*: Von Hammer, G. Weil. *French Revolution*: Von Sybel, Stein. *English History*: Lappenburg, Dahlmann, Fischel, Hermes, Honegger. *Ecclesiastical History*: H. Ewald (the Biblical period), Neander, Guericke, Hagenbach, Ullmann, Giesler, Hase, Dormer, Schwartz, Baur, Ditmann. *The Romish Historians are*: Hefele, Döllinger, and Möhler. *The*

Reformation: Ranke, Hagen, Oechsle, Bensen, and Zimmermann (the Peasants' War).

POETRY.—Bürger, L. Borne (the German Voltaire), Claudius, Chamisso, Fouqué, Heine, Körner, Kotzebue, Lafontaine, Müller, Helfmann, Count Stolberg, F. Stolberg, Tieck, Voss, Werner, Uhland; Jahn and Arndt, with Körner, were the patriot poets of 1813.

PHILOSOPHY.—The philosophy of Germany is an unmanageable subject, whether treated with brevity or in all its fulness, scarcely understandable by the English mind; for which reason it often appears to the English reader to be altogether irreconcilable with common sense. It may be that "no metaphysical system has had in it a principle of vitality; none has succeeded in establishing itself, because none deserved to succeed," according to Lewes. In his opinion, with which many will agree, "philosophy itself, in all its highest speculations, is but more or less ingenious playing upon words. From Thales to Hegel verbal distinctions have always formed the ground of philosophy, and must ever do so as long as we are unable to penetrate the essence of things." Philosophy has ever been a movement, but the "movement has been circular."¹ The real value of the speculations in the metaphysical sciences is to be found in the exercise of the mental faculties; the danger is lest intellectual subtleties displayed in puzzling paradoxes should, by degrees, lessen the moral sense.

HERDER, J. G., 1744–1803, endeavoured "to comprehend Christianity as the religion of humanity, man as the final development of nature, and human history as progressive development into humanity." He declares that the noblest aim of human life, and the one most difficult to realise, is to learn from youth up what is one's duty, and how in the easiest manner, and in every moment of life to perform it as if it were not a duty.² Herder was chiefly remarkable for the animating influence he exerted on the minds of several of his contemporaries.³ SCHLEGEL, F., 1722–1829, is the philosopher of culture. He sees in art the true means of rising above the vulgar and commonplace;⁴ he is the founder of literary history in the higher sense.⁵ NOVALIS—i.e., *F. Von Hardenberg*, 1772–1802, was like Herder and F. Schlegel, rather poetical and literary than philosophic. He was devoted in theory to the Roman Catholic

¹ Lewes, vol. xv. p. 613.

² Gostwick & Harrison, p. 240.

³ Gostwick & Harrison, p. 389.

⁴ Ueberweg, vol. ii. p. 201.

⁵ Ueberweg, vol. ii. p. 212.

Church and mediæval institutions. RICHTER, J. P. F., 1763-1825, was distinguished by his hearty sympathy with life. He wrote sixty-five volumes, which are distinguished by their moral tone. HAMAN, J. G., 1730-1788, the friend of Kant, Herder, and Jacobi, was called the Magus of the North. He took pleasure in holding up for special honour the mysteries or *pudenda* of Christian faith, illuminating them with flashes of thought, which, though original, often degenerated into the far-fetched and fanciful.¹ These *five* popular writers belong more to *General Literature* than to *Philosophy*. This is not the case with the following, who, whatever else they may have been, are philosophers, and fit representatives of the varied phases of German thought.

FICHTE, J. G., 1762-1814, has left a remark which is worth all his philosophy:—"The philosophy that one chooses depends on the kind of man one is." The problem which he attempts to solve is the relation of object to subject. To solve this it was necessary to penetrate the essence of things—to apprehend *noumena*. The *Ego* was the necessary basis of his system. Consciousness, as alone certain, was the ground upon which absolute science must rest. It was within him that he found, deep in the recesses of his soul, beneath all understanding, superior to all logical knowledge, there lay a faculty by which truth, absolute truth, might be known. The great point which he endeavoured to establish is the identity of being and thought, of existence and consciousness, of object and subject; and he established this by means of the *Ego*, considered as essentially an activity.² Lewes remarks "That the opinions are not those of ordinary thinkers, we admit. That they are repugnant to all common sense we must also admit: that they are false we believe; but we also believe them to have been the laborious products of an earnest mind, the consequences of admitted premises drawn with singular audacity and subtlety."³

SCHELLING, F. W. J., 1775-1854, was a pupil of Fichte, but his *Ego* was not that of Fichte (the human soul); it was the Infinite, the Absolute, the All (which Spinoza called substance), which manifests itself in the form of Ego and non-Ego—as nature and mind. Nature is spirit visible; spirit is invisible nature; the absolute Ideal is at the same time the absolute Real. The souls of men are but the innumerable individual eyes with which the Infinite World-Spirit beholds Himself. The Absolute is God. He is the

¹ Ueberweg, vol. ii. p. 201.

² Lewes, abridged, pp. 576-579.

³ Idem, p. 576.

All in All ; the eternal Source of all existence. He realises Himself under one form as an Objectivity, and under a second form as a Subjectivity. He becomes conscious of Himself in man ; and this man, under the highest form of his existence, manifests Reason ; and by this reason God knows Himself. Such are the conclusions to which Schelling's philosophy leads us. And now we ask, In what does this philosophy differ from Spinozism ?¹

JACOBI, F. H., 1743-1819, describes himself "a heathen in the understanding, but a Christian in the Spirit." He rests all philosophical knowledge on belief, which he describes as an instinct of reason—a sort of knowledge produced by an immediate sensation of the mind—a direct recognition, without proof, of the True and Insensible : drawing at the same time a deep distinction between such belief and that which is *positive*. The external world is revealed to us by means of the senses ; but objects imperceptible to the senses, such as the Deity, Providence, Free Will, Immortality, and Morality, are revealed to us by an *internal sense*, the organ of Truth, which assumes the title of Reason, as being the faculty adapted for the apprehension of Truth.²

HERBART, J. F., 1776-1841, founded a philosophy on the basis of Kant, but opposed to that of Fichte and Schelling. Philosophy with him is "the elaboration of conceptions." . . . All ideas (representations) endure even after the occasion which called them forth has ceased When, at the same time, in the soul there are several ideas which are either partially or totally opposed to each other, they cannot continue to subsist together without being partially arrested, *i.e.*, become unconscious to a degree measured by the sum of the intensities of all these ideas, with the exception of the strongest on the intensive relation of ideas, and on the laws of the changes of these ideas, are founded the possibility and the scientific necessity of applying mathematics to psychology. . . . The conception of God—in defence of the validity of which Herbart develops the teleological argument—gains in religious significancy in proportion as it becomes more fully determined by ethical predicates.³

HEGEL, W. F., 1770-1831, invented a New Method, the result being always the same repugnant Idealism or Scepticism. Accepting as indisputable the identity of object and subject, he was

¹ Lewes, abridged, p. 598.

² Tennemann's "History of Philosophy," p. 458.

³ Ueberweg, vol. ii. p. 266.

forced also to accept the position that whatever was true of the thought was true of the thing. Yet there is considerable difference between thinking of a hundred dollars and possessing them. Non-existence—the Nothing—exists because it is a thought. Being and non-Being are the same. Force is impotence; light darkness, and the contrary. These enigmas, which common sense rejects, are the result of Hegel's identity of contraries, which he declares to be the very condition of all existence. (In these views he had been forestalled by Heraclitus and Empedocles.) The Absolute Idea (God) is revealed in Nature and Spirit (mind), and thus becomes the other of itself in nature, and returns from its otherness or self-estrangement into itself in spirit. It is for the sake of developing, by means of a strong disunion, a richer and deeper life and union, that the free and absolute Idea represents itself in nature, and returns to itself through the progressive development of the mind. Hegel's logic requires prodigious effort of thought to understand it, so difficult and ambiguous is the language, and so obscure the meaning. But the boasted system of absolute Idealism turns out to be only a play upon words as soon as it is dragged from out the misty terminology in which it is enshrouded. Unlike many of his fellow-philosophers, he always speaks of Christianity with reverence, as "revealing Truth in the form in which it must appear for all mankind." He speaks of a rejection of what he calls the fundamental doctrines of Christianity on account of some associated doubts and difficulties as foolish and pitiable.¹ Another view of the Hegelian philosophy is found in David Masson's "Recent British Philosophy." "Hegel, the terrible Hegel . . . whose entire system no German soul even is believed to have yet fathomed or got round: who himself said . . . 'There is only one man living that understands me; and he doesn't.' What Hegel gave to the world, as principally wanted, and as the foundation of all else, was a new logic, or science of the necessary laws of Thought; and in this logic the foundation principle was the identity, the inseparability in thought of the idea of Being, and the idea of Nothing. . . . The universe is a thought, a beat, a pulse of the Absolute mind. The apprehension of the logical law of this thought constitutes our Metaphysic; and, again, this Metaphysic reappears as the logic of our own minds, and of each of their minute acts. In the minutest act of our minds is the same secret logical, physical, metaphysical, as in the entire universe." Mr. J. H. Sterling thinks

¹ Abridged from Lewes, pp. 600-613. Gostwick & Harrison, pp. 466-468.

that "there have been three, and only three, all-comprehensive philosophical minds in recent Europe—Hume, Kant, and Hegel." He has published a work entitled "The Secret of Hegel," respecting which the British public will say, "If this is Hegel in English, he might as well have remained in German." Mr. Sterling's translation of Hegel, and even some parts of his exposition of "Hegel in his own words, may seem more Hegelian than Hegel himself . . . as presented by this book, Hegel's Philosophy, I should say, will appear among us with such welcome as might be given to an elephant, if, from the peculiar shape of the animal, one were uncertain which end of him was his head."¹

SCHOPENHAUER, A., 1788–1860, is the philosopher of pessimism. The world (with him) is not the best, it is the worst of all possible worlds. The fault is in the *Will* of man, which withstands reason and right. His system supposes human nature to be as man would have been apart from the influence of the Divine Spirit—"the Light enlightening every man coming into the world" (John i. 9). He does not see the possibility of this evil will being changed by divine influence. BAADER, 1765–1841, "holds the doctrine of the fall of man, and the consequent degradation of physical life. He maintains that moral and physical evil are inseparably united, and sees in all the evils of the material world the result of an insurrection against divine authority."²

HARTMANN, E. VON, is the founder of the *Philosophy of the Unconscious*. "The Unconscious is the name given by Hartmann to the 'will in nature,' as described by Schopenhauer."³ "He endeavours to show that phenomena of the whole universe of brute matter, of vegetable and animal life, and of the human mind . . . are to be explained by the principle of the *Unconscious*—a something which (though unconscious) is a combination of *will* (i.e., desire) and *idea*, the latter including unconscious volition and action. The hypothesis of its existence he maintains, as the underlying cause of all phenomena, forms the core of all great philosophies,—the 'substance' of Spinoza, the 'absolute Ego' of Fichte, the 'absolute subject-object' of Schelling, the 'absolute Idea' of Plato, the 'Will' of Schopenhauer, besides unmistakable analogies to it in the thoughts of many others, European and Oriental. The 'Unconscious' is, of course, *psychical*, possessing the positive attributes of

¹ "Recent British Philosophy," by David Masson, third edition, crown 8vo. 1877, pp. 177–179.

² *Ibid.*, p. 484.

³ Gostwick & Harrison, p. 488.

‘willing and representing.’ *It is one and universal, having for its purpose the formation, reparation, and preservation of all things according to their type; and, when it gets to the higher grades of organic life, the raising-up of consciousness, which requires the formation of the higher nervous centres or true brain, when conscious individuality comes into being.* The Unconscious never is morbid, never errs, unless, in the case of *conscious beings, it is misled through erroneous presentations by the conscious intellect.* The Hartmann philosophy is thus a species of Pantheism; its tone, *toto cælo*, removed from the lowest phase of materialistic thought of the day, which contents itself with mere sequence of phenomena, or, at the best, with the causality of blind forces the real strength of this system lies in its unhesitating recognition of the *purposeful* nature of all things, and of that great principle that force really means will so far the philosophy of Von Hartmann is Theistic, or at least *quasi*-Theistic of course, in its utter ignoring of all grounds of hope beyond the death of the body, and of personality in a future life, Von Hartmann is pessimist indeed.”¹

BENEKE, 1798–1854, on the basis of the English and Scotch philosophy, developed a system resting exclusively on internal experience. But of philosophical systems in Germany we may say their name is *legion*. What we have given is a fair sample of intellectual labour without profit—the gyrations of a squirrel in its cage, motion without progress. Materialism is rife in Germany, but not without opposition. A specimen of the teaching of this school is found in Karl Vogt, whose teaching is that “the brain secretes thought just as the liver secretes bile,” and in Moleschott, whose axiom is that “no thought is possible without phosphorus.” Fichte (the younger), Ulrici, Fechner, Kirchmann, with LOTZE, are the able opponents of this school. It is impossible to attempt to do justice to the views of this profound teacher, who has pointed out the boundaries of actual knowledge and the essential conditions of human thought. “The final conception in which Lotze’s speculation culminates is that of a personal Deity. Nothing is real but the living Spirit of God, and the world of living spirits He has created. The things of this world have only reality in so far as they are the appearance of spiritual substance, which underlies everything. That only beings who have mental life have independent existence; and that things without mental life, or the material things outside of us, exist in virtue of the universal substance, and are only manifestations of its activity, are

¹ *Spectator*, August 23, 1884.

the main metaphysical conclusions of Lotze. Other results are given by a friendly reviewer in the *Spectator*, September 13 :—"We know, for example, that he regards self-consciousness as being fully true in all the fulness of meaning of that word, only of the Infinite. We know that with him the absolute is not a vague, blank form, or an abstraction, but a living word, which becomes more vital and full of meaning as our experience widens. The supreme source, substance, and goal of things is not an 'Unknowable,' but is replete with moral attributes, and is the perfect realisation of the true, the beautiful, and the good. Lotze's work needs and will repay repeated perusal, for its metaphysical and speculative worth ; but even more because of the value it sets on personal life, and the worth it attaches to creation, and the significance it gives to the moral and spiritual elements of the universe. Above all, we find here philosophy in close contact with life, not dealing with abstractions, nor employed with phrases which have lost or never had a meaning. He brings philosophy into immediate relation with the common interests of man, and brings into its service the science, the poetry, and the general culture of humanity."

THEOLOGY.—Few works of practical theology come to England from Germany. *Krummacher's* *Elijah and Elisha*, and *Stiers' Words of Jesus* are exceptions. But there is a large supply of works, *critical* and *exegetical*, which are translated and circulated. The spread of Rationalism in the Churches, through the old Rationalistic literature of the past and present century, by Baur and the Tübingen school, and more especially by Strauss, has called forth the writings of Neander, Hengstenberg, Tholuck, and others. Among the Roman Catholics Möhler, Hettinger, and Sepp have ably defended Christian truth. The exegetical and controversial literature is most voluminous, but it belongs rather to Biblical criticism and theology than to literary history. The semi-Rationalistic theology of Germany has to some extent helped to emasculate our English devotional poetry. The grand German hymns found in the Wesleyan hymn-book and in other collections, are weakened in certain popular lyrical poems, in which vague theosophy finds no room for the great fundamental doctrine of the propitiatory Atonement, or for the necessity of the exercise of heart repentance towards God, or for the privilege of heart trust in Christ. In these lyrics there is no formal opposition to evangelical truth, it is simply lost in an ocean of indefinite phraseology. They are popular where religion is regarded mainly as one of the decencies and proprieties of fashionable life, while it is not recognised as a power or a stay.

GENERAL LITERATURE.—*Fiction*: Writers in these departments abound, but they are little known beyond Germany. The manufacture of light reading, calculated to amuse, is so prolific in England and France that this class of German literature is not in demand in either country. *Auerbach* is the most popular of this class of writers.

ITALIAN LITERATURE FROM 1815-1884.—*Historical*: Count Troya, Cesare Balbo, Carlo Botta, Cusco, Louigi Bossi, Farina, Castellani, Ugoni, Pirou, Lombardi, Micali, Cardinal Mai (the five last antiquarians), Cantu, Micali, Mazzoldi, Lamperdi, Berchetti, Sacchi, Farini, Rossi, Denina, P. Verri, Gregorio, P. Verrari.

POLITICAL WRITERS.—Giacomo Leopardi (poet), Gioberti (a cleric, poet, and bibliographer, and once prime minister), Count Cavour, Azeglio, Mazzini, Minghetti (statesman and philosopher), Mario, Lanza.

JURISTS.—Romagnori (philosopher), Sclopis, Medici (soldier and politician).

POLITICAL ECONOMY.—A. Rossi, Ortes, Valeriani, Count Pecchio.

HIEROGLYPHICS.—Marquis Spineto.

GENERAL LITERATURE.—Ugo Foscolo, Vincent Monti, A. Manzoni, Silvio Pellico, Lambruschini, Guerazzi, Azeglio, Niccolini.

PHILOSOPHY.—Gioja, Galuppi, Rosmini, Perbalozza, Tommaseo, G. Cavour (brother of Count Cavour), Bonghi, Raynezi, Minghetti (statesman), Berti, Vera, Ventura, and Libertore are scholastic philosophers.

POETS.—Parini, Giusti, Rossetti, Mammiani, Caetani, and others.

SCULPTURE.—Monti, Dupré.

MUSIC.—Rossini.

PAINTERS.—Rossetti (poet).

SCIENCE.—Piazzi, Schieperelli (astronomy), Avogadro (chemistry), Melloni (heat), Galvani, Volta (electricity), Nageli (botany).

HOLLAND: LITERATURE FROM 1815-1884.—D. J. Von Lennep (poet and philologist), Jacob Von Lennep (poet and novelist), Dekker (author of *Max-Havilar*), Ledegavek (Flemish poet), H. Conscience (novelist), Perponder, Vander Palm, Lorsche, Bogaers, Staring, and Vosmeer (general literature), Dozy (Orientalist).

DENMARK: LITERATURE FROM 1815-1884.—Oersted (science), Martensen (theology), J. E. Moe (literature), Hans Andersen.

SWEDEN: LITERATURE FROM 1815-1884.—Berzelius (science), Fryxell, Geijer, Otto (historians), Tegner (poet), Miss Bremer (novelist). The passage north-east to Behring's Straits was accomplished 1878, 1879, in the *Vega*, by Captain Nordenskjöld.

RUSSIAN LITERATURE FROM 1815-1884.—Karl Von Baer (anatomy), Poushkin, Lermantoff, Nekrasoff (poetry), Gogol (Tales of Russian Life), Count Krasinski (Pole), (historian), Gerbel (poet), Skobeloff (soldier), Gortchakoff (statesman), Basil Bajanoff (translator of the Bible into Russian), Turguenieff (whose writings influenced Alexander II. to emancipate the serfs), Krashevsky (Pole), poet. The most satisfactory account of Dutch, Spanish, Hungarian, Bohemian, Servian, Polish, and Russian poetry will be found in Sir John Bowring's "Anthologies," published in nine small 24mo. volumes (1821-1834).

SWITZERLAND : LITERATURE FROM 1815-1884.—Vinet (theology), Keim, Badomer (Biblical criticism), Pictet (chemistry), Agassiz (ichthyology), De Saussure (natural science), Pestalozzi (education), Zimmermann (essayist), Escher (St. Gothard Railway), P. Merian (science).

NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM.—Geets (sculptor), Cardinal Deschamps (theologian).

SPAIN.—Martinez de la Rosa, Hartzenbush, Principe (drama), Zorilla, Quiroja, Garcia, Tassaco (poets), Lasso, Mesonero (satire), Toreno (history), Moracas, Salamanca (politicians), Moratin (the Spanish Molière), Quintana (poet).

The account here attempted to be given of the literature of Europe from 1815-1884 is, as stated in page 592, necessarily confined to a selection of the leading authors, and even in this respect is very imperfect. It would require a large addition to a work already too bulky to give a full list of the literary celebrities of the age. What is here given must be regarded as mere specimens or samples of the intellectual leaders of our age.

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